Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

Editorial Board

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

VOLUME 36

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

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

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

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/hcmr*

Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

Volume 12. Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700-1800)

Edited by
David Thomas and John Chesworth

with Jaco Beyers, Karoline Cook, Lejla Demiri,
Martha Frederiks, David D. Grafton, Alan Guenther,
Emma Gaze Loghin, Claire Norton, Reza Pourjavady,
Douglas Pratt, Charles Ramsey, Peter G. Riddell,
Umar Ryad, Carsten Walbiner



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2018



Cover illustration: This is from *Al-durr al-manẓūm* by the Christian artist Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, made in Aleppo around 1648, and decorated with 80 miniatures of Byzantine emperors and 14 miniatures of Ottoman sultans. Here the Emperor Marcian (r. 450-7) is depicted in a damask pelisse in the style typically worn by Ottoman rulers. The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St Petersburg, C 358, fol. 53r.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Christian Muslim relations : a bibliographical history / Edited by David Thomas and John Chesworth, with Jaco Beyers, Karoline Cook, Lejla Demiri, Martha Frederiks, David D. Grafton, Alan Guenther, Emma Gaze Loghin, Claire Norton, Reza Pourjavady, Douglas Pratt, Charles Ramsey, Peter G. Riddell, Umar Ryad, Carsten Walbiner.
p. cm. — (The history of Christian-Muslim relations, ISSN 1570-7350 ; v. 36)
Includes index.
ISBN 9789004375437 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Christianity and other religions—Islam. 2. Islam—Relations—Christianity. 3. Christianity and other religions—Islam—Bibliography. 4. Islam—Relations—Christianity—Bibliography.

BP172.C4196 2009
016.2612'7—dc22

2009029184

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

ISSN 1570-7350
ISBN 978-90-04-37543-7 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-38416-3 (e-book)

Copyright 2018 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

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

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

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

CONTENTS

Foreword xi

List of illustrations xv

List of maps xvii

Abbreviations xviii

The Ottoman and Persian Empires

Umar Ryad, *Introduction: the Ottoman and Persian Empires in the 18th century* 3

Charbel Nassif, *Ottoman and Arab influences on Melkite art in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries* 15

Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds* 29

Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1700-1800 43

The Ottoman and Arab World 45

Buṭrus Ḍūmīṭ Makhlūf	Joseph Moukarzel	47
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī	Doaa Baumi	56
Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza	Emine Nurefşan Dinç ...	60
Isṭifān al-Duwayhī	Joseph Moukarzel	67
Vahdetî	Necmettin Kızılkaya ...	74
Derviş Ali Nakşibendî	Betül Avcı	80
Theodor Krump	Jaco Beyers	84
Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî	Marinos Sariyannis	91
Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Bākirjī	Mariam M. Shehata	98
ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir	Ronney el Gemayel	101
ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī	Lejla Demiri	108
Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa	Emine Nurefşan Dinç ...	130

Jirmānūs Farḥāt	Elena Sahin	135
Fī mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān al-mutafarriqa fī l-sharq al-khārija ʿan dīn al-Masīḥ	Carsten Walbiner	143
İskender ibn Ahmed Feylesof et-Trabzonî	Lejla Demiri and Serkan Ince	147
ʿAbbūd Ṣaydaḥ	Souad Slim	150
İbrahim Müteferrika	Lejla Demiri and Serkan Ince	154
Isṭifān Ward	Joseph Moukarzel	163
Makirdīj al-Kassīḥ	Carsten Walbiner	169
Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṣiyām al-Damanhūrī	Muhammad Fawzy Abdelhay	173
The martyrdom of Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl	Carsten Walbiner	178
Buṭrus al-Lādhiqī	Carsten Walbiner	183
Isṭifānūs Akīllī	Joseph Moukarzel	185
Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh	Hilary Kilpatrick	190
Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī	Mohamed A. Moustafa	198
Būlus Yūyāqīm	Carsten Walbiner	207
ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿUmarī l-Ṭarābulusī l-Ḥanafī	Abdullah Omran	210
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb	R.A. Leo	214
Patriarch Yuʾannis XVIII	Carsten Walbiner	221
Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi	Irena Fliter	223
Ottoman slave manumission documents	Joshua M. White	227
Islam and Muslims in the works of Christian Arab historians of the 18th and early 19th centuries	Hayat el Eid Bualuan	234

Persia 243

Mīrzā Ẓahīrā Tafrishī	Mohammed Alsulami	245
Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī	Rasūl Jaʿfariyān	250
Abgar ʿAlī Akbar Armanī	Alberto Tiburcio	256
Hovhannēs Mrkʿuz J̌ułayecʿi	Dennis Halft	260
ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, António de Jesus	Alberto Tiburcio	266
Muḥammad Khalīl Qāʾinī	Ebrahim Ashk Shirin	274
Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shah of Persia	Rudolph Matthee	278
Nādir Shah	Ernest Tucker	292
Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī	Dennis Halft	298
A chronicle of the Carmelites and the papal mission in Persia	Rudolph Matthee	303
ʿAlī-Murād Khān Zand	Alberto Tiburcio	309

Armenia and Georgia 313

King Archʻil — Nana Kharebava 315
Iakob Shemokʻmedili — Khatuna Baindurashvili ... 319
Martyrology of Loys Grigor — S. Peter Cowe 324
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani — Irina Natsvlishvili 330
Grigol Vakhvakhishvili-Dodorkeli — Merab Ghaghanidze 343
King Vakhtʻang VI — Nana Mrevlishvili 346
Stepʻanos Kafayecʻi — S. Peter Cowe 350
Besarion Orbelishvili — Eka Chikvaidze 354
Łukas Sebastacʻi — S. Peter Cowe 363
Tʻeimuraz II — Saba Metreveli 373
Abraham III, Kretatsʻi — George Bournoutian 380
Abraham Erewantsʻi — George Bournoutian 386
Vakhushti Bagrationi — Ani Letodiani 391
Sēfērołli Tʻokatʻcʻi — S. Peter Cowe 396
Verse martyrologies of Xanum Vkayuhi — S. Peter Cowe 399
Timote Gabashvili — Nana Gonjilashvili 405
Simeon of Yerevan — George Bournoutian 411
Catholicos Anton I — Gocha Kuchukhidze 417
Hazar erku hariwr tʻvakan — S. Peter Cowe 423
Samuēl Anetsʻi and his continuators — Seta B. Dadoyan 426
Davitʻ Guramishvili — Ivane Amirkhanashvili 448
Besiki — Lia Karichashvili 453
Sayatnova — Zoia Tskhadaia 459

South Asia, South East Asia, China and Japan

Douglas Pratt, *Introduction: South Asia, South East Asia and China. 18th-century contexts* 469

Karel Steenbrink, *No* (*longer*) *fear, but control and care. Europeans and Muslims in South East Asia, 17th and 18th centuries* 481

Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1700-1800 489

South Asia 491

Daniel Havart — Gijs Kruijtzer 493
Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg — Daniel Jeyaraj 505
Benjamin Schultze — Heike Liebau 519
Shāh Walī Allāh — Charles M. Ramsey 525
Muḥmammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī — Reza Pourjavady 534

Alexander Dow	Joslyn De Vinney	538
Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn	Gulfishan Khan	544
Murtaḍā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī	Gulfishan Khan	549
Charles Hamilton	Alan Guenther	553
William Jones	Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh	560

South East Asia 573

François Valentijn	Karel Steenbrink	575
José Torrubia	Isaac Donoso	583
Juan de Arechederra y Tovar	Isaac Donoso	586
Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu	Isaac Donoso	591
Muḥammad Muʿizz al-Dīn Pangiran Bantilan	Isaac Donoso	596
Pedro Martínez de Arizala	Isaac Donoso	600
Onno Zwier van Haren	Gé Speelman	604
Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek	Karel Steenbrink	609
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī	Peter G. Riddell	614
De Kerckenraeds van Gereformeerde Kerk te Batavia	Yusak Soleiman	621
Corpus Diplomaticum	Karel Steenbrink	625
Javanese court chronicles on the rising power of the Dutch, 17th and 18th centuries	Karel Steenbrink	629

China and Japan 639

Ma Zhu	Wai Yip Ho	641
Liu Zhi	James Frankel	644
Eusèbe Renaudot	Stuart Vogel	649
The Yongzheng Emperor	James Harry Morris	653
Arai Hakuseki	James Harry Morris	658
Mémoires concernant les Chinois	James Harry Morris	666

Africa and the Americas

Martha Frederiks, *Introduction: 18th century Africa and the Americas* 691

R.A. Leo, *North American perceptions of Islam in the 18th century (freed from European influences)* 707

Karoline Cook, *Contesting belonging: Relationships between Muslims and Christians in colonial Latin America* 725

Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1700-1800 735

Africa 737

Hiob Ludolf	Andreu Martínez	739
Michel Jajolet de la Courbe	Philip Jan Havik	745
Jean Barbot	Adam Jones	753
Jean-Baptiste Gaby	Martha Frederiks	758
Charles-Jacques Poncet	Andreu Martínez	763
Johann Heinrich Michaelis	David D. Grafton	772
Bwana Mwengo bin Athman	Clarissa Vierke	777
Francis Moore	Martha Frederiks	782
Chronicler of Iyasu II	Solomon Gebreyes Beyene	789
Nicholas Owen	Martha Frederiks	794
Abbé Demanet	Martha Frederiks	798
Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur	Martha Frederiks	803
ʾAlaqā Gabru	Solomon Gebreyes Beyene	807
Georg Forster and Carl Peter Thunberg	Jaco Beyers	811

The Americas 819

Cotton Mather	Sara Harwood	821
Jonathan Edwards	R.A. Leo	830
Peter Markoe	Fuad Shaban	843
New England Puritans and Islam	R.A. Leo	849
Bryan Edwards	Kambiz GhaneaBassiri and Shea McElroy	861
Legislation restricting Muslim presence in colonial Spanish America	Karoline Cook	867

Contributors 875

Index of Names 887

Index of Titles 901

FOREWORD

David Thomas

Volume 12 of *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history* (*CMR* 12) is one of the three that cover the history of relations between followers of the two faiths, as represented in original written sources, through the 18th century. It includes works from the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, including the Arab world, and also Armenia and Georgia; South Asia, South East Asia, China and Japan; and sub-Saharan Africa and the Americas. They were nearly all written by authors who called themselves Christians or Muslims, and they cast light on religious attitudes towards the other faith in the period 1700-1800, and also on social and political relations as these were motivated by religious differences. They show that, in parts of the world where relations stretched back centuries, prejudices that had been known from much earlier times had often become so ingrained that the presumption the other was wrong, wicked and morally corrupt went largely unchallenged. Whether it was European visitors to Istanbul or missionaries to Isfahan, Japanese authors recording Jesuit opinions about Islam or Malay rulers negotiating with Dutch traders, the attitude that the other is inferior because they are in error is immediately obvious or lies just beneath the surface. The one substantial exception is North America, where the dark attitudes inherited from Europe gave way as the century moved on to hints of regard for Muslims as fellow-believers.

The overall intention of the *CMR* series is to provide full accounts of all the known works written by Christians and Muslims about one another and against one another in all parts of the world in the period 600-1914. As in earlier volumes, here the editors have been generously helped by new and established scholars, who have written at length (sometimes at great length) and in detail, and have endured repeated editorial questions about their entries to produce a compilation that reflects the latest research and in some instances takes it forward.

Like its predecessors, *CMR* 12 starts with introductory essays at the beginning of each of its three sections. These treat details of the political, cultural and religious situation in the 18th-century world in which the works on Christian-Muslim relations were written. Following these come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The basic criterion has been to choose works written substantially about or against the other

faith, or containing significant information or judgements that cast light on attitudes of one faith towards the other. By their very nature, apologetic and polemical works are included, while letters, religious treatises and works of travel and history also usually qualify. Everything has been included that is thought to contribute in any substantial way towards building the impressions about the other that were harboured by the followers of the two faiths.

This principle criterion is easily applicable in many cases, though it proves difficult in a significant number of instances. The approach has therefore been inclusive, especially regarding works that may contain only slight though insightful details, or only appear to touch obliquely on relations. Another criterion is that inclusion of works within this volume, like its predecessors, has been decided according to the date of their author's death, not the date when the works themselves appeared. The adoption of this approach has led to evident anomalies at either end, where authors were mainly or almost entirely active in one century but died at the beginning of the next. Although this may seem arbitrary, in most instances so would the choice of any other criterion.

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

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

With this coverage, *CMR* 12 provides information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and editions and studies located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible together with other works from

the same region written at the same time, though this grouping should be regarded as more a matter of organisational convenience than anything else. Proximity between entries is definitely not an indication of any necessary direct relationship between the works they analyse, let alone influence between them (though this may sometimes be discernible). In this period it is as likely that an author would be influenced by a work written hundreds of miles away or hundreds of years before as by another from their immediate locality or time.

The composition of *CMR* 12 has involved numerous contributors, who have readily and often enthusiastically agreed to write entries. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer), Emma Loghin (Research Associate), Sinéad Cussen (Project Assistant), all in the Birmingham office, Lejla Demiri and Claire Norton (Ottoman Empire), Reza Pourjavady (Persian Empire), Umar Ryad (Muslim Arabic works), Carsten Walbiner (Christian Arabic works), Alan Guenther and Charles Ramsey (South Asia), and Douglas Pratt and Peter G. Riddell (East Asia and South East Asia), Jaco Beyers (Southern and Eastern Africa), Karoline Cook (South America), Martha Frederiks (West Africa), and David D. Grafton (North America). 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, finding contributors and sharing their expertise. Without their help and interest, the task of assembling the material in this volume would have been totally impossible. Among many others, special gratitude goes to Isaac Donoso, Maka Elbakidze, Solomon Gebreyes, R.A. Leo, Andreu Martinez, James Harry Morris, and Joseph Moukarzel. In addition, Carol Rowe copy edited the entire volume, Phyllis Chesworth compiled the indexes, Louise Bouglass prepared the maps, and Alex Mallett provided links with the staff editors at Brill. The *CMR* team are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed to bringing this volume into being.

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

Extensive efforts have been made to ensure the information in the volume is both accurate and complete, though in a project that crosses as many geographical and disciplinary boundaries as this it would be both presumptuous to claim that these have succeeded and also unrealistic. Details (hopefully only minor) must have been overlooked, and authors and works ignored. Furthermore, new historical works may have come to

light, new dates and interpretations been put forward, and new editions, translations and studies published. Therefore, corrections, additions and updates are warmly invited. They will be incorporated into the online version of *CMR*, and into any further editions. Please send details of these to David Thomas at d.r.thomas.1@bham.ac.uk.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Hunting and Christian Scenes, Aleppo Room, 1600-3, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin. Courtesy of bpk-Bildagentur, Berlin 17

2 Page from Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, *Al-durr al-manẓūm*, Aleppo, 1648. Courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St Petersburg, C 358, fol. 53r 21

3 Page from *Stimulum Cumpunctionis*, artist Juan de Jesús María, 1814. Courtesy of the Monastery of St Saviour, Lebanon, MS Joun 896, fols 1v-2r 22

4 Cyrillus al-Muṣawwir, *Icon of St Pachomius the Great*, 1779. Courtesy of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist, Khenchara, Lebanon 26

5 Girgis Mushaqa, Iconostasis of the Monastery of St Saviour, 1759. Courtesy of the Monastery of St Saviour, Joun, Lebanon 28

6 Frontispiece of Theodor Krump, *Hoher, und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum Deß Heiligen Evangelij* ..., Augsburg, 1710. Courtesy of *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*, 905219 Res/4 It.sing. 142 87

7 Page from *Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî*, copied by Mehmed Veliyüddin, 1719-20. Courtesy of Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Hazine 1634 92

8 MS page from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Thalāth rasā'il*, 1802. Courtesy of the King Abdulaziz Foundation for Research and Archives, Āl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf/7-3 219

9 Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Zamān, Safavid Court painting, 1721. © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved 281

10 *Hokm*s Pd-47 and Pd-48 issued by Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shah of Persia, early 18th century. Courtesy of the National Centre of Manuscripts and the National Archive of Georgia, Tbilisi 286

11 Page from Samuēl Anetsʻi, *Hawakʻmunkʻ i grotsʻ patmagratsʻ yaghags giwti zhamanakatsʻ antsʻelotsʻ minhʻew i nerkays tsayrakʻagh arareal*. Courtesy of the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran), Yerevan, Armenia, Matenadaran MS 3613 430

12 A Page from Saʿdī's *Būstān*, transcribed by Shāh Qāsim with interleaved Dutch translation by Daniel Havart, 1679. Courtesy of Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KW 130 C 17 497
13 Page from Benjamin Schultze, *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice*, Halle, 1744. Courtesy of Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB), Dresden, http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id363949038/9, (CC-BY-SA 4.0) 523
14 Johannes Rach, *Het gezigt van het Casteel te Batavia*, 1767. Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, NG-400-J 577
15 Engraving of Jean Joseph-Marie Amiot, *Recueil. Portraits de Joseph Marie Amiot, le Révérend Père (1718-1793), missionnaire en Chine*. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, le département des Estampes et de la photographie, ark:/12148/btv1b85305975 682
16 Jean Barbot, *Map of part of the windward coast of Guinea, and of the Malaghetta or Grain Coast, with the adjacent territories*. Courtesy of Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library, New York, B15603146 756
17 Jean-Baptiste Gaby, *Relation de la Nigritie: contenant une exacte description de ses royaumes … avec la découverte de la rivière du Senega …*, Paris, 1689. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, ark:/12148/bpt6k843770 760
18 Page from Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa: containing a description of the several nations for the space of six hundred miles up the river Gambia*, London, 1738. Courtesy of *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*, 1057795 It.sing. 688 za 786
19 Engraving of Cotton Mather, by Peter Pelham, 1727. Courtesy of the Reba and Dave Williams Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 2008.115.3872 823
20 Anon., Engraving of Jonathan Edwards (1850). Courtesy of the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library, New York, EM2578 833

LIST OF MAPS

1	The Ottoman and Persian empires	2
2	South Asia	466
3	China, Japan and South-East Asia	467
4	Africa	688
5	The Americas (Eastern part)	689

ABBREVIATIONS

BL
: British Library

BNF
: Bibliothèque nationale de France

BSOAS
: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

DİA
: *Turkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* Ankara, 1988-2013

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

EEB
: *Early European Books*; http://eeb.chadwyck.com/home.do

EEBO
: *Early English Books Online*; http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home

EI
: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

EI2
: *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition

EI3
: *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*

EIC
: East India Company

EIr
: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*; http://www.iranicaonline.org

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

ICMR
: *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*

JAOS
: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

MDZ
: *Munchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*; https://www.digitalesammlungen.de/index.html?c=mdz&l=de

MW
: *Muslim World*

Q
: Qur'an

VOC
: Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

The Ottoman and Persian Empires



Map 1. The Ottoman and Persian empires

Introduction: the Ottoman and Persian Empires in the 18th century

Umar Ryad

The 18th century witnessed tremendous political, military, social, economic, cultural and religious changes, which affected Christian-Muslim relations in the Ottoman Empire and in other Persian- and Arabic-speaking regions of the Islamic world. Historians of pre-modern Muslim societies still argue whether the 18th century really marked the beginnings of 'revivalist' ideas in the Muslim world.[1] The call to reform Islam emanated from the fact that Muslim scholars wanted to get back to the 'golden' Islamic past, instead of totally embracing what they saw as the 'unclear' future of the European path.

Military and politics

Seven Ottoman sultans reigned in the course of the 18th century: Mustafa II (1664-1703; r. 1695-1703),[2] Ahmed III (1673-1736; r. 1703-30), Mahmud I (1696-1754; r. 1730-54); Osman III (1699-1757; r. 1754-7); Mustafa III (1717-73; r. 1757-73); Abdülhamid I (1725-89; r. 1773-89) and Selim III (1761-1808; r. 1789-1807).

By the late 17th century, the Ottomans had been overcome by the Habsburg Empire. The Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 confirmed the rights of Catholic Christians in Ottoman territories. This gave the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705), the Holy Roman Emperor, a pretext to intervene to protect them, with the consequence that Catholics in the

[1] B. Haykel, *Revival and reform in early modern Islam. The legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkani*, Cambridge, 2003; J.O. Voll and N. Levtzion (eds), *Eighteenth-century renewal and reform in Islam*, Syracuse NY, 1987; J.O. Voll, 'Wahhabism and Mahdism. Alternative styles of Islamic renewals', *Arab Studies Quarterly* 4 (1982) 110-26; J.O. Voll, 'Foundations for renewal and reform. Islamic movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in J.L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford history of Islam*, New York, 1999, 509-49; J. Voll, 'Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. An analysis of an intellectual group in eighteenth-century Madīna', *BSOAS* 38 (1975) 32-9.

[2] R.A. Abou-El-Haj, 'The narcissism of Mustafa II (1695-1703). A psychohistorical study', *Studia Islamica* 40 (1974) 115-31.

Ottoman Empire were given security and flourished. France also gained more political benefit because of this new provision.[3]

After Mustafa II was deposed in 1703, Ahmed III established good relations with France and Sweden. In 1710, he sided with Charles XII of Sweden (r. 1697-1718) against Russia in the Battle of Prut, though the Ottomans did not achieve a great victory because the sultan's attention was diverted by the Safavid invasion of the Ottoman Empire.[4] In his time the Ottomans were also defeated in the Austro-Turkish War in 1716-18.[5]

In 1722, Safavid rule in Persia ended. The last Safavid monarch was Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722), deposed after a major revolt among the Afghan army due to his intolerant religious policy. Both the Ottomans and the Russians tried to take advantage of the ensuing chaos, leading to the Russo-Persian War (1722-3).[6] In 1724, the Ottomans signed the Treaty of Constantinople with the Russian Empire, by which parts of Iran were divided between them.[7] The Safavid dynasty was replaced in 1736 by Nādir Shah (r. 1736-47) and the Afshārid dynasty. The new shah set himself to retrieve Iran's territorial integrity.[8]

After his ascent to the throne, Nādir Shah met the head of the Armenian Church, the Catholicos Abraham of Crete. The Armenian community found themselves caught between the Persians and Ottomans with no political power of their own. On 13 June 1735, Nādir went to visit the Catholicos in his monastery at Echmiadzin. Instead of welcoming Nādir in person, the Catholicos sent a deputy to meet him a day later, which Nādir took as an insult. The Catholicos went to Nādir's camp to beg his pardon, and because the Catholicos was a foreigner who did not know Persian royal customs Nādir forgave him and gave him a velvet mantle embellished with gold and trimmed with fur. In order to relieve the burdens of persecution that Armenians had suffered in the earlier era of Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Nādir decreed that Armenians who converted to Islam would lose their rights of inheritance.[9]

---

[3] H.J. Sharkey, *A history of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East*, Cambridge, 2017, p. 96.

[4] V. Aksan, *Ottoman wars, 1700-1870. An empire besieged*, Abingdon, 2014, pp. 90-8.

[5] Aksan, *Ottoman wars*, pp. 100-2.

[6] M. Atkin, *Russia and Iran, 1780-1828*, Minneapolis MN, 1980.

[7] W.B. Fisher and P. Avery (eds), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 7, Cambridge, 1968, p. 320; R. Matthee, *Persia in crisis. Safavid decline and the fall of Isfahan*, London, 2012.

[8] M. Axworthy, *The sword of Persia. Nader Shah, from tribal warrior to conquering tyrant*, London, 2010.

[9] Axworthy, *Sword of Persia*, p. 150; G. Bournoutian, 'Abraham III, Kretats'i', in *CMR* 12, 380-5.

The collapse of Safavid rule in 1722 meant that both Armenia and Georgia came under external pressure. The Ottomans occupied large parts of Armenia, whilst under Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725) Russia increased its influence on the Georgian kingdoms. Various Georgian rulers, Arch'il II, Vakht'ang VI, T'eimuraz II and Erekle, developed close ties with Russia, and the treaty of Georgievsk in 1783 between Erekle and Catherine the Great (r. 1762-96) finally led to Georgia's annexation by Russia in 1801.[10]

In the early years of the 18th century, Georgia enjoyed a cultural revival, with Vakht'ang VI (r. 1716-24) acting as governor of K'art'li then later as king. With the assistance of the renowned author Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani,[11] Vakh'tang promoted the publication and circulation of Georgian literature. Vakht'ang was the last Georgian king to be forcibly converted to Islam by Persian rulers. He later recanted and was deposed in 1724, going into exile in Russia with his court. This included his son Vakhushti Bagration whose *Description of the kingdom of Georgia* collated the chronicles of Georgian history using a prose narrative style.[12]

The writings of church leaders such as Besarion Orbelishvili, Catholicos Anton and Timote Gabashvili, served to remind Georgians of their Christian identity and the suffering they had experienced through the centuries from Ottoman and Persian oppression.[13]

In the last third of the 18th century, the Ottoman empire became involved in two major wars: the first against Russia (1768-74) and the second against a coalition of Russia and Austria (1787-92). Despite the fact that the Ottomans generally outnumbered their enemies on the battlefield, the use of new technology and methods of warfare by Russia and Austria made the Ottoman Empire suffer great territorial and political losses.[14] However, Mahmud I cultivated good relations with the Mughal

---

[10] For these authors, see N. Kharebava, 'King Arch'il'; N. Mrevlishvili, 'King Vakht'ang VI'; and S. Metreveli, 'T'eimuraz II' in *CMR* 12, 315-18; 344-9; 373-9.

[11] See I. Natsvlishvili, 'Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani', in *CMR* 12, 330-42.

[12] See A. Letodiani, 'Vakhushti Bagrationi', in *CMR* 12, 391-5.

[13] For these authors, see E. Chikvaidze, 'Besarion Orbelishvili'; N. Gonjilashvili, 'Timote Gabashvili'; and G. Kuchukhidze, 'Catholicos Anton I' in *CMR* 12, 354-62; 405-10; 417-22.

[14] A. Levy, 'Military reform and the problem of centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century', *Middle Eastern Studies* 18 (1982) 227-49, pp. 234-5; C. Tuck, '"All innovation leads to hellfire". Military reform and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century', *Journal of Strategic Studies* 31 (2008) 467-502.

Emperor Muhammad Shah (r. 1719-48) in the Ottoman-Persian War (1743-6).[15] In his brief reign between 1754-7, Osman III, who came to power when he was already 55 years old, did not launch any major wars. Fire and epidemic plagues hit Istanbul in his time.[16]

Mustafa III tried to foster the prosperity of Istanbul and established a firm financial policy in the empire. By establishing strong ties with the Prussian Emperor Frederick the Great (r. 1740-86), he recruited his officers in Germany and exchanged diplomats with Prussia for the first time. In the Russo-Turkish War (1768-74), the Ottomans lost, which enabled the Russian army to occupy the Crimea, Romania and parts of Bulgaria. However, with the assistance of the French officer François Baron de Tott (1733-93), the Ottoman artillery corps was modernised, and the Naval Engineering School was established in 1773.[17]

Due to the increasing military conflicts with the Russian Empire in the 18th century, Ottoman sultans were keen on consolidating their diplomatic relations and political alliances with Western powers, as well as on collecting information on Western military technology. In this century, we see a drastic change in Ottoman perceptions of the West, and Ottoman ambassadors were dispatched to Europe. For example, an embassy was sent to Paris in 1720-1 under the leadership of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi. His mission was ostensibly to inform the French that the Ottoman state wanted them to repair the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but his actual aim was 'to visit fortresses and factories, and to make a thorough study of means of civilization and education, and report on those suitable for application in the Ottoman Empire'.[18]

During the following reign of Abdülhamid I (r. 1773-89), the Russians tried to profit from their victory and intervened in the Ottoman Empire on behalf of the Orthodox Christians. However, Abdülhamid made other attempts to reform the Empire's army and created the Imperial Naval

---

[15] Naimur Rahman Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman relations. A study of political and diplomatic relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556-1748*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 78-80.

[16] M. Kia, *The Ottoman Empire. A historical encyclopedia*, Santa Barbara CA, 2017, vol. 2, p. 149.

[17] S.A. Somel, *Historical dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*, Lanham MD, 2003, p. 203; V. Aksan, 'The one-eyed fighting the blind: Mobilization, supply, and command in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774', *International History Review* 15 (1993) 221-38; V. Aksan, 'Breaking the spell of the Baron de Tott. Reframing the question of military reform in the Ottoman empire, 1760-1830', *International History Review* 24 (2002) 253-77.

[18] F.M. Gocek, *East encounters West. France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century*, Oxford, 1987, p. 4.

Engineering School. This served as the direct motive for the establishment of a School of Naval Engineering in 1773 and the launching of a new phase of extensive western-inspired military reform which lasted throughout his reign.[19]

Selim III (r. 1789-1807) came to power at a time of severe peril to the empire. In his wars against the Russians, he tried to create a new European-style army with modern tactics and weapons. In 1792, the Peace of Jassy had been concluded, which brought the war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia to an end and ceded the Crimean Khanate to Russia.[20] Selim wanted to stay out of the European political conflicts that arose in the wake of the French Revolution. His desire for neutrality stemmed from his wish to have time in which to implement his plans for military reform. Instead of exerting efforts to reform the old military organisation, he focused on establishing a new army under the supervision of European technical experts and on manufacturing modern arms and ammunition. This reform was part of Selim III's *Nizam-i cedid* (new order) in the Ottoman State.[21]

Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli nominally belonged to the Ottoman Empire. In the 18th century, these three regions frequently acted jointly towards the European powers. For example, they signed new treaties with Holland in 1703 and 1704. From 1706 to 1712, a Dutch squadron was permanently dispatched to the western Mediterranean due to the war with France. In 1735, an envoy from Tripoli visited the Low Countries, although his negotiations did not lead to any new treaty. From 1755 to 1757, the Dutch Republic had military confrontations with Algiers.

In the 18th century, Moroccan diplomatic relations with Europe were not only based on religious sentiments, but were also shaped by political stances. Slavery continued to be one of the thorny issues in these relations. Sultan Sayyidi Muhammad ibn Abdallah of Morocco had ambitious plans to ransom Moroccan slaves in Europe. By 1782, the diplomat Muhammad ibn Uthman al-Miknasi was sent by the Moroccan sultan as

---

19 Levy, 'Military reform and the problem of centralization', pp. 234-5.

20 K. Hitchens, 'Great powers, small powers. Wallachia and Georgia confront the Eastern Question, 1768-1802', in I. Biliarsky, O. Cristea and A. Oroveanu (eds), *The Balkans and Caucasus. Parallel processes on the opposite sides of the Black Sea*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012, 12-28.

21 See S.J. Shaw, 'The origins of Ottoman military reform. The Nizam-i Cedid army of Sultan Selim III', *The Journal of Modern History* 37 (1965) 291-306; B. Başaran, *Selim III, social control and policing in Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth century. Between crisis and order*, Leiden, 2014; T. Naff, 'Reform and the conduct of Ottoman diplomacy in the reign of Selim III, 1789-1807', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963) 295-315.

his special envoy to Spain, Malta and Naples to negotiate the ransoming of Muslim slaves, as well as to make trade agreements and peace treaties with these countries.[22]

The tulip period, the printing press and coffee houses

Ahmed III's reign is famous for his political, social and literary reforms and tulip mania in the empire. The period between 1718-30 is still remembered in Ottoman history as the Tulip Period, or *Lâle Devri*, during which the empire witnessed peace, stability and a greater inclination towards Europe. It is also seen as 'a transcultural sign and luxury commodity',[23] when the Ottomans nurtured great interest in raising tulips. Ahmed established a 'secular fete' under the name of the 'Tulip fete to amuse courtiers and others, and to impress the world by displaying his magnificence'.[24] For this, the Sa'dabad ('Abode of Happiness') complex, the site containing palaces, gardens and canals at Sweet Waters of Europe in Constantinople, was constructed under the influence of the French in imitation of Versailles and Fontainebleau, which Mehmed Efendi had already visited during his embassy.[25] Growing tulips was a common interest among the Ottoman elite. For example, the Grand Admiral Mustafa Paşa registered 44 kinds of tulips he himself had cross-bred. Damad Ibrahim Paşa, his father-in-law, created six new types of tulips.[26]

The most important technological result of Mehmed Efendi's embassy to Paris was his establishment of the Ottoman printing press around 1726 with the assistance of the Hungarian convert to Islam, İbrahim Müteferrika.[27] Mehmed Said Efendi, son of the Ottoman ambassador, and Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi were given permission to establish the

---

[22] T. Freller, '"The shining of the moon". The Mediterranean tour of Muhammad ibn Uthmān, envoy of Morocco, in 1782', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12 (2002) 307-26; N. Matar, 'Europe through eighteenth-century Moroccan eyes', *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 26 (2006) 200-19. See Doaa Baumi, 'Wazīr al-Ghassānī' and '*Riḥlat al-wazīr fi iftikāk al-asīr*', in *CMR* 12, 56-9.

[23] D. Sajdi, 'Decline, its discontents and Ottoman cultural history. By way of introduction', in D. Sajdi (ed.), *Ottoman tulips, Ottoman coffee. Leisure and lifestyle in the eighteenth century*, London, 2007, 1-40, p. 33.

[24] Gocek, *East encounters West*, p. 46. See J. Carswell, 'From the tulip to the rose', in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds), *Studies in eighteenth-century Islamic history*, Chicago IL, 1977, 328-35.

[25] Gocek, *East encounters West*, p. 75.

[26] Gocek, *East encounters West*, p. 130.

[27] See L. Demiri and S. Ince, 'İbrahim Müteferrika', in *CMR* 12, 154-62.

first press entrusted to print books in Turkish in the Ottoman Empire. They aimed at advancing science and education, as well as supplying books for students that were more accurate than the manuscripts of calligraphers. Before this year, Jewish, Greek and Armenian printers in Constantinople had already been printing books in their native languages and their presence certainly contributed to the success of the Ottoman printing press.[28] In Europe, with the advance of Arabic studies, presses had already started printing religious books in Arabic script in the 16th century for religious, trade and political purposes. In 1706, the first book in Arabic script printed in the Ottoman Empire, a Bible, had appeared in Aleppo.[29]

The Sublime Porte did not allow Muslims to print texts in Arabic characters before the 1720s. This delay is mostly related to the resistance of religious conservatism because of worries about the impurity of ink, possible misprints and the involvement of non-Muslims, especially in printing the Qur'an. Also, a large number of calligraphers, book guilds and scribes had feared for the loss of their professions. However, the Ottoman *'ulamā'* began gradually to appreciate the enormous benefit of printing in the Muslim educational and scholarly fields. On the other side, scholars of al-Azhar issued fatwas against printing religious books, particularly the Qur'an. These remained active till late in the reign of Muhammad Ali (1805-48).[30]

In order to overcome the opposition to printing, İbrahim Müteferrika composed a treatise for Sultan Ahmed III on the advantages of the establishment of printing presses and their function in spreading knowledge. He also emphasised the potential for great profits and lower prices.[31] Ahmed III himself was personally interested in collecting books. From an anonymous French account, we know that his collection contained 'very unusual books, in all kinds of languages, handwritten, and in particular one hundred and twenty volumes of Constantine the Great, each one

---

[28] Gocek, *East encounters West*, pp. 80-1.

[29] Gocek, *East encounters West*, p. 113.

[30] M. Ghaly, 'The interplay of technology and sacredness in Islam. Discussions of Muslim scholars on printing the Qur'an', *Studies in Ethics, Law, and Technology* 3/2 (2009) 1-24. See also, M.W. Albin, 'Early Arabic printing. A catalogue of attitudes', *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990-1) 114-22; Seyfettin Erashin, 'The Ottoman ulema and the reforms of Mahmud II'. *Hamdard Islamicus* 22 (1999) 10-40; F. Robinson, 'Technology and religious change. Islam and the impact of print', *Modern Asian Studies* 27 (1993) 229-51. Cf. N. Hanna, *In praise of books. A cultural history of Cairo's middle class, sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, New York, 2003.

[31] Gocek, *East encounters West*, p. 113.

two arm spans high and about three hand spans wide, made of parchment so fine that it resembled silk, written in letters of gold and covered in gilded silver, with precious stones of an inestimable price and containing the Old and New Testament and other histories and Lives of Saints'.[32]

Coffee houses were also established in the same era. As tulip gardens were the meeting places of the elite, the poor and middle-classes made their gatherings in coffee houses. In 1730, a popular revolt led by Patrona Halil, a Janissary coffee shop owner, erupted and led to the abdication of the sultan and the destruction of the palace of Sa'dabad, and the removal of high-ranking officials. This revolt reflected a sense of resentment among the lower social classes towards the luxurious life styles which the elites cultivated in their tulip fantasies.[33]

The Wahhābī movement and Ottoman control in Arabia

In the 18th century, the Ottomans started gradually to lose their control on Arabia due to the emergence of the first Saudi state (or Emirate of al-Dir'iyya) around the region of Riyadh in 1744. Prince Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd (d. 1765) and the revivalist Muslim scholar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1702-92)[34] formed an alliance by which the 'ruler' and the 'religious scholar' agreed to bring Muslims of the Peninsula back to what they saw as the 'true' principles of Islam.

As the Wahhābī religious mission replaced the scholastic traditions in Arabia, many Arabian *'ulamā'* left their homes in Najd for southern Iraq, where they urged the Ottoman *'ulamā'* to launch a propaganda war against the Wahhābī doctrine. Wahhābī religious scholars attempted to discourage Muslims from travelling to Ottoman lands, whose inhabitants they deemed 'idolaters'.[35]

---

[32] Gocek, *East encounters West*, p. 108.

[33] See Ali Caksu, 'Janissary coffee houses in late eighteenth-century Istanbul', in Sajdi (ed.), *Ottoman tulips, Ottoman coffee*, 117-32; R.W. Olson 'The esnaf and the Patrona Halil rebellion of 1730. A realignment in Ottoman politics?', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17 (1974) 329-44; R.W. Olson, *The siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian relations 1718-1743*, Bloomington IN, 1975; R.W. Olson, 'Jews, Janissaries, esnaf and the revolt of 1740 in Istanbul. Social upheaval and political realignment in the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20 (1977) 185-207.

[34] See R.A. Leo, 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb', in *CMR* 12, 214-20.

[35] D. Commins, *The Wahhabi mission and Saudi Arabia*, London, 2009, p. 3; Cf. W. Ochsenwald, 'Ottoman Arabia and the holy Hijaz, 1516-1918', *Journal of Global Initiatives. Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective* 10 (2016) Article 3; https://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/jgi/vol10/iss1/3.

For Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Arabia under the protection of the Ottomans was not purely Islamic because of the 'un-Islamic' Sufi shrines. In his view, the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina and the Islam of the Ottomans were corrupt and had to be purified, even by the use of raids and violence.

By the 1780s and 1790s, Saʿūdī rule expanded over al-Hasa and Ḥijāz. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb died in 1792, leaving behind an enormous mark on many fundamentalist trends in Islam. His legacy made a major contribution to the expansion of the Saʿūdī State in the following centuries.[36] He and his followers denied the legitimacy of Ottoman rule, which had to be replaced with their own reformed Islamic regime. By the late 18th century, the Ottoman sultans increasingly articulated their role as caliph and protector of Muslims everywhere.[37] Besides Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's movement, the 18thcentury had known other Muslim revivalist religious figures who started to rethink Islamic ideas within the realms of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd*.[38]

Traders and missionaries

Italian, French, Dutch and English merchants had already been active in the Levant in the 16thcentury. Before the end of the 17th century, 'the French and English had eclipsed all others, and the rivalry of these two for markets constitutes the main part of the history of Turkey's commercial relations by sea with Europe for the next hundred years'.[39] However, the French managed to maintain their trade with the Ottoman Empire, which rapidly grew in the second and third quarters of the 18th century.[40] Other factors for the success of French trade were at play, especially the superiority and cheapness of cloth they sold in the Levant. This all

---

[36] A. Vassiliev, *The history of Saudi Arabia*, New York, 2013, p. 147.

[37] D. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 51.

[38] R. Peters, '*Idjtihād* and *taqlīd* in 18th and 19th century Islam', *Die Welt des Islams* 20 (1980) 131-45. Cf. Kh. El-Rouayheb, 'Was there a revival of logical studies in eighteenth-century Egypt?', *Die Welt des Islams* 45 (2005) 1-19; M. Hiskett, 'An Islamic tradition of reform in the western Sudan from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century', *BSOAS* 25 (1962) 577-96.

[39] R. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square. English traders in the Levant in the eighteenth century*, London, 1967, pp. 26-7. See also C.M. Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant. Trade and perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century*, London, 2010.

[40] Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p 28.

enabled the French to increase their sales, taking the lion's share of the Levant market.[41]

As French merchants in Istanbul increased in number, they considered themselves a 'nation' along the lines of the Ottoman *millets*, despite the non-recognition of the Ottoman authorities. They introduced an assembly with elected officers, and made their own rules for settling disputes between its members. This non-official body continued to be important 'throughout the eighteenth century and began to challenge the authority of the Marseille Chamber of Commerce for actual control of French economic affairs in Ottoman lands'.[42]

The French played an instrumental role in bringing the Austro-Turkish war to an end in 1739. In turn, Sultan Mahmud I's government rewarded them in 1740 by a renewal of their Capitulations in the Ottoman territories. These rights included the right of the French to protect Catholic pilgrims to the Holy Land, and for all Catholic bishops and religious, regardless of national origin, to be represented by the French ambassador.[43]

Within the framework of Ottoman political and trade agreements with European powers, especially with France, Catholic missionaries appeared in numbers with the aim of persuading many Christians of the Islamic world to change their denomination, and probably their political allegiances as well.[44] In the 18th century, only a few Protestant Christians came to the Ottoman Empire, mainly the first Protestant Moravian missionaries, who were active in Constantinople (1740), Romania (1740), Persia (1747-50) and Egypt (1768-73).[45]

Catholic missions functioned on a larger scale in the 18th century. As new Catholic churches and communities were coming into being in the Ottoman Empire, the Greek and Armenian patriarchs in Istanbul reacted by requesting the Ottoman authorities to introduce more centralisation of authority by means of the establishment of the Armenian and Greek Orthodox *millet*s under 'the sultan's writ'.[46]

---

41 Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 30.

42 C.A. Frazee, *Catholics and sultans. The church and the Ottoman Empire (1453-1923)*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 154.

43 Frazee, *Catholics and sultans,* p. 155.

44 Sharkey, *History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, p. 95.

45 L.L. Vander Werff, *Christian mission to Muslims. The Record: Anglican and Reformed approaches in India and the Near East, 1800-1938*, South Pasadena CA, 1977, p. 100.

46 B. Masters, 'Christians in a changing world', in S.N. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Turkey*, vol. 3. *The later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 272-82, as quoted in Sharkey, *History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, p. 98.

Pope Benedict XIV (r. 1740-58) renewed special interest in the affairs of Latin and Eastern Catholic Churches in the Ottoman Empire.[47] As for Catholic life in Istanbul, a missionary wrote to his sister that 'even in the heart of Constantinople, Catholics make solemn processions as peacefully and freely as in the centre of Paris'.[48]

The French Revolution and the period of Napoleon's rise to power was a testing time for Catholics in the Ottoman Empire, since they had to position themselves in relation to the French ambassador as their protector. After the revolution, the French National Assembly had anti-religious sentiments, but the governments were keen on keeping the missions intact because they considered the religious orders to be representing France in the Orient. The same held true for Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, which caused more confusion regarding the Ottomans, especially those who had relied on Ottoman-French friendship.[49]

The French occupation of Egypt

Before the turn of the 19th century, Napoleon Bonaparte launched a military campaign in the Ottoman territories of Egypt and Syria under the pretext of protecting French trade and weakening the British power in the region. Egypt was formally part of the Ottoman Empire, but in reality the Mamlūk military ruled the country. On 19 May 1798, the then 28-year-old Napoleon Bonaparte set sail with a massive French fleet of 400 ships transporting 36,000 men from Toulon harbour. It appeared off the coast of Alexandria on 28 June.[50] The military campaign was accompanied by a team of scientists and artists, whose primary aim was to introduce modern sciences and technology to the new colony. This short-term campaign (1798-1801) was one of the most influential encounters between two civilisations in the late 18th and early 19th century, even though Egypt was by no means one of France's most strategic trade partners. Bonaparte's invasion was driven by imperialist, expansionist and cultural motives.[51]

---

47 Frazee, *Catholics and sultans,* p. 158.
48 Frazee, *Catholics and sultans*, pp. 159-60.
49 Frazee, *Catholics and sultans*, p. 164.
50 *Napoleon in Egypt. Al-Jabarti's chronicle of the French occupation, 1798,* intro. R.L. Tignor, trans. Shmuel Moreh, expanded ed. in honour of al-Jabarti's 250th birthday, Brill, 1975.
51 *Napoleon in Egypt*, pp. 7-8

In Egypt, Napoleon was pragmatic in dealing with religious affairs. He tried to win over the Muslims by claiming to be sympathetic to Islam, while he also sought good terms with the Coptic leader Jirjis al-Jawharī (d. 1810) by promising to improve his people's life if they supported the French. On an individual basis, a few Copts and Melkites joined the French army, 'and a Coptic general recruited an all-Christian army of two thousand men to join the invaders'.[52]

Conclusion

The 18th century was the last period before the increase of direct intervention by European powers in the Islamic world. By the end of the century, and especially after the French occupation of Egypt in 1798, Muslim intellectuals started actively to witness the 'marvels' of Western technological inventions, while they seriously debated the penetration and imposition of European ideas on their cultures and religions. In the following century, however, colonial Europe started to gain more pervasive power over Muslims, which meant the gradual vanishing of the attitude of self-sufficiency and the growing perception of Europeans as the 'external enemy'.[53]

---

[52] Frazee, *Catholics and sultans*, p. 219.

[53] R. Irwin (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, vol. 4. *Islamic cultures and societies to the end of the eighteenth century*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 16.

Ottoman and Arab influences on Melkite art in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries

Charbel Nassif

In the 17th century, the Melkite Patriarchate of Antioch, a church of the Byzantine rite whose territory covers mainly Syria and Lebanon, experienced an artistic revival in Aleppo and Jerusalem that lasted until the second half of the 19th century. The reforming spirit of this revival, which paralleled the Melkite literary revival, was mainly due to the efforts of two metropolitans of Aleppo, Malātyūs Karma (r. 1612-34) and Malātyūs al-Zaʿīm (r. 1635-47), who later became patriarchs of Antioch under the names Aftīmyūs II Karma (1634-5) and Makāryūs III al-Zaʿīm (1647-72).

From 1516, Syria and Lebanon came under Ottoman domination. The Ottoman Empire covered an area that in the 17th century encompassed Asia Minor, Eastern Europe and the Middle East. The coexistence of several cultural groups within it allowed exchanges between its different populations, while each religion kept its own characteristics. Thus, traces of both Ottoman and Arab influences[1] are found in Melkite art.[2] The aim of this essay is to highlight these as they appeared in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

---

* I am thankful to Ms Ioanna Rapti (École Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris) for her suggestions to improve this essay, and to Ms Grace Shalhoub for her review of the language.

[1] It is often difficult to distinguish between Arab and Ottoman influences. In this essay, we apply the term 'Arab influence' to stylistic and ornamental characteristics of Melkite art that can be described as having local Muslim origins.

[2] In 1969, Virgil Cândea used the expression 'Melkite icons' to designate the iconographic production by Arab Christians of the Byzantine rite in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem from the 17th to the 19th century. After the 1724 schism within the Melkite patriarchate of Antioch, the term 'Melkite' was applied only to the Catholic branch. Melkite iconographic production was therefore prior to the schism and the painters worked for both churches after 1724, hence the reluctance of some scholars to use this designation. They prefer to use the adjective Arab or Antiochian, or to refer to icons of Aleppo or icons of Jerusalem, since these two cities were the most important artistic centres. However, this term remains the most current, and will be used in this essay (cf. P. Piguet, 'Les riches heures des icônes melkites. Entretien avec Virgil Cândea', *L'Œil* 451 (1993) 30-7, 68-72; E. Zayat, 'Anṭākiyyat al-īqūna', in *Tārīkh baṭriyarkiyyat Anṭākiyya li-l-Rūm al-Urthūduks, ayya khuṣūṣiyya?*, Koura: Publications de l'Université de Balamand, 1999, 257-70; N. Hélou, *L'icône dans le patriarcat orthodoxe d'Antioche (VIe-XIXe siècles)*, Mansourié, 2007, p. 33.

Syria played a prominent role in the development of Byzantine Christian iconography.[3] In some churches of Syria and northern Lebanon, frescoes dating to between the 11th and the 13th centuries[4] are still conserved. N. Hélou's research has confirmed the existence of a Syro-Lebanese school of iconography in the county of Tripoli in the 13th century, to which belongs the well-known bilateral icon representing the Mother of God and the Baptism of Christ in the Orthodox Monastery of Our Lady, Kaftoun. Works from this school generally feature an absence of depth and volume in figures, flattened treatment and schematism of details, simplicity of drapery interpretation, hieraticism, frontality and stiffness of pose, and characteristic forms of eyes, nose, ears and mouth.[5]

In contrast to this, from the Ottoman period there is the remarkable survival of a work of art commissioned by a Christian that shows anything but a local or even distinctively religious style. On the contrary, it shows full awareness of the religious and political reality in which its owner lived. This is the Aleppo Room, the oldest surviving example of Syrian interior decor from the Ottoman period. Dating from the earliest years of the 17th century,[6] it was commissioned by a Christian merchant, ʿĪsā ibn Buṭrus, who evidently thought that anything too unambiguously Christian would not be suitable. It consists of the wooden interior of a T-shaped reception hall painted with such subjects as the Last Supper, the sacrifice of Isaac, St George, and the Virgin Mary and infant Jesus, all executed in the style of Islamic miniature painting, and bearing no relation to the conventions of Byzantine iconography or contemporary Christian art. In addition, there are traditional Islamic hunting scenes and scenes that are clearly Muslim, such as the lovers Layla and Majnūn and a seated shaykh with a Qur'an, as well as wrestlers, jesters and tricksters, and a wealth of real and imaginary animals and birds (Ill. 1).

---

[3] G. de Jerphanion, 'Le rôle de la Syrie et de l'Asie Mineure dans la formation de l'iconographie chrétienne', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 8 (1922) 331-83; C. Mango, *Architecture byzantine*, Paris, 1993; I. Pena, *The Christian art of Byzantine Syria*, London, 1997.

[4] M. Immerzeel, *Identity puzzles. Medieval Christian art in Syria and Lebanon*, Leuven, 2009; E. Dodd, *Medieval painting in the Lebanon,* Wiesbaden, 2004.

[5] N. Hélou, 'A propos d'une école syro-libanaise d'icônes au XIIIe siècle', *Eastern Christian Art* 3 (2006) 53-72; N. Hélou, 'L'icône bilatérale de la Vierge de Kaftoun au Liban. Une œuvre d'art syro-byzantin à l'époque des croisés', *Chronos* 7 (2003) 101-31; N. Hélou, 'Encore sur l'icône de Kaftoun. Rapport préliminaire sur le décor singulier de son encadrement', *Chronos* 24 (2011) 181-207.

[6] Its date is given twice in an inscription as 1600/1601 and 1603. It is currently kept at the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin.



Illustration 1. Hunting and Christian Scenes, Aleppo Room, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin. The left-hand panel depicts courtly scenes, including a king sitting on a throne, and the right-hand panel biblical themes, including Salome's dance before Herod, the Last Supper, and the sacrifice of Isaac

All the human representations are set within magnificent Ottoman-style ornamentation of elaborate scroll devices, cartouches, geometrical strapwork and naturalistic floral designs. On the cornice and on panels above the doors are Arabic inscriptions containing good wishes to the owner, a prayer and biblical texts, and scattered all around the room are no fewer than 120 proverbs in both Arabic (often faulty) and Persian.[7] For Bernard Heyberger, these inscriptions are evidence for the integration of Christians within Muslim society at this time, a view confirmed by the lack of any references in them to pointedly Christian beliefs that would offend Muslims, as well as the absence in the paintings of distinctively Christian scenes such as the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, which could have displeased Muslim visitors to the house.[8]

Melkite art

Among the first painters in the revival of Melkite art is Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir. Active between 1641[9] and 1658, he was a disciple of Malātyūs Karma, metropolitan of Aleppo, and a collaborator with Patriarch Makāryūs III al-Zaʿīm. He was a translator, a copyist, a miniaturist and a painter of icons.[10] He passed on his technical knowledge to his son Niʿmat, who in turn handed it on to his son Ḥanāniyā, who taught it to his son Girgis, who worked into the latter part of the 18th century. Other independent painters also active in the 18th century included Shukrallāh ibn Yuwākīm, Kīrullus al-Dimashqī and Mīkhāʾīl al-Dimashqī. A second school of icon painting was active in Jerusalem in the 19th century; at least seven painters whose icons can be found in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine are known.[11]

---

[7] C. Ott, 'Die Inschriften des Aleppo-Zimmers im Berliner Pergamonmuseum', *Le Muséon* 109 (1996) 185-226.

[8] J. Gonnella and J. Kröger (eds), *Angels, peonies and fabulous creatures. The Aleppo Room in Berlin, International Symposium of the Museum für Islamische Kunst 12-14 April 2002*, Münster, 2008.

[9] The earliest dated Melkite icon dates to 1637. It represents the forty martyrs; V. Cândea (ed.), *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes, collection Abou Adal*, Geneva, 1993, p. 188.

[10] C. Nassif, 'L'œuvre du peintre alépin Youssef al-Musawwer, contribution à l'essor de la peinture religieuse melkite au XVIIe siècle', Paris, 2017 (PhD Diss. Université Paris-Sorbonne).

[11] Mīkhāʾīl Mhanna l-Qudsī, Yūḥanna Ṣalība l-Qudsī, Ṣalība Yūḥanna l-Qudsī, Niqūla-Theodoros al-Qudsī, Girgis al-Qudsī, Yaʿqūb al-Baramkī, and Isḥāq Niqūla l-Urashalīmī.

Illuminated manuscripts

The work entitled *Al-durr al-manẓūm*, preserved in MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – C 358, testifies to the coexistence of Ottoman and post-Byzantine iconographic traditions in the same city. It is an Arabic translation of Matthew Kigalas's *Nea synopsis diaphorōn historiōn* (1637) made by Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir in Aleppo around 1648. It covers the history of the Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great (r. 306-37) to the fall of Constantinople (1453), and the history of the early Ottoman sultans down to Murad IV (r. 1623-40). It is decorated with 80 miniatures of Byzantine emperors and 14 miniatures of Ottoman sultans. The nine other miniatures in the translation[12] were most probably made by another Ottoman painter, or a local painter working in the Ottoman style.

It would appear that Yūsuf based his representation of the sultans on contemporary depictions. Thus, their garments bear many similarities to those in Turkish miniatures and portraits, down to the fur on their caftans and the various styles of egret plumes on their turbans. Selim I (fol. 188r) is represented with a bald head and a long moustache, exactly as on a bronze medal commemorating the conquest of Cairo in 1517 and a woodcut from 1535. The portraits of Murad II (fol. 171r), Bayezid II (fol. 184r), Süleyman I (fol. 192r), Murad III (fol. 197v) and Mustafa (fol. 198v) bear similarities to portraits in the collection made by Paolo Veronese in 1579 (Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich), the collection of portraits of Ottoman sultans in the Şemâ'ilnâme manuscript (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum – H 1563), and portraits in Francesco Sansovino's *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de'Turchi* (Venice, 1600), in which the turbans of Osman I and Orkhan closely resemble those in Yūsuf's history.[13] Some sultans are not depicted according to life, and for good reasons. First, Ahmed I was rarely represented during his reign. Thus, while two manuscripts of the early 17th century represent him as a beardless young man,[14] in MS C 358 he is bearded. Second, contemporary portraits of Sultan Mustafa were not made because his reign was so short (1617-18), and Yūsuf would have had to make up his portrait.[15]

---

[12] Fols 148v, 151r, 197v, 198r, 198v, 199r.

[13] S. Kangal, *The sultan's portrait. Picturing the House of Osman*, Istanbul, 2000, pp. 94, 154-5.

[14] MS Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland – 1888.88, fol. 11r; Istanbul, Universitesi Kutuphanesi – T. 9366, fol. 26r; see Kangal, *Sultan's portrait*, pp. 306-15.

[15] Kangal, *Sultan's portrait*, pp. 307-8, 316.

The last miniature (fol. 199r) represents Murad IV and the vizier Khosraw Pasha, the only vizier represented in this manuscript. He was a contemporary of Yūsuf, and in November 1631 he set up his winter quarters in Aleppo, so it is possible that Yūsuf made his portrait from life. It is similar in iconography and style to that of the vizier Sokollu Mohammed Pasha in a manuscript from the late 16th century and to another in a manuscript from 1620.[16]

What is surprising about *Al-durr al-manẓūm* is that many of the depictions of the Byzantine emperors contain elements similar to those in Ottoman portraiture. Thus, Isaac Comnenus (fol. 142r) holds a flower in his right hand, reminiscent of a portrait of Mehmed II (r. 1444-6, 1451-81) smelling a rose in MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum – Inv. H. 2153, fol. 1or (c. 1480), and MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum – Inv. H. 1563 (1579); it suggests strongly that Yūsuf borrowed this feature from the Ottoman tradition.[17] In addition, several emperors are depicted in damask pelisses fixed on the breast with a row of staples, as is often seen in representations of sultans: among them, the miniature of Marcian with eight open staples (fol. 53r) (Ill. 2), Michael IV the Paphlagonian (fol. 137r), Justinian II (fol. 84v), Constantine VI (fol. 99v), and Basil the Macedonian (fol. 118v).

These details show that references in MS C 358 to Ottoman miniature portraiture are clear, and that the Christian Yūsuf's dependence on Muslim models is unmistakable.

Manuscript decoration

The earliest Arabic texts with illuminations are copies of the Qur'an. In addition to architectural forms and abstract geometrical patterns such as circles, triangles, squares and lozenges, the vegetal world of flowers,[18] leaves and fruits, and their supporting branches and stems provided the illuminators with an inexhaustible repertoire.[19] This convention can also be seen in many copies of Christian scripture.

---

[16] MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library – 413, fol. 46r; MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum – H. 1124, fol. 54r; see Kangal, *Sultan's portrait*, pp. 106-17, 320-1.

[17] S. Carboni, *Venise et l'Orient*, Paris, 2006, pp. 296-7.

[18] I. Gerelyes, *Turkish flowers. Studies on Ottoman art in Hungary*, Budapest, 2005; İ. Birol, *Motifs in Turkish decorative arts*, Istanbul, 2007.

[19] F. Déroche, *Manuel de codicologie en manuscrit arabe*, Paris, 2000, pp. 251, 254, 266; O. Grabar, *L'ornement. Formes et fonctions dans l'art islamique*, Paris, 1996; M.I. Waley, 'Illumination and its functions in Islamic manuscripts', in F. Déroche (ed.), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient,* Paris, 1997, 87-112.



Illustration 2. Page from Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, *Al-durr al-manẓūm*, illustrating the Byzantine Emperor Marcian in a damask pelisse in a style often seen in representations of sultans

In the copy of the New Testament attributed to Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir (MS Koura, Balamand Monastery – 6 [499]), headpieces in the form of floral bands with cartouches appear above the portraits of the evangelists. In the copy of the New Testament dated 1674 from the collection of Antoine Maamari, Beirut, similar but more subtle headpieces precede the opening of each Gospel.[20] MS Rome, BAV – Sbath 65 (16th-17th century)[21] is a luxury work containing the Akathist Hymn (the 'standing' hymn to the Virgin) and the Psalter. Its first folio is adorned with gold bands against a

[20] S. Agémian, 'Ne'met al-Musawwir al-Halabī et l'évangile arménien d'Alep (n°46)', *Tempora* 16-17 (2005-6) 139-162, pp. 142-3. Cf. U. Derman, *Calligraphies ottomanes. Collection du musée Sakıp Sabancı Université Sabancı, Istanbul*, Paris, 2000, pp. 66-7, 74-5; J.M. Rogers, *Empire of the sultans. Ottoman art from the collection of Nasser D. Khalili*, Geneva, 1995, pp. 58-9, 61, 66, 68, 75; M. Bayani, *The decorated word. Qur'ans of the 17th to 19th centuries*, vol. 1, London, 1999, pp. 63, 71, 78, 85, 87, 95, 99.

[21] This manuscript has not been studied, except for a short description in P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1928, p. 46. Sbath dates it to the 16th century, though a 17th-century date also seems likely.

blue background made up of elegant interlaces and flowers, while several other folios are also adorned with arabesques.[22]

MS Joun, Monastery of St Saviour – 896 (1814), contains two splendid illuminations. The headpiece on the first folio, bordered with black, gold and orange frames, consists of interlacing purple and poppy red on a blue and gold background (Ill. 3). A gilded floral decoration also fills the outer margins of this folio, as well the beginning and end of each chapter and other features. On the final page, the index ends with an inverted triangle, with a rich floral decoration filling the spaces left vacant inside the writing frame.[23]



Illustration 3. Page from *Stimulum Cumpunctionis*, with decorated headpiece and gilded floral decorations in the outer margins

[22] Fols 19v, 26v, 36v, 48r, 59v, 70r, 83r, 94r, 104r, 114v, 126v, 141r, 152v, 163r, 173r, 184v, 194r, 205v, 215r, 227r, 235v, 237v.

[23] P. Roisse (ed.), *Manuscritos árabes del Líbano. Encuentro de culturas, religiones y saberes*, Beirut, 1963, pp. 243-4.

Alongside these imitations of Ottoman decoration, Christian symbols are sometimes understandably introduced into the headpieces. A diamond-shaped illumination surmounted by a cross with the inscription IC XC NIKA occupies the whole of MS Rome, BAV – Sbath 65, while in MS Rome, BAV – ar. 581, fol. 1v, a gold cross appears in the middle of the floral decoration that adorns the headpiece.

Calligraphy

The Ottomans brought calligraphy, the central and most venerated art of Islam, to almost unequalled perfection, and there is clear evidence that Christians borrowed from this distinctive Islamic tradition,[24] as is witnessed by two 19th-century manuscripts at the Monastery of Balamand. In MS Koura, Monastery of Balamand – 148, fol. 156v, a history of Barlaam and Josaphat, appear the words *Allāh ʿalā kull shay' qadīr* ('God is powerful over all things'), while in the more luxurious MS Koura, Monastery of Balamand – 196, p. 89, a copy of the Canons of the Church, these words are repeated 16 times sumptuously written in gold ink, and on p. 155 the words *Nāmūs al-Rabb bilā ʿayb, yaruddu l-nufūs, murshidan li-l-istiqāma* ('The law of the Lord is without blemish, converts souls and is a guide to righteousness') occupies a full page in a mirror effect.[25] Other Christian manuscripts provide many similar examples.

Stylistic and iconographic influences

Ottoman influence is also evident in the iconography and style of miniatures. In MS Sarba, Basilian Aleppian Order – 953 (1646), another telling of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat produced in Aleppo in 1646, in fols 1v, 15v, 20r, 77r, 96v, 115v, 128v, 136v, 165v and 166v, the influence of Ottoman miniatures can be seen in the stylised vegetal decoration and the shape of the crowns on many figures,[26] and especially in their clothes.[27] In another manuscript of Barlaam and Josaphat produced in

[24] U. Derman, *Letters in gold. Ottoman calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection, Istanbul*, New York, 1998, pp. 3-45.

[25] Roisse, *Manuscritos árabes del Líbano*, pp. 36, 42, 203.

[26] The crown of the tutor on fol. 15v, of Barlaam on fols 20r and 29r, and of Janissaries, riders and merchants on fols 56v, 96v, 165v.

[27] Fols 15v, 20r, 56v, 77r, 96v, 107v, 115v, 135v, 147r, 165v, 167r. In this manuscript, St John of Damascus is depicted cutting his *calamus* with a knife, an element used in other Greek manuscripts such as MS Athos, Dionysiou – 431, fol. 64v (1546) to evoke his Arab origin;

Aleppo in 1612 (conserved at the Monastery of Our Lady of the Annunciation at Zouk-Mikael, Lebanon), the miniatures, numbering 27 in total, are distinguished by a naive charm and a certain local influence, evident in the appearance of the figures and sometimes in the detail of costumes and architecture. The execution, particularly in the rendering of faces, is a distant reflection of Ottoman miniatures.[28]

Icons

Melkite icons of the 17th century resemble post-Byzantine prototypes so faithfully that it is difficult to distinguish them from earlier Greek works. However, from the beginning of the 18th century, Melkite painters stressed local features, especially the hard outlines of faces and eastern dress.[29]

On two icons of St George, the first from 1706 at the Maronite Archbishopric of Aleppo, and the second from 1717 at the Monastery St Michael in Zouk-Mikael, George fights with a scimitar, a weapon common throughout the Middle East from the early Ottoman period. In an icon of the Nativity of Mary from 1702 at the Monastery of St Saviour in Joun, Mary sleeps in a wooden rocking cradle whose two uprights are connected by a long, turned handle.[30] Furniture of this kind was still being made in Lebanon and Syria until the early 20th century. In another icon from 1719 in the Abou Adal collection, a similar cradle is represented, though without a handle.[31] In another icon made by Neʿmet Nasser al-Homsi, kept at the Greek Orthodox Church of St John of Damascus in Damascus, the saint is sitting on a seat made of Damascus woodwork.[32]

In an icon of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac[33] from the second half of the 18th century, now in the Monastery of St George, Dayr al-Shīr, Abraham

---

J. Leroy, 'Un nouveau manuscrit de Barlaam et Joasaph', *Syria* 32 (1955) 101-22; S. Pelekanidis, *The treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated manuscripts. Miniatures, headpieces, initial letters. 1. The Protaton and the Monasteries of Dionysiou, Koutloumousiou, Xeropotamou and Gregoriou*, Athens, 1974, fig. 166.

[28] S. Agémian, 'Deux manuscrits arabes chrétiens illustrés du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph', *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 33 (1992) 577-601.

[29] S. Agémian, 'Introduction à l'étude des icônes melkites', in V. Cândea (ed.), *Icônes melkites. Exposition organisée par le Musée Nicolas Sursock*, Beirut, 1969, p. 97.

[30] A.-M. de la Croix, *Icônes arabes mystères d'Orient*, Paris, 2006, p. 114; Cândea, *Icônes Sursock*, fig. 38.

[31] Cândea, *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes*, p. 243.

[32] M.H. Athanasiou and S.A. Khayata, *Encyclopedia of Syrian icons*, Damascus, 2002, p. 131.

[33] De la Croix, *Icônes arabes*, p. 146.

wears the clothing of a caliph and a *kūfiyya*. In an icon of the Archangel Michael painted by Girgis al-Muṣawwir in 1765, at the Melkite Archdiocese of Beirut, the rich man of Luke 12:18-21, who is being trampled underfoot by an archangel, is stretched out in the reclining pose of a sultan and also wears a *kūfiyya*. In an icon painted in 1761 by Parthenios, Bishop of Tripoli, depicting Elijah killing the prophets of Baal,[34] the prophets wear Ottoman turbans. In the Melkite icon of St Elian of Homs, a mortar and pestle are depicted as an indication of the saint's healing powers, in contrast to the Greek iconographic tradition, where the medicine box and spoon are symbols of a physician. In the icon of St Elian (19th century) from the Aimée Kettaneh Collection, a star and crescent, adopted as symbols of the Ottoman regime in the reign of Mustafa III (1757-74), are depicted on the saddle of the horse.[35]

In addition, the broad frames composed of wide alternate strips of red and green used by Niʿmat al-Muṣawwir and Ḥanāniyā al-Muṣawwir (among others) as borders on their icons[36] (Ill. 4) recall the cartouches on Ottoman carpets and the polygonal decoration of Ottoman book bindings. The backgrounds of some icons are also decorated with tendrils curving around florets, while curling leaves, lotus flowers, pomegranates, lilies, tulips and palms are scattered across the borders, halos and clothes of the saints.[37] On an icon of the Archangel Michael (first quarter of the 18th century) in the Abou Adal collection, the flowering foliage adorning the background and the archangel's nimbus, and the curling leaf shapes on his cuirass add to the richness of the icon.[38] On some icons of the 18th and 19th centuries, in addition to the red and green strips and the motifs in the background, mutli-lobed arches made of flowers or intertwined foliage appear above the saints[39] and decorate the frame.[40] Patterns such as these are borrowed from the kind of decoration that can be seen on Ottoman ceramics, textiles and painted woodwork.

---

[34] De la Croix, *Icônes arabes*, pp. 93, 107.

[35] V. Cândea, 'Une œuvre d'art melkite. L'icône de Saint-Elian de Homs', *Syria* 49 (1972) figures 2-5.

[36] Cândea, *Icônes Sursock*, fig. 34; De la Croix, *Icônes arabes*, pp. 79, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 95, 97, 98, 107, 111, 147, 148; Cândea, *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes*, pp. 241, 267.

[37] Agémian, 'L'étude des icônes melkites', p. 99

[38] Cândea, *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes*, p. 72.

[39] Cândea, *Icônes Sursock*, fig. 81; Cândea, *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes*, fig. 83; De la Croix, *Icônes arabes*, p. 185.

[40] De la Croix, *Icônes arabes,* pp. 183, 185; Cândea, *Icônes Sursock*, figs 87, 88; Cândea, *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes*, p. 283.



Illustration 4. Cyrillus al-Muṣawwir, *Icon of St Pachomius the Great*. The borders recall the cartouches on Ottoman carpets and the polygonal decoration of Ottoman book bindings

The inscriptions on Melkite icons are, of course, in Arabic. On icons from Aleppo after Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir,[41] the lower section bears the painter's name and the date of execution, and often the name of the donor and the church or monastery to which the icon was dedicated.[42] In addition to long dedications, hagiographical stories or even chronicles also appear.[43]

[41] Yūsuf signs his icons using the formula khayr ('by the hand'), like Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek painters.

[42] Cândea, *Icônes Sursock*, figs 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 34, etc.; De la Croix, *Icônes arabes*, pp. 73, 75, 85, 92, 93.

[43] Cândea, *Icônes Sursock*, figs 7, 47, 50; De la Croix, *Icônes arabes*, pp. 38, 129.

Icons from Jerusalem are distinguished by the youthful openness of the faces, which are more oval and have a softer expression than in Byzantine icons. The bodies are fuller and less well formed, the faces tinted and angular, eyebrows arched, eyes large and rounded, noses straight, beards thin, hair long and dark, legs thin and feet small.[44] They are characterised by large brush strokes and simplicity. These elements are stylistic features that testify to a local Arab influence.

Iconostases

Arab architectural styles also influenced features on iconostases in the 19th century. The iconostasis of St George al-Mina in Tripoli, Lebanon, is made of white marble, most probably imported from Carrara. It is composed of two series of icons. The upper row, comprising icons of the Apostles, is surmounted by a moulded cornice with a second wooden cornice above adorned with *muqarnas*, the typical Muslim form of stalactite vault that was developed during the 11th century in north-eastern Iran and also North Africa. With its honeycomb structure, it remained a favourite feature in palaces and mosques until modern times.[45] This iconostasis is made of sandstone and covered with marble and local stone slabs in alternating colours to form a sort of mosaic that is locally called *ablaq* ('piebald'), in the decorative style known as 'Syro-Mamlūk'. The *ablaq* style is also attested in the iconostases of the churches of our Lady of the Assumption in Latakia, our Lady of the Presentation in Hama, St George in Rahbe, St George in Balamand, St Elias in al-Manṣūriyya in the Matn District,[46] and St Saviour in Joun (Ill. 5).[47]

This essay has shown the extensive and continuous artistic exchange between Ottoman and Arab Muslims and Melkite Christians within the Ottoman Empire in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The appearance of features typical of Muslim artistic production should not be considered

---

[44] L. Hosri, 'Les icônes melkites de l›école de Jérusalem au XIXe siècle', *Parole de l'Orient* 27 (2002) 147-59.

[45] Y. Tabbaa, 'The Muqarnas dome. Its origin and meaning', *Muqarnas* 3 (1985) 61-74.

[46] G. Berbary, 'Les iconostases des églises Saint Georges d'el-Mina et de Tripoli. Un modèle antiochien', in M. Davie (ed.), *Un métissage de cultures. L'architecture sacrée du diocèse orthodoxe de Tripoli*, 1. *La plaine littorale et la montagne*, Koura, 2017, 283-325.

[47] Muqarnas adorn many 13th century churches in Anatolia; see A. Ghazarian and R. Ousterhout, 'A muqarnas drawing from thirteenth-century Armenia and the use of architectural drawings during the Middle Ages', *Muqarnas* 18 (2001) 141-54; A. Kazaryan, 'The architecture of Hoṙomos Monastery', in E. Vardanyan (ed.), *Hoṙomos Monastery. Art and history*, Paris, 2015, 55-206.



Illustration 5. Girgis Mushaqa, Iconostasis of the Monastery of St Saviour, which demonstrates the Syro-Mamlūk decorative style, in which alternating sandstone, marble, and local stone form the pattern called *ablaq*

a penetration of alien elements into Arab Christian art, but the natural and inevitable consequence of shared living. Whatever their disagreements over matters of faith, Christians and Muslims lived in a common culture, and the appearance of artistic elements from one faith in works of the other was inevitable.

Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds

Ines Aščerić-Todd

By definition, guilds are organisations intended to provide a support network and protect the common interests of their members, craftsmen, traders, or members of a certain profession generally. Ottoman guilds were no exception.

Although in the past there have been attempts to characterise the Ottoman craftsmen's organisations as 'non-guild-like' in comparison with their Western European counterparts,[1] such views have been found unjustified and it is now generally accepted that Ottoman guilds functioned as professional guild associations and fitted this definition by fulfilling two main criteria: firstly, they had elected guild officials, who represented guild members and were in charge of guild administration, and secondly, even in the early periods of craft organisation in the Ottoman Empire, namely the late 15th and early 16th centuries, before formal guild officials and administration were much in evidence, craftsmen's representatives petitioned the government through the *kadi* courts on behalf of the practitioners of their craft in order to protect, extend or stand for the latters' interests.[2] Evidence to this effect has been found

[1] The most prominent representative of this trend was the Israeli historian Gabriel Baer who, in a number of works in the 1960s and 1970s, argued that Ottoman guilds did not exist to defend the interests of their members but were simply a governmental tool for controlling the craftsmen. Examples of his works promoting this view include 'The administrative, economic and social functions of Turkish guilds', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (1970) 28-50, and 'Monopolies and restrictive practices of Turkish guilds', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13 (1970) 145-65. Baer himself, however, significantly modified his views towards the end of his life, acknowledging this change of mind in an article published just before his death, 'Ottoman guilds. A reassessment', in H. Inalcık and O. Okyar (eds), *Türkiye'nin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihi (1071-1920), Social and economic history of Turkey (1071-1920)*, Ankara, 1980, 95-102, cited in S. Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire. Crafts and craftspeople under the Ottomans*, London, 2009, pp. 7-8, 10. All these studies, and some others, were conveniently republished in one collection: G. Baer, *Fellah and townsman in the Middle East. Studies in social history*, London, 1982.

[2] Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire*, pp. 31-4; D. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 135. For more on this issue see I. Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia. Sufi dimensions to the formation of Bosnian Muslim society*, Leiden, 2015, ch. 8, pp. 136-42.

by all significant studies of guilds in Ottoman cities across the empire, ranging from Istanbul and Bursa, representing the Ottoman capital and its heartland of Anatolia, Aleppo and Jerusalem, among others, from the Arab provinces, to the province of Bosnia, with its capital Saray-Bosna (today's Sarajevo), representing Rumeli, or Ottoman Europe.[3]

As transpires from this evidence, the primary concerns of the guilds representing the craftsmen of these cities were to negotiate and set prices of both raw materials and finished products or services, to ensure quality control and control of production processes (in other words, to ensure products were made according to traditional procedures and to set standards), to establish fair and equitable treatment of both customers and fellow craftsmen, and to apply penalties for any misconduct or breach of regulations committed by the latter. Such regulations were varied, and ranged from simple to very elaborate and sophisticated, depending on the nature of the craft and the product in question. Examples of the former include how long a pair of shoes should last before they needed repairs, as recorded in a 16th-century Istanbul market inspector's edict,[4] or how much a woman's cloak (*ferace*) should cost, as evidenced by a record in 18th-century Sarajevo, of a tailor who was reported to have overcharged a customer, as a result of which the penalty of a temporary closure of his shop was applied by the administration of his guild.[5] A good example of the latter is a 17th-century regulation of the textile workers' guild in Aleppo concerning the quality of the blue bath wraps (*fūṭa*) they were producing: according to the regulation recorded in the Aleppo court registers the wraps were to measure exactly 'three *dhirā'*s less one quarter in length, and two *dhirā'*s less one quarter in width', and the measurements had to be taken after the cloth had been soaked in water and then dried. Whoever did not respect those exact regulations

[3] Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire*, pp. 31-4. See also S. Faroqhi, 'Crisis and change, 1590-1699', in H. Inalcık and D. Quataert (eds), *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Cambridge, 1994, 411-636; Eunjeong Yi, *Guild dynamics in seventeenth-century Istanbul. Fluidity and leverage*, Leiden, 2004; H. Gerber, *Economy and society in an Ottoman city. Bursa, 1600-1700*, Jerusalem, 1988; C. Wilkins, *Forging urban solidarities. Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700*, Leiden, 2010; A. Cohen, *The guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, Leiden, 2001; Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*; H. Kreševljaković, 'Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini (1463-1878)' [Guilds and crafts in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1463-1878)], in *Izabrana Djela 2* [Selected works 2], Sarajevo, 1991.

[4] Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire*, p. 38.

[5] Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, p. 116.

was punished with a fine or a more severe penalty by the *kadi* at the request of the head of the guild and other members.[6]

Thus, while they were there to protect the interests of their members, the guilds did discipline those among them whom they found guilty of breach of conduct, and if necessary even denounced them to the government, as transgression on the part of an individual member was seen as damaging to the common interests and the reputation of the craft and guild as a whole.

However, while displaying parallels with their Western European counterparts in terms of the nature and the purpose of their organisation, Ottoman guilds did differ in one crucial aspect, their religious diversity: while European guilds regularly banned from their membership Jews and even Christians of other denominations whom they considered heretical, Ottoman guilds (and, for that matter, Islamic guilds generally) were open to all non-Muslims.

The inter-confessionalism of Ottoman guilds is still a largely unexplored subject, due in part to the restricted nature of the evidence available on this aspect of their character. The evidence comes from a limited number of eye-witness observations, such as, most notably, those of the 17th century traveller and most famous observer of the Ottoman Empire, Evliya Çelebi (1611-c. 1682),[7] and occasional individual guild registers, very few of which have thus far been examined or even located, though mostly from court records of complaints or disputes that happened to involve non-Muslim craftsmen in some capacity. In most cases, the disputes were not specifically concerned with the fact that the craftsmen in question were not Muslim, but rather with some anomaly to an established practice, or some breach of rules of conduct or guild regulations. This proves that the guilds themselves did not consider their mixed religious membership an issue; indeed, there were no rules designed or written specifically for non-Muslims, and all guild regulations were applicable to all its members, regardless of their confessional affiliation.

Anecdotal though it may be in nature – inasmuch as our knowledge about non-Muslim craftsmen is usually limited to their involvement in a dispute or, occasionally, some other formal guild business ratified in

---

[6] A.-K. Rafeq, 'Craft organization, work ethics, and the strains of change in Ottoman Syria', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1991) 495-511, p. 506.

[7] Evliya's celebrated travelogue *Seyahatname* has been most recently edited and published in transcription in O.Ş. Gökyay et al. (eds), *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 numaralı yazmasının transkripsiyonu – dizini*, Istanbul, 1996-2007; see C. Finkel, 'Evliya Çelebi', in *CMR* 10, pp. 447-55.

the court registers – this evidence nevertheless paints a picture of Ottoman guilds as an economic and social structure conducive to religious integration, cooperation and tolerance, thus making them one of the best examples of the effective practical application of the Ottoman *millet* system.

For most Ottoman cities, evidence shows the existence of both mixed and religiously homogenous guilds, whether Muslim, Christian or Jewish. What this depended upon was, of course, the religious make-up of the society in question, as well as what crafts and trades were associated with particular religious groups or communities in those areas.

Thus, by the 18th century, Istanbul guilds of greengrocers, butchers, silk-carders, tassel-dealers, saddlers, boatmen, water-carriers and porters, among others, all had mixed non-Muslim and Muslim membership in various combinations, either Muslim and Christian (Greek or Armenian), such as the butchers, porters or water-carriers, Jewish and Christian, such as the fez tassel-dealers, or, in some cases, all three confessions together, as in the case of the boatmen's guild.[8] In Damascus, mixed guilds included those of the coppersmiths, carpenters, jewellers, scribes, calligraphers and entertainers,[9] while in Bursa, for instance, almost all guilds were mixed, including, rather surprisingly, given its religious character, the guild of the coffin makers.[10] In Sarajevo, the membership of the guilds fully reflected its multi-confessional society: the goldsmiths' guild, for instance, consisted of members of all four main confessions, Muslims, Jews, Catholics and Orthodox Christians, the blacksmiths were Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox, and the silk-carders were Muslim, Orthodox and Jewish.[11]

---

[8] Baer, 'Monopolies and restrictive practices', p. 159.

[9] H. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, vol. 1. *Islamic society in the eighteenth century*, pt. 1, London, 1950, p. 294, n. 2. The 'entertainers' guild is just one of a number of non-mainstream guilds that illustrate the tolerance typical of a medieval and early-modern Muslim urban society. Others included beggars', pickpockets/thieves', and even prostitutes' guilds, as recorded in Evliya Çelebi's description of Cairo, cited in T. Kuran, 'Islamic influences on the Ottoman guilds', in Kemal Çiçek (ed.), *The great Ottoman-Turkish civilisation*, vol. 2. *Economy and society*, Ankara, 2000, p. 44. See also Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 508. Indeed, prostitution was a very popular profession in some other cities, too, such as Aleppo in which a study of 300 years' worth of court records showed that 42 per cent of all cases of alleged fornication (*zina*), involved family businesses; H.J. Sharkey, *A history of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East*, Cambridge, 2017, p. 93.

[10] Kuran, 'Islamic influences', p. 45; Gerber, *Economy and society*, p. 58.

[11] Kreševljaković, 'Esnafi i obrti', p. 45.

At the same time, however, some crafts and therefore their guilds were the preserve of a particular religious or even ethnic community: in Istanbul, for example, fish cooking was exclusively in the hands of the Greek Orthodox,[12] while tin smelters, pearl merchants and parchment makers were all Jewish.[13] Likewise, the guild of gold and silver smelters in Aleppo was exclusively Jewish,[14] while the masons and sculptors' guild of Damascus was Christian.[15] Druggists and butchers, on the other hand, seem to have regularly formed one large guild with Muslim and Jewish subdivisions – at any rate, this was the case in Istanbul, Aleppo and Cairo.[16]

In the Greek city of Thessaloniki, which had always had a sizeable Jewish population, and which, thanks to the large waves of new Jewish immigrants from Spain and elsewhere in Europe in the 16th century, quickly became a majority Jewish city, thus acquiring the epithet 'the Jerusalem of the Balkans', the entire production of woollen textiles was in the hands of the Jewish population, whose monopoly on this craft was protected by the state: the Jewish producers had the priority purchasing rights of the raw material, and others were allowed to buy wool only after the needs of the Jewish craftsmen were met; in exchange for this concession, all finished products of woollen cloth producers of Thessaloniki were reserved for sale in Istanbul.[17]

The ethnic and religious make-up of the guilds was not fixed; rather it was fluid and changed with time and circumstances. While some guilds started off as mixed, with time they became homogenised, as in the case of the furriers in Sarajevo, for instance: in the 16th century there were both Muslims and Christians who engaged in this craft, while by the 18th century the Muslims had stopped practising it and the guild became exclusively Christian, mostly Orthodox.[18] Also in the 18th century, the Christian members of the velvet and brocade dealers' guild in Istanbul applied for the creation of a separate guild for themselves.[19] The reverse was also true: the leather and oil merchants in Istanbul

[12] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 255, cited in Kuran, 'Islamic influences', p. 45.
[13] Baer, 'Monopolies and restrictive practices', p. 157.
[14] Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 508.
[15] Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society*, p. 294, n. 2.
[16] Kuran, 'Islamic influences', p. 45; Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 501.
[17] N. Todorov, *The Balkan city, 1400-1900*, Seattle WA, 1983, p. 192.
[18] Kreševljaković, 'Esnafi i obrti', p. 45.
[19] Baer, 'Monopolies and restrictive practices', p. 156.

were initially all Muslims, but, with time, non-Muslims started engaging in these trades, and by the 18th century these two guilds had become mixed.[20]

The guilds' internal structures allowed for and supported their mixed membership. While, as is to be expected, heads of guilds generally tended to be elected from among Muslims – even in non-Muslim majority guilds[21] – there are plenty of examples which show that the right of the majority membership of the guild was recognised and their representation in the guild administration was deemed appropriate and probably useful: in large guilds which were split into confessional sub-divisions, the latter were able to have their own deputy heads, as in the case of the druggists' guild in Aleppo, where the Jewish subdivision had its own Jewish deputy (*yığıt-başı*).[22] Likewise, the exclusively Jewish gold and silver smelters' guild had a Jewish head (*shaykh*).[23] In Sofia, the Christian horsehair weavers' guild elected their own non-Muslim head (*kethüda*), and so did the fur-cap makers of Ruse, another Bulgarian city.[24] When a democratic process of a majority vote was applied in practice, it allowed for situations in which a non-Muslim could be elected as the head of a mixed membership guild, as in the example of the skullcap traders' guild in Istanbul, which up until 1657 had a non-Muslim administration, and whose members were now asking for a re-election and appointment of Muslim members to these posts, since the guild membership had turned majority Muslim.[25]

---

[20] Baer, 'Monopolies and restrictive practices', p. 156. While this paper by Baer is very useful as it extracts from three different sources some pertinent information on the ethnic and religious make-up of Istanbul guilds for the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, it should be observed that, much as he has done elsewhere with the view that proposes a complete lack of autonomy on the part of Ottoman guilds (see n. 1 above), Baer here sets out to prove, and passionately argues, that the majority of Ottoman guilds were confined to one religious community; in other words, that segregated guilds were the norm, while mixed ones were the exception. However, he does not make a very convincing argument, and, as can be seen even here, the evidence he cites himself does not support his view at all.

[21] B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab world. The roots of sectarianism*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 33.

[22] Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 501.

[23] Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 508.

[24] Todorov, *The Balkan city*, p. 121.

[25] Ömer Düzbakar, 'Work and organization in the Ottoman Empire. Notes on the trade-guilds of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bursa', *Turkish Studies. International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 3 (2008) 414-53, p. 439.

As already mentioned, one of the guilds' primary concerns was to protect the interests of the individual craftsmen and of the guild as an economic and social unit. Guild regulations and established practice came first and foremost in the order of priority, regardless of one's religious affiliation. However, one could perhaps argue that it is the craftsmen of the religious minorities that may have been in greater need of protection precisely because of their minority status, as a court case against a group of Jewish physicians in Cairo illustrates: after being accused of incompetence by an unnamed group of Muslims, the physicians' guild stepped up and protected their members; the head of the guild, who was Muslim, and another Muslim member were brought to court as witnesses and vouched for the Jewish physicians' competence and skill as healers, procuring as a result a fatwa protecting the latters' rights to practise.[26] The protection of the rights of religious minorities within the guilds took a variety of forms: the Jewish sub-division of the butchers' guild in Aleppo, for instance, was given a special dispensation by the *shaykh* of the guild to sell their meat at prices higher than those allowed to Muslim butchers in order to support the poor within the Jewish community there;[27] also in Aleppo, in order to protect the rights of its Christian members, the Muslim/Christian mixed guild of cloth-bleachers made sure they recorded in the *kadi* register the regulation which stipulated equal division of raw materials between the guild's members, regardless of the religious community to which they belonged.[28] Finally, two 'smallware-dealers' guilds in Istanbul, one exclusively Muslim and the other Jewish, provide an example of intra-guild cooperation and support: the Muslim guild advocated in court for the Jewish guild's rights – which had presumably somehow been put into question – to sell European-made glass products.[29]

Just as it was useful for the smooth functioning of the guild system to ensure that religious minorities were properly represented in the guild administration and their views taken into account, so the protection of the rights of non-Muslim members was extended not always purely for the sake of the craftsmen themselves, but rather, in some such cases, it is obvious that the interests of the guild and the protection of the craft were probably the priority. Thus, when some Jewish silk traders of Bursa

[26] S. Sayed Gadelrab, 'Medical healers in Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1805', *Medical History* 54 (2010) 365-86, pp. 377-8.
[27] Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 500.
[28] Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 508.
[29] Sharkey, *History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, p. 93.

made a complaint to the *kadi* against one of their own members, also Jewish, who had apparently breached the rules of trade and had been selling unprocessed silk in secret, they asked for the appointment of a Jewish market supervisor, whom they obviously thought capable of dealing with this problem. Their request was granted and a Jewish supervisor was appointed, clearly because the *kadi* thought this to be in the interest of the efficient running of this trade and possibly the market itself.[30]

The religious character of Ottoman guilds has been a matter of debate for a long time. Even though the guilds' relationship with and their evolution from the 14th-century religious fraternities of Akhis, from Anatolia, has been acknowledged from the very beginning of academic engagement with the subject,[31] many scholars have nevertheless maintained that Ottoman guilds very quickly lost the religious attributes they had inherited from the Akhis, and became purely secular, socio-economic organisations. However, this view, which was at its most popular in the 1970s,[32] has since encountered considerable criticism, and has been shown to be unjustified. For while it is true that the guilds did not impose Islam as a condition of their membership or for engaging in a particular craft, and their established practices and regulations emphasised morality, noble conduct and mutual respect and cooperation – all of which could be considered as generally desirable traits found in any culture or religious tradition – it has also been shown that *futuwwa* – the Islamic code of noble conduct and chivalry associated with Sufism and with the Ottoman guilds' predecessors, the Akhis, – survived in the later periods of the guilds' existence in the form of *futuwwa* guild statutes, which outlined guild regulations and informed ceremonies and rituals, the most important of which were a novice's initiation into a craft and the graduation of a novice or a journeyman at the end of their training.[33] Both

---

[30] Düzbakar, 'Work and organization', p. 434.

[31] One early work that deals with the topic is Bernard Lewis' article 'The Islamic guilds', *The Economic History Review* 8 (1937) 20-37, which he concludes by saying: 'Unlike the European, the Islamic guild was never a purely professional organisation.... [The guilds] have always had a deep-rooted ideology, a moral and ethical code, which was taught to all novices at the same time as the craft itself' (p. 37). See also Franz Taeschner's articles 'Akhī', 'Akhī Baba', and 'Akhī Ewrān' in *EI2*.

[32] An early and particularly fervent champion of this view was, once again, Gabriel Baer; see, for instance, Baer, 'Administrative, economic and social functions'. For a much more recent expression of support for this stance, see A.Y. Ocak, art. 'Ahi', in *EI3*. For more details on the nature of the debate, see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, ch. 4, pp. 83-92.

[33] Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, chs 5 and 6, pp. 93-125. See also Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire*, pp. 27-30.

of these ceremonies included the *futuwwa* ritual of 'the girding of the belt' – which symbolised the spiritual bond between the craftsman and his craft master, as well as the craft's patron saint and protector – and some guild procedures also mirrored practices of Sufi orders – which, as part of their Akhi heritage, many guilds were associated with – such as, for instance, the practice of a trial/initiation period for a novice,[34] or that of cutting the latter's hair at the start of their apprenticeship.[35] With very minor variations, these rituals were performed by the guilds throughout the Ottoman Empire, whether Istanbul, Bursa, the Arab provinces, or the Balkans.[36]

This being the case, one question that inevitably presents itself is how the guilds reconciled their nourishing of this Islamic tradition and associated rituals with their multi-confessional membership. According to some, this was possible because the guild ceremonies had evolved from their earlier Akhi versions into purely symbolic ones, and had no overtly religious content.[37] This would indeed constitute a plausible explanation – and may well have been the case in some places, such as Bulgaria, to which this suggestion relates, and which had a large proportion of non-Muslim craftsmen and guild members – if there were not, at the same time, numerous examples of guild ceremonies which, apart from the girding ritual, advice on honourable business and personal conduct, and various pledges to the masters of the guild, also included prayers and religious invocations.[38] Moreover, although the initiation and graduation ceremonies were most commonly held at guild outings in some prominent picnic spot in the city or on its outskirts, these locations were often linked to Sufi lodges, so that the ceremonies themselves were sometimes held in the lodge or its gardens, and some even inside mosques.[39]

---

[34] Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, pp. 97-8.

[35] Düzbakar, 'Work and organization', p. 442.

[36] Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, pp. 117-25. See also Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society*, pp. 293-4; Düzbakar, 'Work and organization', pp. 440-3; and I. Aščerić-Todd, 'The noble traders. The Islamic tradition of "spiritual chivalry" (*futuwwa*) in Bosnian trade-guilds (16th-19th century)', *The Muslim World* 97 (2007) 159-73.

[37] Todorov, *The Balkan city*, p. 115.

[38] Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, pp. 117-25; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society*, pp. 293-4; N. Turna, 'Ottoman craft guilds and silk-weaving industry in Istanbul', Istanbul, 2001 (MA Diss. Boğaziçi University), pp. 36-7, cited in Düzbakar, 'Work and organization', p. 442.

[39] Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, pp. 119, 122-3; Düzbakar, 'Work and organization', p. 442. Presumably, this did not apply to any of the morally questionable professions mentioned here earlier (see n. 9).

However, just as they sometimes adjusted internal guild structures to accommodate mixed membership, Ottoman guilds also found ways to integrate non-Muslim members into their ceremonies, without the need for them to relinquish their spiritual loyalties. Thus, in Sarajevo, all guild members, regardless of their religious affiliation, went together to the guild outings (organised for the purposes of graduation of novices or journeyman), and separated only for the religious parts of the ceremonies. Both Christians and Jews replicated the main sections of the ceremony, including the master's advice to the new graduates (called *nasihat* even among non-Muslims), but replaced the religious invocations with their own.[40] Similarly, in Damascus all non-Muslim members of the guilds are known to have taken equal parts in guild initiation and graduation ceremonies, with only the religious supplications being adjusted and replaced with the Lord's Prayer in the case of the Christians, or a recitation of the Ten Commandments in the case of the Jewish craftsmen.[41] Furthermore, purely Christian guilds, or Christian members of a mixed guild, were allowed to venerate their own patron saints and use them as protectors of their guild in place of Muslim ones.[42]

In addition to protecting a craft and ensuring the smooth functioning of trade and markets, the religious tolerance within the Ottoman guild system, and the protections which the latter afforded to religious minorities, also had wider social effects. All guilds fulfilled social roles such as providing assistance to the poor in their community, and in Istanbul, for instance, Christian-only guilds regularly collected funds for and bought church icons, silverware and furniture, thus revitalising church life in the city.[43]

In some regions, the security guaranteed by the guilds to their non-Muslim members led to an increase in the non-Muslim proportion of the guild and artisan population, which in turn led to demographic changes in the area in general. In 17th-century Sofia, for example, the development of crafts and guilds occurred hand-in-hand with an increase in the Christian population of the city: the number of non-Muslim households

---

40 Kreševljaković, 'Esnafi i obrti', p. 67.

41 Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society*, p. 294; Kuran, 'Islamic influences', p. 45; Rafeq, 'Craft organization', p. 509. A lot of the information on guild ceremonies in Damascus comes from Ilyās 'Abduh Bek Qoudsi and his paper prepared for the Sixth Congress of Orientalists held in Leiden in 1883: 'Nubdha ta'rīkhiyya fī l-ḥiraf al-Dimashqiyya', in C. Landberg (ed.), *Actes du VIe congrès des orientalistes*, Leiden, 1885, vol. 2, 7-34.

42 Kreševljaković, 'Esnafi i obrti', p. 45.

43 Sharkey, *History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, p. 94.

in Sofia rose from 238 in the 16th century to 327 by 1645.[44] This was, in part, due to migration of Christian craftsmen into the city, encouraged by the opportunities and the protection this provided, as is illustrated by the following case: in 1611, a Christian tanner living in Sofia, who had been born in the village of a certain *zeamet*-holder, was accused of never paying the tax for the right to abandon his land when he had left his village some 20 years previously (when challenged about it, the tanner admitted his fault and duly paid what he owed).[45]

On the other hand, the open membership, together with the Islamic spiritual and religious dimensions preserved by the guilds, in some cases contributed to conversions to Islam among non-Muslim members of the guilds, changing the demographic the other way, namely, causing an increase in the Muslim population of a given area: in Sarajevo, the saddlers' and tanners' guilds were among the few whose membership, initially mixed, had very quickly become exclusively Muslim by the middle of the 16th century; this was not due to non-Muslims abandoning the guilds, but to conversions within the guild membership, as in both cases sources clearly show a considerable number of masters who were recent converts. At the same time, among all Sarajevo guilds, it was these two which displayed the strongest *futuwwa* characteristics in their organisation, traditions and practices, as well as having discernible links with several Sufi orders in the city.[46] Similarly, a study of Armenian craftsmen in Anatolia has found that the spiritual aspects of Ottoman guilds, and the *futuwwa* rituals practised by the guildsmen, led to a considerable number of conversions to Islam among that section of the Armenian population.[47]

Of course, inter-confessional relations within the guilds were not always without problems; we have already seen an example of a mixed

---

[44] Todorov, *The Balkan city*, p. 118.

[45] Todorov, *The Balkan city*, p. 118.

[46] Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, pp. 155-6. These differences in the effects that the inter-confessionalism within the guilds had in Bulgaria and Bosnia are no doubt partly due to the differences in local circumstances, chief among them being better church organisation and a larger Orthodox Christian population in Bulgaria, contrasted with a mix of Orthodox, Catholic and remnants of a separate Christian confession, the so-called 'Bosnian Church', and a weak or non-existent church organisation in other places, all of which contributed to the specific nature and scale of the Islamisation process in Bosnia. For more details on this subject, see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam*, Introduction, pp. 1-28.

[47] Y.S. Anasean, *Turk'akan futuvat'ə ew hayera* [The Turkish *futuwwa* and the Armenians], Vienna, 1985, pp. 98-113; cited in S.P. Cowe, 'Patterns of Armeno-Muslim interchange on the Armenian plateau in the interstice between Byzantine and Ottoman hegemony', in A.C.S. Peacock, B. de Nicola and S.N. Yildiz (eds), *Islam and Christianity in medieval Anatolia*, Abingdon, 2015, 77-105, p. 87, n. 64.

guild in which the Christian membership requested their separation from their Muslim fellow-craftsmen, albeit for reasons unknown to us.[48] There are some other examples, mostly relating to guild excursions and festivities, all of which, as already pointed out, were usually attended by Muslim and non-Muslim guild members side-by-side. Thus, 18th-century records in Istanbul show non-Muslim members of a number of mixed guilds requesting permission to hold their guild excursions separately, as their Muslim colleagues had apparently tried to make them bear the full cost of the excursions.[49] The silk-carders' guild experienced a similar problem at about the same time: its Christian membership refused to take part in their annual outing, claiming they had suffered bad treatment at an earlier picnic, though not specifying at whose hands.[50] One final case, which can, in fact, be taken as an argument either way, could be added here, an eye-witness account by the 18th-century chronicler Molla Mustafa Başeski of an excursion of Sarajevo bakers in 1776. The outing, known in Bosnia as *kuşanma* after the 'girding of the belt' ceremony performed at these occasions (*kuşanmak*, 'to tie'), consisted of some 50 individuals, and the Christian members of the guild led the procession with their masters riding at the front. Some Muslims who were present apparently disapproved of this arrangement and, after complaining to the head of the guild (*kethüda*), the Christian masters were taken off their horses and removed from the front of the procession. The Christian members of the guild were understandably upset, and they in turn complained at what they perceived as a public embarrassment, a complaint which, according to Başeski, was perfectly justified, and, in his view, the whole incident was caused by 'people who are considered wise, but are in fact lacking in both wisdom and reason'; he further observed that '[unfortunately] things like this were occasionally allowed to happen even in the capital'.[51] Although it illustrates lack of religious tolerance on the part of some members of the society, the first thing to note about this event is that, even though the head of the guild ordered the removal of the Christian guild members from the front of the procession, the request for this came from Muslims who were outsiders to the guild, and is therefore not necessarily evidence of any tensions within it. Furthermore, Başeski's strong condemnation of these actions shows that

[48] See n. 19.
[49] Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society*, p. 289.
[50] Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire*, p. 124.
[51] Cited in Kreševljaković, 'Esnafi i obrti', p. 64.

they were not common, and were generally not acceptable. What was acceptable, and, judging by this particular example, clearly not unusual, was for the Christian members of a mixed guild to take priority position in a guild excursion and even lead the procession.

The fact that these few examples of apparently strained relations within religiously mixed guilds all seem to come from the 18th century has been taken by some to mean that relations between Muslim and non-Muslim craftsmen suffered a decline in this period.[52] But in the absence of any further evidence to that effect, for the time being at any rate no firm conclusion can be made on this either way.

Overall, it seems reasonable to conclude that the religiously mixed Ottoman guild system was a success, as examples of problems arising purely from the craftsmen's religious affiliations are few and far between when compared with numerous examples demonstrating high degrees of cooperation and tolerance among guild members from different religious communities, as well as protection and professional and even personal security, which the guilds consistently offered to their non-Muslim members throughout their existence, right up until the dissolution of the guild system in the late 19th-early 20th century. This makes Ottoman guilds a perfect example of an Islamic institution in which the *dhimmī*/*millet* system worked in both theory and practice.

[52] Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society*, p. 289; Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire*, p. 147.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations

1700-1800

The Ottoman and Arab World

Buṭrus Ḍūmīṭ Makhlūf

Petrus Domitius

DATE OF BIRTH Probably mid 1620s
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Ghusṭā
DATE OF DEATH After 1707
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Buṭrus Ḍūmīṭ Makhlūf was probably born in Ghusṭā, in the region of Kisruwān, into a Maronite family in the mid-1620s (1627 according to Gemayel). He arrived at the Maronite College in Rome on 25 December 1638, with a group led by the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Corti. In 1650 he was appointed a teacher of Syriac at the college, as well as overseer of the edition-in-the-making of the *Fenqith* (Collection of liturgical feasts). He submitted the Latin translation of the winter section of the *Fenqith*, and returned to Mount Lebanon in 1651. He became a monk in Mār ʿAbdā monastery in Harharayā, then in Mār Shallīṭā Miqbis in Ghusṭā, where he was ordained priest. In 1668 he accompanied the parish priest Ilyās of Ghazīr to Rome to present the patriarch's congratulations to the new Pope Clement IX (r. 1667-9).

Returning to Mount Lebanon in 1670, he was appointed one of the secretaries of Patriarch Duwayhī. On 5 July 1674, the Patriarch ordained him bishop of the Maronites in Cyprus. The Maronite tradition of the time did not require the bishop to reside in Cyprus, but to make pastoral visits. Thus, Bishop Buṭrus visited six times during his episcopate, and also between 1679 and 1698 made several pastoral visits to the villages of Mount Lebanon.

On his way to Rome in 1679 to present the Patriarch's congratulations to the new Pope Innocent XI (r. 1676-89), Bishop Buṭrus was imprisoned by corsairs in Tripoli in Barbary. He was freed several months later, following the payment of a ransom, and arrived in Rome on 5 April 1680.

In 1695 Bishop Buṭrus was sent by Patriarch Duwayhī to Rome to report to the pope the situation of the Maronites and the persecutions they were suffering at the hands of the Ottoman authorities. He died shortly after in 1707.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Vatican, Apostolic Library – Vat. Syr. 410, fols 71rv, 75v (different MSS bound together, 17th/18th century)

Collegio dei Maroniti (Rome), *Compendiaria enarratio apparatus in honorem D. Ioannis Evangelistæ patroni Ecclesiæ et Collegii Maronitarum*, Rome, 1685, pp. 64-5

Isṭifānūs al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina*, ed. B. Fahd, Beirut, [s.d.], p. 559

Isṭifānūs al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina (1095-1699)*, ed. F. Taoutel, Beirut, 1951, p. 368

Isṭifānūs al-Duwayhī, *Kitāb al-iḥtijāj ʿan al-milla l-mārūniyya*, ed. F. Samarrānī, Jounieh, [s.d.], p. 374

Secondary

N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de ʿAyn Warqa (1789)*, Beirut, 1984, vol. 1, p. 105

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City, 1949-53, vol. 3, pp. 378-80

I. Ḥarfūsh, 'Talāmidhat al-madrasa l-rūmāniyya l-mārūniyya l-qadīma', *Al-Manāra* 6 (1935) 661-73, 733-45, 802-12, p. 740

B. Dīb, 'Asr al-muṭrān Buṭrus Makhlūf wa-l-talāmidha alladhīna kānū maʿahu', *Al-Manāra* 4 (1933) 696-702

B. Ghālib, 'Al-muṭrān Buṭrus Ḍūmīṭ Makhlūf', *Al-Mashriq* 22 (1924) 17-30, 100-14

L. Shaykhū, 'Athar jalīl li-l-baṭriyark Isṭifānūs al-Duwayhī. Tārīkh al-madrasa l-mārūniyya fī Rūmiya', *Al-Mashriq* 21 (1923) 209-16, 270-9, pp. 210, 276-7

B. Shiblī, *Tarjamat abīnā al-maghbūṭ Isṭifānūs Buṭrus al-Dūwayhī baṭriyark Anṭākiya 1630-1704*, Beirut, 1913, 1970², pp. 110-11

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Miftāḥ al-bīʾa, 'The key of the church'

DATE 1668-70

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is preserved in a single manuscript kept at the Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut (BO 944). It contains two treatises: that of the author (fols 1r-216r) and an incomplete alphabetical Syriac-Arabic (Garshūnī) dictionary, comprising a number of Syriac homonyms (fols 216v-289r). The manuscript (fol. 1r) indicates that Buṭrus wrote his treatise in Rome during his visit there in 1668-70, when he was sent by Patriarch Jirjis

al-Bisbʿilī (r. 1656-70) with the priest Ilyās of Ghazīr to present the patriarch's congratulations to Pope Clement IX (r. 1667-9) on his election. Entitled *Miftāḥ al-bīʾa* ('The key of the church'), the work explains the mysteries of the Christian faith.

The response to Islam takes up folios 159r-215r, and does not bear a specific title. In his *Fihris*, Paul Sbath names this work, of which he had found a copy in the possession of Dimitrī Qandalaft in Cairo, *Tafnīd al-Qurʾān* ('The refutation of the Qur'an'), though without saying whether this was the title in the manuscript he examined or his own invention. It is at present difficult to say whether Buṭrus's work really bore this rather offensive title.

The part criticising the Qur'an is presented as a Christian response to the detractions made by a Muslim against the Christian religion. The manuscript names this Muslim as Aḥmad *al-faqīh* and says he was Persian and that a response to his denigrations was published in Rome. He can be identified as Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-ʿAlavī (d. 1644), surnamed al-ʿĀmilī – that is to say originating from Jabal ʿĀmil in the southern part of modern-day Lebanon. He was very active at the Safavid court of Shah ʿAbbās (r. 1588-1629), and wrote in Persian a treatise entitled *Misqal-i ṣafā* ('The polisher of purity') in response to the Jesuit Jerome Xavier (d. 1617).

When a copy of the work arrived in Rome, Father Filippo Guadagnoli (d. 1656) set about responding in a book edited in Latin in Rome in 1631, then translated into Arabic in 1637, with a view to achieving a wide distribution in the Muslim world (for more on this, see Dennis Halft, 'Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī', in *CMR* 10, pp. 529-31, 536-43). Bishop Buṭrus Makhlūf made a very concise summary of it, which focuses on the first 12 chapters of Guadagnoli's Arabic text.

Desiring to refute the Muslim's remarks, Makhlūf concentrates in his summary on confirming the veracity of the books of the Bible: 'We write,' he says, 'several explanations to confirm, contrary to the claim of the Muslims, that the holy books – that is to say the Torah, the Psalms, the Gospels – are set down according to the will of God, from which they do not deviate, and that in their content and their meaning no word has been modified.' Thus, he argues that the Bible was not corrupted by the Jews and Christians. The Qur'an bears witness to this, for it alludes to the divine inspiration of the Bible and the role of the ancient prophets before Muḥammad, and consequently it invites Muslims to accept the books of the Bible. Furthermore, Muslims who criticise the Bible and who consider it contaminated go against the message of the Qur'an.

As for the contents of the Bible, as explained by the author, it contains for the community messages of virtue, truth and justice, unlike the Qur'an, which is rife with incoherences and disgusting things, leading Muslims into sin, treachery and indecency. The Bible is the law of tolerance, love and salvation, while the Qur'an is the law of the sword, lust and materialism. Christ kept his promises, for he saved the world, while the promises of Muḥammad were all deceitful.

The colophon of the treatise is unambiguous: '… let him who meditates on our books know that Islam is a corporal, sexual, sensual and human doctrine incorporating nothing of God, but which defies and contradicts the commandments of God and his holy doctrine. He has revealed to the entire world the way of life and salvation.'

Although this treatise of Buṭrus Makhlūf is not an original composition but a simple résumé of the work of Guadagnoli, it is obvious that Buṭrus shared Guadagnoli's opinion of Islam and its precepts. First, Muslims are described very negatively: they do not accept the Christian faith and books because they want to justify their sexual habits; they are 'idiots' (*ḥamqā*) because they have believed the false promises of Muḥammad along with the legends of miracles connected with him, such as his ascent to heaven.

Second, Muslims are in no way blessed because God is not with them. It is for this reason that their faith attempts to 'frighten others by the sword, to intimidate them and to threaten them with death'. As for the Qur'an, it is the law of fornication for it has inherited from idolatry and its sins the decadence of Zeus, the adultery and rape of Jupiter, the amorousness of Venus, the lasciviousness of Cupid, the depravity of Priapus, the prostitution of Flora and the debauchery of Bacchus.

SIGNIFICANCE

As a whole, this treatise is part of the Islamo-Christian controversies that gathered pace after the foundation of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. The Propaganda Fide financed numerous book projects of this kind so as to give missionaries better training in Arabic and a more adequate understanding of the Muslim religion and the contents of the Qur'an, to furnish them with appropriate arguments to pick out the contradictions and anomalies of the Qur'an and thus better to discredit the message and the messenger.

That said, it must be admitted that Guadagnoli's books were widely distributed in the Catholic world of the 17th century. In passing, it must not be forgotten that Guadagnoli was a member of the Chierici Regolari

Minori congregation (also called the Caracciolini) whose speciality was the study of Oriental languages. In this sense, he is rightly considered one of the Orientalists who contributed not only to a better understanding of the Qur'an and Islam, but also to the spread of Arabic texts in the literary and religious circles of the period.

It is rare to find in Mount Lebanon – and at this time – a manuscript containing a treatise directed overtly against Islam, given the political circumstances of the era, especially under the rule of the Ottoman Grand Viziers of the Köprülü family, whose religious policy showed little tolerance towards non-Sunnīs. It does therefore not come as a surprise that the work did not enjoy wide distribution.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 944 (copied in 1697)

MS Cairo, Collection Qandalaft (= MS Sbath Fihris, 2657 [unknown date]; must be regarded as lost)

F. Guadagnoli, *Apologia pro Christiana religione qua a R. P. Philippo Guadagnolo Malleanensi, clericorum Regul. Minorum s. theologiæ et Arabicæ linguæ professore, respondetur ad objectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persæ Asphahensis, contentas in libro inscripto Politor speculi*, Rome, 1631; 4 Polem. 1450 h (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

F. Guadagnoli, *Ijābat al-qassīs al-ḥaqīr Fīlībus Kuwādānūlūs al-rāhib min ruhbāniyya yuqāl la-hā bi-lughāt al-firanjī klirīkūs mīnūr ilā Aḥmad al-sharīf ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Fārisī al-Isbahānī | Pro Christiana religione Responsio ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alebedin, Persæ Asphabanensis*, Rome, 1637; (digitised version available through *Early Arabic Printed Books at the British Library*)

STUDIES

G. Pizzorusso, 'Filippo Guadagnoli, i caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversa con l'islam a Roma nel XVII secolo', *Studi Medievali e Moderni* 14 (2010) 245-78

I.-A. Khalifé, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, seconde série 2, Beirut, 1954, pp. 112-16

P. Sbath, *Al-fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes)*, Supplément, Cairo, 1940, p. 29

Jawāb ʿalā Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī, 'Reply to Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī'
Jidāl fī ṣiḥḥat al-dīn al-masīḥī

DATE Before 1689
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
This response was written by Bishop Buṭrus to a poem criticising the Christian religion and accusing it of contradiction. The poem can be traced back to the famous Damascus-born Muslim jurist Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350), a champion of the Hanbalite law school, called Shams al-Dīn, who was the son of Abū Bakr (*Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān*, 2 vols in 1, Beirut, 1983, vol. 2, p. 214; see Zirkilī, *Al-iʿlām*, vol. 6, Beirut, 2002, p. 56). It is not clear whether Buṭrus knew his real identity when he called him 'a man of our country, but who is a stranger to our nation'. Louis Cheikho, later followed by Georg Graf and Joseph Nasrallah, thought this poet was active in the 16th century.

It is not clear what title Buṭrus gave his work. The copyist of the oldest known manuscript, MS Harharayā 32, simply says: 'We are beginning to write a book of controversy composed by Bishop Buṭrus of Ghusṭā, student of Rome, the glorious city' (fol. 165r). The copyist of MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 682, entitles the work *Jidāl fī ṣiḥḥat al-dīn al-masīḥī* ('Controversy on the veracity of the Christian religion'). And in his *Fihris*, Paul Sbath names this work, of which he had found a copy in the possession of the heirs of the priest Niqūlāwus Kailūn in Aleppo, *Radd ʿalā iʿtirāḍāt baʿḍ al-Muslimīn ʿalā l-dīn al-masīḥī* ('Refutation of a Muslim's objections to Christianity'). Sbath attributes it to Buṭrus without giving any details and without saying whether this was the title of the manuscript itself or his own description of its contents.

The poem to which Buṭrus replies is very well-known in Arabic literature, particularly in the domain of controversy. Although it originates from the 14th century, it seems that it was widely known and used in early modern times, as a number of Christian Arab authors countered it with poetical responses see (J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, vol. 4/1, Peeters, 1979, p. 204; S. Slim, 'Yūḥannā ibn ʿĪsā ʿUwaysāt', *CMR* 10, pp. 163-7). Composed of 17 couplets rhyming in *-āh*, Ibn Qayyim's poem is commonly known by its incipit: 'O worshippers of Christ we have a question' (*A-ʿubbād al-Masīḥ*

lanā su'āl). Buṭrus's reply only reproduces seven couplets, which differ partially or considerably from the original. Thus, from the beginning, the original 'O worshippers of Christ' appears in the slightly different form 'O worshippers of the cross', to which the bishop replies, 'O worshippers of Muḥammad'. With the exception of the first and the last, the remaining five couplets are numbered. Buṭrus launches his treatise with the expression, 'Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī has asked: "O worshippers of the cross, we have a question to which we demand a response from whoever has one."' Then follows a poem by Buṭrus in five verses, which reveals the intensity of his desire to answer al-Bakrī's poem point by point. After this comes his prose reply to the issues al-Bakrī has raised.

First, in response to al-Bakrī's question: If God died by the judgment of a Jewish slave, how can he be God? Buṭrus replies: There is only one God but in three Persons. Just as Christians use the sign of the cross to refer to the Trinity, Muslims do the same without knowing it. The *basmala* is a statement of faith in the Trinity, since God (*Allāh*) is the Father, the clement one (*al-raḥmān*) is the Son, and the charitable one (*al-raḥīm*) is the Holy Spirit. The Qur'an itself attests to this truth when it declares that ʿĪsā the Christ comes from the spirit of God – here Buṭrus alludes to Q 4:171, though without identifying it directly.

Second, in response to the question: Was it Christ who accepted crucifixion and burial or was it the will of his Father? Buṭrus replies: There is only one will in the Trinity, but Christ, who is both God and man, possesses two wills, a divine will which he shares with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and a human one which he shares with all humankind. On the Cross, Christ through his human will obeyed the divine will and willingly accepted death. This is explained by the fact that there was always an agreement between the two wills. Christ cannot be compelled by someone else, because by being man he himself is God.

Third, in response to al-Bakrī's question: Is it possible to have existence without a God who would respond to the requests of humankind? Buṭrus replies: The world was not deprived of God by the death of Christ, for it was his human nature that experienced death and not his divine nature. Therefore, God was always there, governing the world and listening to the supplications of the faithful. In the death of Christ, it is the body that died and not the spirit, which separated itself from the body and rejoined it three days later.

Fourth, in response to al-Bakrī's question: Did he rise from the dead as God or did someone take his place? Buṭrus replies: In the resurrection it

was the same Christ and not someone else who recovered his same body and not the body of someone else. This resurrection is attested to by the Qur'an, which states that the holy books of the Jews and Christians are from God, thus confirming the resurrection.

At this point Bishop Buṭrus gives al-Bakrī a warning: Do not act like [other] authors and do not begin to pretend that these holy books were then corrupted, because this does not make sense. How could the Jews and Christians agree on the same corruptions? How could Christians throughout the world reach an agreement on these same corruptions, despite their geographical, linguistic and cultural differences? Finally, where are the arguments that demonstrate the corruption?

Then fifth, in response to al-Bakrī's question: Can the slave be stronger than his Creator? Buṭrus replies: The Jews who crucified Jesus were not stronger than God because, first, it was through his will that Christ accepted death, and second because the Jews did not affect the divinity of Christ, but only his humanity. Hence, we cannot say that the slave is stronger than his Creator.

SIGNIFICANCE

Buṭrus is careful to avoid criticism of Muslims, whom he calls 'the adepts of Muḥammad' or 'the people of the Qur'an'. On the other hand, he perseveres in defending the Christian faith and explaining its doctrine. This leads one to wonder whether the approach he follows is intended only to refute Muslim accusations against Christianity, or whether he means to denigrate the doctrine of Islam itself, but without saying so clearly.

He explains on numerous occasions that his own responses are presented briefly, and that his sources are the Bible, the Fathers of the Church, the councils, and the teaching of the Catholic Church. The text does not allow one to judge how far these responses reflect his own ideas or whether he had simply taken them from apologetic books.

This kind of Christian response to Muslim accusations was not new or rare. In these responses, Buṭrus joined a long tradition of apologetics, without adding any new approach. That he replied to accusations originating in the Middle Ages, to which other early-modern Christian Arab authors had already replied before him, speaks of the unbroken popularity that Ibn Qayyim's poem enjoyed as late as the 17th century. What is notable about his reply is that he adds to his poetic response theological explanations in prose.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Harharayā, Mār ʿAbdā monastery – 32/11, fols 165r-197r (copied in 1689; Garshūnī)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 682 (copied in 1924 from the Harharayā MS; Arabic)

MS Aleppo, Collection Kailūn (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1072 [unknown date]; must be regarded as lost)

Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels*, vol. 2, pp. 984-90 (summarised French version based on the Harahrayā MS)

STUDIES

J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, vol. 2. *Bibliothèque des missionnaires libanais de Dair al-Kreim; Bibliothèque de Dair Mar ʿAbda Harharaya; Bibliothèque des moines libanais de Dair al-Banat*, Harissa, 1963, p. 137

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 380

P. Sbath, *Al-Fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes)*, Cairo, 1938-40, vol. 2. *Ouvrages des auteurs des trois derniers siècles*, part 3. *Ouvrages anonymes*, p. 8

L. Cheikho, 'Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Orientale, part VI. Controverses', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 14/3 (1929-31) 41-106, pp. 53-4

Joseph Moukarzel

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī

Wazīr al-Ghassānī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Morocco
DATE OF DEATH 1707
PLACE OF DEATH Fes

BIOGRAPHY

The high status accorded to Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī's account of Spain stands at odds with what we can reconstruct of his life. Little is known about his birth and upbringing, perhaps because much of his fame came only after he compiled the account of his journey to Spain. He was born sometime in the 17th century to a family that had lived in Andalus, but had to flee and settled in Fes. He was a jurist, and an expert in copying manuscripts. He came to be known for producing flawless manuscripts very quickly, a talent that brought him close to the Moroccan ruler Mūlay Ismāʿīl (r. 1672-1727) as his trusted secretary. In 1690, al-Ghassānī was sent to Spain to negotiate with King Carlos II (r. 1665-1700) the ransom for a number of Muslim captives and to return Arabic manuscripts that had been taken from libraries in Andalusia. It is not clear whether he was successful on his mission, though he was later chosen to accompany the sultan's son, who was conducting an embassy to Algiers, a journey about which he did not record any details. He died in Fes in 1707 during an epidemic.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, *Riḥlat al-wazīr fi iftikāk al-asīr*, ed. Nūrī al-Jarrāḥ, Abū Dhabī, 2002

Secondary

Mohammad bin abd al-Wahab al-Ghassani, *'Rihlat al-wazir fi iftikak al-asir*. The journey of the minister to ransom the captive', in N. Matar (ed. and trans.), *In the lands of the Christians. Arabic travel writing in the seventeenth century*, London, 2003, 113-95

J. Vernet, art. 'al-Ghassānī', in *EI2*

E. García Gómez, 'Novedades sobre la cronica anonima titulada "*Fatḥ al-Andalus*"', *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de l'Université d'Algers* 12 (1954) 31-42
J. Vernet, 'La embajada de al-Gassānī (1690-1691)', *Al-Andalus* 18 (1953) 109-31
H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans de 1610 à 1930*, Paris, 1937, pp. 5-17

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Riḥlat al-wazīr fi iftikāk al-asīr, 'The journey of the minister to ransom the captive'

DATE 1690-1
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The description given here is based on the Arabic text of al-Ghassānī's account edited by Nūrī al-Jarrāḥ and published in 2002. Al-Ghassānī's work is important for the insights it provides about the social, religious, and political characteristics of Spain in the 17th century.

The first part of al-Ghassānī's account is a description of the areas of Spain he passed through on his journey. A hint of his attitude towards the Spanish is betrayed by the term he habitually uses for them, *ʿajam* ('foreigners' or 'barbarians'), suggesting the illegitimacy of their claim over what should be Muslim land (pp. 33-91).

The second part gives a rich depiction of the unfamiliar culture, religion and places of Spain. Al-Ghassānī shows great interest in the religious life of the people he encounters, and mentions visits to churches and cathedrals, discussions with Christians about the nature of Islam, and Christian fasting, inheritance practices, pilgrimage and the Easter festival (pp. 110-20). He also reflects on Christian doctrines, particularly those that are problematic for Muslims, and mentions that he met a priest who spoke Arabic with whom he discussed the Trinity. Although he shows that he disapproves of much he has seen and heard, he praises the morals of the people and expresses the hope that they will come back one day to Islam. But he seems less sympathetic towards the Christian hierarchy, seeing the pope as responsible for misleading Christians, and for all the violence committed against his fellow Muslims (pp. 118-26).

In the last part of his account, al-Ghassānī describes the Muslim conquest of Spain. His language reveals deep sorrow for the loss of his ancestral home, and he laments the Islamic remains he encounters. He

openly expresses his wish for the land to return to Muslim possession (pp. 131-46).

SIGNIFICANCE

Riḥlat al-wazīr is the first Arab account of Spain after the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, and it demonstrates curiosity and interest. Although it was not published until the 20th century, it was circulated in manuscript form and it was a great inspiration for Arab travellers in Spain after al-Ghassānī. Ibn ʿUthmān al-Miknāsī, a diplomat and writer who visited Spain in 1791, was influenced by it when he wrote about his embassy and he even copied al-Ghassānī's title. The work also attracted the attention of later European historians and was translated into several languages.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Rabat, Al-khazana l-ʿamma – 11,329 (date unknown, possibly 18th century)

MS Seville, Universidad de Sevilla – A 332/096 (early 1800s; Arabic with Spanish trans.; see Beck, 'Travelogue of a Moroccan ambassador', p. 284)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 5304 (mid-19th century)

MS Rouen, Bibliothèque de Rouen – Or. 62 (see Foulché-Delbosc, 'Bibliographie', pp. 289-90)

MS Lisbon (see Stanley, 'Account of an embassy', p. 359)

Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, *Voyage en Espagne d'un ambassadeur marocain (1690-1691)*, trans. H. Sauvaire, Paris, 1884 (French trans.); Département de littérature et art, 8-Z-437 (38) (digitised version available through BNF)

Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, *Viaje del visir para la liberacion de los cautivos*, ed. and trans. A. Bustani, Tangier, 1940 (Spanish trans.; based on MS Madrid 5304)

Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, *Voyage en Espagne d'un ambassadeur marocain (1690-1691)*, trans. H. Sauvaire, Frankfurt am Main, 1994 (partial French trans.; repr. of 1884 edition)

Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, *Riḥlat al-wazīr fi iftikāk al-asīr*, ed. Nūrī al-Jarrāḥ, Abū Dhabī, 2002 (edition used in this entry)

Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, 'The Journey of the minister to ransom the captive', trans. N. Matar, 113-95 (English trans.)

Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, *Safir maghribī fi Madrīd fi nihāyat al-qarn as-sābiʿ ʿashar. Riḥlat al-wazīr fi iftikāk al-asīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Binḥāddah, Tokyo, 2005

STUDIES

O. Zhiri, 'Mapping the frontier between Islam and Christendom in a diplomatic age. Al-Ghassānī in Spain', *Renaissance Society of America* 69 (2016) 966-99

N. Hermes, 'Nostalgia for al-Andalus in early modern Moroccan *voyages en Espagne*. Al-Ghassānī's *Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* (1690-91) as a case study', *Journal of North African Studies* 21 (2016) 433-52

L. Beck, 'The travelogue of a Moroccan ambassador to Charles II, 1690-91. The Seville MS', *Journal of North African Studies* 20 (2015) 284-302

J. Stearns, 'Representing and remembering al-Andalus. Some historical considerations regarding the end of time and the making of nostalgia', *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009) 355-74

N. Matar, 'Introduction', in N. Matar (ed. and trans.), *In the lands of the Christians. Arabic travel writing in the seventeenth century*, London, 2003, viii-xlviii

M. Arribas Palau, 'De nuevo sobre la embajada de al-Gassānī (1690-1691)', *Al-Qanṭara* 6 (1985) 199-289

Vernet, 'La embajada de al-Gassānī'

R. Foulché-Delbosc, 'Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal', *Revue Hispanique* 3/7-9 [1896] 1-349, pp. 289-90

H.E.J. Stanley, 'Account of an embassy from Morocco to Spain in 1690 and 1691', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1868) 359-78

Doaa Baumi

Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza

Müftüzâde Âlim Mehmed Efendi Güzelhisârî Âlim Mehmed ibn Hamza Güzelhisârî; Aydınî Âlim Mehmed ibn Hamza Güzelhisarlı; Hacı Emirzâde Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza el-Aydınî

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Possibly Güzelhisar, District of Aydın, Anatolia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown, presumably after 1700
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza, also known as Güzelhisârî and Aydınî, was from Güzelhisar, a district of Aydın. Little is known about his life, except that he came from a scholarly family. He was known by the titles *allâme* (learned), *üstâd* (master), *fakîh* (jurist), *mütekellim* (theologian), *müfessir* (exegete) and *muhaddis* (Hadith scholar), indicating the depth of his knowledge in various Islamic disciplines. His expertise in Islamic jurisprudence was most significant. His scholarly accomplishment was recognised in his own lifetime, as is evidenced by the acknowledgment of the Şeyhülislam and the Kazasker (the highest-ranking member of the Ottoman judiciary) recorded in the codex that contains his treatises in jurisprudence (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Süleymaniye 1038).

Güzelhisârî served for a long time as a mufti in Aydin, where he also taught. Biographical dictionaries do not agree on the year of his death. Some record it as 1601 (Kaḥḥāla and Baghdādī), while others mention 1704 (Mollaibrahimoğlu), 1706 (Cici), 1710 (Kaya) and 1789 (Bursalı Mehmet Tahir and Bilmen). One scholar argues that any of 1704, 1706 and 1710 may be correct (Dağdeviren), while another prefers 1789 (Yaka).

As a prolific scholar, Güzelhisârî produced works on *fiqh, tafsīr* (exegesis), Hadith, *kalām* (scholastic theology), *taṣawwuf* (mysticism), Arabic language, logic and *ʿarūḍ* (prosody), though he was most productive in *fiqh*, with 66 treatises in this field alone (Cici, *Bir Osmanlı fakihi*, pp. 23-4).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ismāʿīl Pāshā l-Bābānī l-Baghdādī, *Hidāyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, Beirut, 1982, vol. 2, p. 265

Secondary

A. Arı, 'Âlim Muhammed b. Hamza el-Aydınî el-Güzelhisârî'nin taklid ve mükrehin talâkına dâir risalesi tahkik ve tahlil = et-Taklid ve talakü'l-mükreh li-Alim Muhammed b. Hamza el-Aydını el-Güzelhisari: tahkikun ve tahlilün', *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi* 27 (2016) 713-41

E. Yaka, 'Muhammed b. Âlim el-Aydınî el-Güzelhisârî'nin Dua Âyetleri Tefsiri', in B. Gökkır et al. (eds), *Osmanlı toplumunda Kur'an kültürü ve tefsir çalışmaları*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 2013, 229-60

A. Dağdeviren and E. Küçükahmet, 'Muhammed Güzelhisârî ve Ezhâru't-tenzîl isimli tefsirinin rivayet açısından değeri', *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 27 (2013) 143-66

E. Küçükahmet, 'Güzelhisârî'nin Ezhârü't-tenzîl adlı eseri', Sakarya, 2012 (MA Diss. Sakarya Üniversitesi)

İ. Doğan, *Osmanlı müfessirleri*, Istanbul, 2011, pp. 65, 115

S. Kaya, '17. Yüzyıl sonlarında muhalif bir metin. Muhammed b. Hamza el-Aydınî'nin Beyʿu'l-îne risalesi', *Dîvan Disiplinler Arası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 26 (2009) 97-112

R. Cici, *Bir Osmanlı fakihi Alim Muhammed b. Hamza'nın fıkıh risaleleri*, Bursa, 2006

S. Mollaibrahimoğlu, *Süleymaniye kütüphanesinde bulunan yazma tefsirler (metod ve kaynakları)*, Istanbul, 2002, p. 428

M. Abay, 'Osmanlı döneminde yazılan tefsirle ilgili eserler bibliyografyası (tefsirler, hâşiyeler, sure tefsirleri, tercümeler)', *Dîvan İlmî Araştırmalar* 6 (1999) 249-303

M. Abay, 'Osmanlı dönemi müfessirleri', Bursa, 1992 (MA Diss. Uludağ Üniversitesi)

Ö.N. Bilmen, *Büyük tefsir tarihi*, Istanbul, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 730-71

Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, ed. A.F. Yavuz and İ. Özen, Istanbul, 1972, vol. 1, p. 262

ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn. Tarājim muṣannifī l-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, Damascus, 1960, vol. 9, p. 271

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima, 'Treatise on a *dhimmī* woman's gazing at a Muslim woman'
Risāla fī bayān naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima
Risāla fī bayān hal yajūz naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima

DATE Unknown
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise by Güzelhisârî is on the legal question of whether *dhimmī* women are allowed to look at the parts of Muslim women's bodies that are considered to be *zīna* (adornment, private). The author first discusses whether Muslim women should cover themselves in the company of *dhimmī* women, and then concludes the work by examining how Muslim women should cover themselves in the presence of pre-pubescent boys.

Q 24:31 dictates that Muslim women should not expose the parts of their bodies that are considered *zīna* except to their spouse, father, father-in-law, sons, stepsons, brothers, siblings' sons, other Muslim women, slaves, male attendants who have no sexual desire and children who are not yet aware of women's nakedness. The verse describes non-*zīna* body parts that do not have to be covered as 'except that which is apparent'. Schools of Islamic jurisprudence offer varying views as to what is meant by this exception, and while there is an agreement that parts of the body other than hands, face and feet are considered *zīna* and must be covered, there is a difference of opinion when it comes to these.

Islamic tradition has also prescribed what one is allowed to see of the bodies of people of one's own gender. The general consensus is that women should at least cover the area between their navel and their knees in the presence of other women, though scholars have differing views on what other parts of the body must be covered. Men are also obliged to at least cover the area between their navel and their knees in front of other men or women who are not their *maḥram* (unmarriageable kin). It describes the areas that are considered sinful to expose as *ʿawra* (private parts). It is considered sinful both to expose one's *ʿawra* and to look at the *ʿawra* of others. One of the issues discussed in detail in *fiqh* books is how Muslim women should cover themselves in front of non-Muslim women. Are non-Muslim women considered in the same

category as men who are not *maḥram* (i.e. requiring complete covering except for face, hands and feet), or as Muslim women (i.e. requiring partial covering between the navel and knees)? These are the questions that Güzelhisârî discusses in this work, where he also examines the question of whether Muslim women can bathe in the presence of *dhimmī* women in public baths.

At the beginning of the work, Güzelhisârî states that there is difference of opinion among jurists regarding the religious rule on how much *dhimmī* women are allowed to see of Muslim women, mentioning two major opinions.

According to the first, a *dhimmī* woman's gaze is considered equal to that of a Muslim woman's gaze. It is allowed for women to see one other's body except for the *ʿawra* parts. *Dhimmī* and Muslim women are considered equal in this regard. Güzelhisârî cites the Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī as a proponent of this view. He also argues that certain Ḥanafī scholars, such as Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shaybānī and Ibn Nujaym, who wrote on how to perform the washing and shrouding of a Muslim woman who dies in the company of men while travelling, imply their agreement with this position. According to these scholars, in such a case, when no woman other than a *dhimmī* woman is present, men cannot fulfil the burial washing and shrouding of the deceased woman. Instead, they must instruct the *dhimmī* woman on how to perform the washing and shrouding, and she would complete the task (MS Kayseri, Râşid Efendi – 1178, fol. 65v; all the references that follow are to this manuscript).

According to the second opinion, a *dhimmī* woman's presence is equal to that of a man who is not *maḥram* (fol. 65v). Just as a Muslim woman is obliged to cover her body except her hands, face and feet in the presence of these men, she must also do so in the presence of *dhimmī* women. Güzelhisârî favours the second opinion, as he regards it to be in line with the literal meaning of Q 24:31, and because it is a more cautious position than the first (fol. 65v).

Güzelhisârî supports his position by referring to some narrations from the Companions of the Prophet. He first mentions the Caliph ʿUmar's and then Ibn ʿAbbās's view on the subject. According to a report, ʿUmar requested ʿUbayda ibn Jarrāḥ to prohibit the mixing of *ahl al-kitāb* women with Muslim women at public baths. As for Ibn ʿAbbās, he interpreted the term 'their women' in Q 24:31 as a reference to 'Muslim women', thus concluding that believing women should not wear revealing clothing in the presence of non-believing women (fol. 65v).

Güzelhisârî then cites the Ḥanafī jurist and mufti Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī's view, which appears to be in agreement with Ibn ʿAbbās. According to al-Samarqandī's explanation, the reasoning for prohibiting a Muslim woman to unveil the *zīna* parts of her body in the presence of a non-Muslim woman is the possibility that the non-Muslim woman may describe what she saw to men who are not *maḥram* to the Muslim woman (fol. 65v). Güzelhisârî further states that Shāfiʿī jurists al-Baghāwī and Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Nawawī were also in favour of this opinion, and that the latter described it as 'the most accurate' view (fol. 65r).

Güzelhisârî then considers that it is impermissible for Muslim women to mix with *dhimmī* women in public baths, and quotes from various legal works to support his point. In these sources, the most genuine opinion is considered to be that non-Muslim women are not allowed to look at the *zīna* parts of Muslim women's bodies, and that Muslim women cannot uncover themselves in front of the women of the *ahl al-kitāb* except their female slaves. The gaze of a non-Muslim woman is considered equal to that of a non-*maḥram* man (fols 65r-66v).

Güzelhisârî then goes on to discuss whether pre-pubescent boys, who will not yet be sexually attracted to women, may be in the presence of an uncovered woman. Citing various relevant legal sources, he sides with the more conservative opinion on this matter as well, that prepubescent boys should be considered as adults. He justifies his opinion with numerous citations (fols 65r-66v).

SIGNIFICANCE

The multi-religious character of the Ottoman Empire brought Muslims and non-Muslims together in many situations. Güzelhisârî's consideration of Muslim and *dhimmī* women in public baths confirms that the two communities had shared venues. Taking into consideration this social reality, Güzelhisârî acknowledges the fact that Muslim and non-Muslim women came together in diverse settings and forged close relationships with one another. With his conviction that Muslim and non-Muslim women should not use public baths together, he aims to inform society and ensure that these interactions continue in a way that will not disrupt the existing system of values and beliefs.

The impetus for Güzelhisârî's preference for the opinion which considers a non-Muslim woman's gaze to be equal to the non-*maḥram* man's gaze, and the preference of earlier jurists who held this opinion, was the concern for privacy. These scholars argue that Muslim women should

cover themselves in the presence of non-Muslim women because *dhimmī* women may speak to men about the Muslim women, either knowingly or being unaware of the fact that they should act with prudence on this subject. This may then lead to the violation of privacy. The treatise is primarily addressed to Muslims in society and to Muslim women in particular. The intention is to make sure that these women abide by the principles they are required to observe in their relationships with non-*maḥram* men. The opinion that Muslim women must cover themselves in the presence of *dhimmī* women results fundamentally from this concern.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reisülküttâb 1153, fols 4-6 (undated; presumably 1692)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Serez 3924, fols 28-9 (undated; presumably 1695)

MS Kayseri, Râşid Efendi – 1178, fols 65-6 (undated; presumably between 1683 and 1702; Güzelhisârî himself wrote the manuscript (71 folios in total), which contains 48 *risāla*s including this one)

MS Antalya, Akseki Halk Kütüphanesi – 150, fols 99-100 (undated; presumably 1704)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Süleymaniye 1038, fol. 3 (undated; presumably between 1685 and 1705; the library records incorrectly attribute this manuscript to another author)

MS Burdur, İl Halk – 740, fols 47-8 (undated; presumably between 1698 and 1709)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3699, fols 109-10 (undated; presumably between 1692 and 1712)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Çelebi Abdullah 393, fols 11-12 (undated; presumably between 1700 and 1718)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yazma Bağışlar 1269, fols 282-3 (undated; presumably between 1704 and 1732)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3643, fols 54-5 (undated; presumably between 1709 and 1740)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3772, fol. 148 (undated; presumably between 1683 and 1781)

MS Riyadh, Riyadh University Library – Makhṭūṭāt 4538 (undated)

MS Tokyo, University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture – 1143, fol. 52 (undated)

ʿAbd al-Majīd Jumʿa, 'Risāla fī ḥukm naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima li-Muḥammad ibn Ḥamza al-Kuzalhisārī', *Majallat Jāmiʿat al-Amīr ʿAbd al-Qādir li-l-ʿUlūm al-Islāmiyya* 1 (2009) 161-70 (edition based on MS Tokyo, with introduction and analysis in footnotes; the edition is impaired by the Tokyo MS having some missing parts)

Emine Nurefşan Dinç

Isṭifān al-Duwayhī

Isṭifānūs al-Duwayhī, Stephanus Edenensis

DATE OF BIRTH 2 August 1630
PLACE OF BIRTH Ehden, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH 3 May 1704
PLACE OF DEATH Monastery of Qannūbīn, Lebanon

BIOGRAPHY

Isṭifān al-Duwayhī was born in Ehden (Ihdin), northern Lebanon, in 1630, to a Maronite family. In 1641, he was sent to the Maronite College in Rome, where he studied until 1655. On his return to Mount Lebanon, he was ordained priest on 25 March 1656. Shortly afterwards, he founded a school at the Mār Yaʿqūb Monastery in Ehden to take care of young people in the region. In 1658, he spent five months in Aleppo, before returning to Mount Lebanon to continue his mission in various regions, particularly in Jiʿītā and Ardih.

At the end of 1658, al-Duwayhī was nominated to be a missionary accredited by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. This meant that he would receive a fixed salary from the Congregation, in return sending periodic reports on the state of his mission.

In 1662, al-Duwayhī was back in Aleppo, where he opened a school for the young people of the community and preached on Sundays and feast days in the Maronite Church of St Elias. During this period, he forged relationships with all the Christian communities in the town – Jacobite, Melkite, Armenian and Latin – as well as with the Muslims.

Having completed his mission in Aleppo, al-Duwayhī left the city in May 1668, returning to Mount Lebanon before going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After that, in July 1668 he was consecrated Maronite bishop of Cyprus, which he then visited in 1669. On 5 May 1670, al-Duwayhī was elected to be the Maronite patriarch of Antioch. He resided at the Qannūbīn Monastery in the holy Qadīsha valley, but had to take refuge several times in the Kisruwān and Shūf districts to escape persecutions by local governors. He died in Qannūbīn on 3 May 1704.

Isṭifān al-Duwayhī is considered a great reformer and historian of the Maronite Church. Among his achievements are several treatises reforming and updating the Maronite liturgy, the Pontifical, rituals and

sacraments. Al-Duwayhī's written works include a book of sermons, numerous apologia defending the Maronite faith against its detractors, several treatises on the history of the Maronites and the Maronite College in Rome, and a list of Maronite patriarchs. He encouraged monastic reform in his community, and gave his approval in 1695 to the founders of the Lebanese Maronite Order.

He has always been considered a saint by the Maronite community, and especially by the faithful in his natal region of Ehden. The Vatican declared him 'venerable' in 2008.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Collegio dei Maroniti (Rome), *Compendiaria enarratio apparatus in honorem D. Ioannis evangelistæ patroni Ecclesiæ et Collegii Maronitarum*, Rome, 1685, p. 49

MS Vat – Syr. 400 (copied in 1686), fols 1v-8v (added in 1713): a biography of al-Duwayhī by Sim'ān 'Awwād (d. 1756), edition in Isṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-ṭā'ifa al-Mārūniyya*, ed. R. al-Shartūnī, Beirut, 1890, pp. 10-27

MS Vat – Syr. 410 (collection of documents, 17th-18th century; fol. 75v mentions al-Duwayhī among the students of the Maronite College in Rome)

T. Smith, *Admodum reverendi et doctissimi viri D. Roberti Huntingtoni, Epistolæ …*, London, 1704, pp. 1-12 (10 letters sent by Huntington to al-Duwayhī)

P. Massad and N.W. al-Khazen, *Documents inédits*, Beirut, 1958, vol. 3, Arabic part, pp. 28-52 (12 letters written by al-Duwayhī between 1671 and 1698)

Y. al-Dibs, *Al-jāmi' al-mufaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-Mawārina l-mu'aṣṣal*, Beirut, 1905, pp. 362-4 (letter by al-Duwayhī sent on 1 May 1701 to Father Buṭros Mubārak, in which he provides his biography and bibliography)

N. al-Jumayyil, *Al-baṭriyark Isṭifān al-Duwayhī. Ḥayātuh wa-mu'allafātuh*, Beirut, 1991, pp. 153-290 (a collection of 70 letters written by al-Duwayhī between 1658 and 1701)

Secondary

al-Jumayyil, *Al-baṭriyark Isṭifān al-Dūwayhī*

B. Fahd, *Baṭārikat al-Mawārina wa-asāqifatuhum, al-qarn al-sābi' 'ashar*, Beirut, 1984, pp. 159-235

N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de 'Ayn Warqa (1789)*, Beirut, 1984, vol. 1, p. 106

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 361-77

I. Ḥarfūsh, 'Talāmidhat al-madrasa l-Rūmāniyya l-Mārūniyya l-qadīma', *Al-Manāra* 6 (1935) 661-73, 733-45, 802-12, p. 741

B. Shiblī, *Tarjamat abīnā l-maghbūṭ Isṭifānūs Buṭrus al-Dūwayhī baṭriyark Anṭākiya 1630-1704*, Beirut, 1913, 1970²
al-Dibs, *Al-jāmiʿ al-mufaṣṣal*, pp. 361-8
M. Jabraʾīl, *Tārīkh al-Kanīsa l-Anṭākiyya l-Suryāniyya l-Mārūniyya*, Baabda, Lebanon, 1904, vol. 2/1, pp. 495-547
I. Ḥarfūsh, 'Al-adyār al-qadīma fī Kisruwān. Dayr Mār Shallīṭā Miqbis', *Al-Mashriq* 5 (1902) 183-5, 269-72, 298-303, 549-57, 686-97, 892-8, 1038-42, pp. 686-97

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tārīkh al-Muslimīn, 'History of the Muslims'

DATE 1699-1700
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Duwayhī's *magnum opus* as a historian is a chronicle of which he produced two versions. Neither was given a title by the author himself; the various titles were all added later by copyists, researchers and editors. The first version, commonly entitled *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* ('History of the Muslims'), covers the history of the Middle East from the birth of Muḥammad up to al-Duwayhī's own time (1686, 1699 or 1703, in the various manuscripts). It mainly describes events in the history of what is now called Lebanon and especially Mount Lebanon, and the religious history of the Maronites and their relations with others communities (Druzes, Shīʿites, Melkites) or institutions (the Holy See, Western missions). The second version, obviously written at a later stage and commonly entitled *Tārīkh al-Masīḥiyyīn* ('History of the Christians'), covers the period from 1095 – the preparations for the Crusades – up to 1699. Its contents are limited to events related to the Lebanese and Maronite context. The work only contains a few additions to the first version, mainly referring to the Maronites.

Al-Duwayhī started to write the template for the *Annals* from 1668 onwards, following pastoral visits to several parishes which provided him with a lot of material. He confirms this in the introduction to *Tārīkh al-Masīḥiyyīn*, where he also offers a justification for writing his chronicle in two versions: 'We considered it useful to gather books in order to consult information regarding countries where Maronites live; we started with the beginning of the *hijra* because the blessed John Marūn became patriarch of Antioch in the year 685 AD, which corresponds to year 66 of the *hijra*, and so we collected information from various historical books

from that era. However, when we realised that the information gathered concerning these countries [of the Maronites] was minimal and not produced on an annual basis, we took the decision to discard it and start this history from 1100 AD, near the time of the Frankish conquest of the coasts of these lands.'

Tārīkh al-Muslimīn starts with the birth of Muḥammad in 571 and provides a year-by-year account (with some omissions) of the major events that marked the history of the Middle East in general and Greater Syria in particular. In this part, al-Duwayhi recounts the classical Islamic view of history without making any comments or giving personal opinions.

The sources used by al-Duwayhī are varied and deserve separate consideration in their own right. It is clear that he frequently consulted the Coptic historian al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 1273), especially for the first Islamic reigns; al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) and Eutychius ibn Biṭrīq (d. 940), to whom reference is made several times, seem not to have been examined directly, but through the account of al-Makīn. Al-Duwayhī also uses unidentified sources to provide an account of certain details of Byzantine history and a part of Islamic history. For Lebanese and local events, he draws most on the accounts of the historians Ibn al-Ḥarīrī (d. after 1520) and Ibn Sbāṭ (d. 1523). For the Maronites, he relies on colophons and notes found in manuscripts, local traditions and the writings of the Maronite author Ibn al-Qilāʿī (d. c. 1516), as well as papal correspondence with the Maronite patriarchs and reports by missionaries and pilgrims. Melkite and Syriac sources are rarely used, as are Western sources, with William of Tyre, Fulcher of Chartres and Jacques de Vitry only consulted for the period of the Crusades.

Al-Duwayhī is loyal to his sources and reproduces them without any commentary. For dates, he uses a mixture of the Christian and Islamic calendars and dating according to the era of Alexander the Great.

Where al-Duwayhī depends on other sources to provide an account of medieval history, his description lacks any originality, but in his contribution concerning his own times he becomes original and decisive, and paints this period with ardour and curiosity. Although he does not normally comment on his sources, he allows himself to have a personal opinion on his own century: he enthusiastically praises the government of the Maʿn Druze emirs and considers that during the reign of the most prestigious of them, Fakhr al-Dīn II (d. 1635), the Maronites experienced a period of prosperity and independence.

Al-Duwayhī wanted to depict the history of the Maronites as part of the general history of the Middle East after the advent of Islam – a new

approach in Maronite historiography. Therefore, in *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn*, dates are given according to the Islamic calendar and emphasis is placed on the major events in Islamic history that took place in Greater Syria. And it is worth noting that throughout his text al-Duwayhī does not manifest any hostility towards Islam, despite all the difficulties the Maronites and other Christians had experienced under various Muslim dynasties and governments. Thus, even critical moments and events, such as the Muslim conquest of Syria and Lebanon, are depicted 'soberly', free of any critical comments. For criticism, he relies on his sources, Muslim even more than Christian, selecting and bringing them together with care neither to censure nor to praise.

His own criticisms target local politics, with a clear absence of any religious condemnation, except for an indirect note placed at the beginning of the work, which accuses Islam of having a Christology that is close to Arianism. If he attacks the Ḥamāda Shīʿa, it is because they persecuted and harassed the Maronites of North Lebanon through various taxes and abusive behaviour. If he is generous in his praise of the Maʿn Druze and the Shihāb Sunnīs, it is similary for their behaviour towards the Maronites living in their regions, not for their religious beliefs. Al-Duwayhī writes history in the same way as traditional annalists, producing a simple narrative account, without any explicit controversial impetus, overt critical invective or long explanatory notes.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Duwayhī's text was extensively used as a source by other Maronite historians. To give just two examples, Anṭūnīyūs Abī Khaṭṭār of ʿAynṭūrīn (d. 1821) drew on *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* for his *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh jabal Lubnān* ('A brief history of Mount Lebanon'), while Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq (d. 1861) compiled a book entitled *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-Duwayhī* ('A summary of al-Duwayhī's history'), in which he collected all the secular events described in *Tārīkh al-Masīḥiyyīn*.

In the wider perspective, Duwayhī's *Annals* are not a major source for the history of the Middle East, given their generally laconic and second-hand nature, or indeed for Christian-Muslim relations in the region. But they remain a decisive work for the history of Mount Lebanon and the Maronites under Islamic rule, given the first-class information collected from manuscripts, local traditions and the testimony of the author himself. His contribution to Maronite history has earned al-Duwayhī the title of 'father of Maronite historiography', and his view of history developed within the *Annals* and other works remains the official version in the Maronite Church today.

PUBLICATIONS

MSS Bkirkī (Bkerke), Maronite Patriarchate – first collection 137 (Garshūnī, autograph, late 17th century); first collection 136 (Arabic, copied in 1854)

MS Vat – Vat. Syr. 215 (Garshūnī, autograph, last event related is dated 1686)

MS Ashqūt, School of Saints Peter and Paul – 44 (Garshūnī, 1676)

MSS Kraym (Kreim), Congregation of the Lebanese Maronite Missionaries – 251 (Garshūnī, c. 1740); 252 (Garshūnī, copied in 1788)

MS Damascus, National Library (al-Ẓāhiriyya) – 4741 (Arabic, 1776)

MS Kaslik, Holy Spirit University – OLM 690 (Garshūnī, 1776)

MS Dīk al-Maḥdī – Collection Rashīd Ashkar 1 (Garshūnī, 1887)

MS Kaslik, Holy Spirit University – OLM 3148 (Garshūnī, date unknown)

Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-ṭā'ifa l-Mārūniyya*, ed. R. al-Shartūnī, Beirut, 1890, pp. 97-262 (includes among other subjects extracts from *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn*)

E. al-Douaihy, *Ta'rikh al-Azminat ou Histoire des temps 622-1699*, vol. 1. *Les États arabes 622-1094*, Bkerke, 1938 (text of *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* edited by P. Carali, annotated and translated into French in association with N.W. al-Khazen; special issue of *La Revue Patriarcale* 13/1 [1938]. Only the events between 622 and 641 are included; the work was not continued)

Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina (1095-1699)*, ed. F. Taoutel, Beirut, 1951 (edition of *Tārīkh al-Masīḥiyyīn*)

Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina,* ed. B. Fahd, Beirut [s.d.] (edition of *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn*)

Anṭūnīyūs Abī Khaṭṭār al-ʿAynṭūrīnī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Jabal Lubnān*, ed. I.Ṭ. al-Khūrī, revised I. Qaṭṭār, Beirut, 1983 (contains numerous extracts from *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn*)

Y. Moubarac, *Pentalogie antiochienne / domaine maronite*, vol. 1. *Livre d'histoire. Écrits fondateurs et textes à l'appui*; vol. 2. *Le Liban entre l'Islam, la France et l'Arabité*, Beirut, 1984, pp. 1059-84 (French trans.; extracts from *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* relating to Christian-Muslim relations)

STUDIES

K. Rizk, 'Pour une édition des *Annales* de Douaihi', in M. Debié (ed.), *L'historiographie syriaque*, Paris, 2009, 179-95

I. Biṭār, 'Muqārana bayn al-baṭrīyark Isṭifān al-Duwayhī wa-l-Makīn Jirjis b. al-ʿAmīd fī kitābay "Tārīkh al-azmina" wa-"Tārīkh al-Muslimīn" min al-fatḥ al-ʿArabī ḥattā qudūm al-Franj', Kaslik, 2007 (DEA Diss. Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik)

M. Braydī, 'Tatimma li-ṭabʿāt *Tārīkh al-azmina* li-l-Duwayhī', *Al-Manāra* 33 (1992) 73-88

al-Jumayyil, *Al-baṭriyark Isṭifān al-Dūwayhī*, pp. 61-6

I. Saʿāda, 'Muʾallafāt ʿulamāʾ al-madrasa al-Mārūniyya al-maḥfūẓa fī maktabat jamʿiyyat al-mursalīn al-Lubnāniyyīn', *Dirāsāt* 12/16-17 (1985) 191-236

I. al-Qaṭṭār, 'Athar al-gharb fī manhajiyyat wa-fikr al-Duwayhī ʿalā ṣaʿīd kitābat al-tārīkh', *Al-Manāra* 25 (1984) 127-38

M. Braydī, 'Al-uṣūl al-asāsiyya li-dars muʾallafāt al-Duwayhī wa-nashr makhṭūṭātih', *Al-Manāra* 22 (1981) 532-45

P. Sfeir, 'Les manuscrits autographes des *Annales* de Duwaihī patriarche maronite (1670-1704)', *Parole de l'Orient* 5 (1974) 281-308

K. Salibi, *Maronite historians of mediæval Lebanon*, Beirut, 1959, pp. 89-160

Massad and al-Khazen, *Documents inédits*, vol. 3, Arabic part, pp. 56-141

M. al-Rajjī, 'Kitāb *Tārīkh al-azmina* li-l-Duwayhī wa-thabt al-nussākh fi-l-qarn 16', *Al-Mashriq* 48 (1954) 77-81

Joseph Moukarzel

Vahdetî

Ebû Muhammed Osman ibn Muhammed el-Üskübî
el-Edirnevî el-Vahdetî

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably 17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Üsküp (Skopje, present-day Macedonia)
DATE OF DEATH 1723
PLACE OF DEATH Edirne, Turkey

BIOGRAPHY

Vahdetî was born in Üsküp (Skopje), sometime in the 17th century, and later settled in Edirne. He produced a number of scholarly works in diverse Islamic disciplines, particularly Islamic law. His expertise in the latter is reflected in his commentary on *Multaqā l-abḥur*, which is entitled *Muhtadī l-anhur ilā multaqā l-abḥur*, and his Turkish translation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's work on the principles of Hadith, *Al-kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*. He died in Edirne in 1723.

In addition to his expertise in Islamic law, Vahdetî was also a prominent poet as well as a Sufi. His *Dîvançe* is a significant 18th-century poetic work. He was also a *halîfe* (deputy) of Shaykh Ismail Hakkı Efendi. As indicated in his poems, whirling plays a significant role in his mystical thought.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, Istanbul, 1914, vol. 1, p. 182

I.B. al-Bābānī al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn fī dhayl ʿalā Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. M.Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, Istanbul, 1972, vol. 2, p. 1815

Secondary

Ş.S. Has, art. 'Mülteka'l-ebhur', in *DİA*

Ş.S. Has, 'A study of Ibrahim al-Halebi with special reference to the *Multaqa*', Edinburgh, 1981 (PhD Diss. Edinburgh University), pp. 255-6

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Muhtadī l-anhur ilā multaqā l-abḥur, 'The rivers guided to the confluence of the seas'

DATE Probably 1655, or earlier
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī's (d. 1549) *Multaqā l-abḥur* was one of the main sources of Ḥanafī *fiqh* in the Ottoman Empire. A number of commentaries and glosses were written on it, of which Vahdetî's is comprehensive, though it did not attain the same level of fame as Şeyhizâde's *Majmaʿ al-anhur* (see Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Bābānī al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, Istanbul, 1972, vol. 2, p. 1815; Has, 'Study of Ibrahim al-Halebi', p. 256; Has, 'Mülteka'l-ebhur').

In various chapters of his commentary, Vahdetî studies relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, and elaborates on the opinions expressed in the *Multaqā* by al-Ḥalabī.

On the question of whether non-believers are obliged to perform the acts of worship, he observes that while they are not obliged to adhere to religious practice, they are obliged to have faith in God. Thus, they will be held accountable in the Hereafter for not believing in God, but their punishment will not be increased because they have not participated in acts of worship. He tends towards the Ashʿarī opinion, which holds that infidels are subject to *sharʿī* rules, and are thus accountable in terms of both creed and practice. In conclusion, he favours the opinion that unbelievers will be punished in the Hereafter both for their lack of faith and for neglecting to perform religious obligations (*Muhtadī l-anhur*, MS Istanbul – Hacıselimağa 349, fol. 23v; the references that follow are to this MS, unless otherwise stated).

In his analysis of the principle of *ʿaqīla* (the obligation on male agnate members of a murderer's family to give financial compensation for the victim), an important concept in Islamic penal law, al-Ḥalabī holds that this does not apply between Muslims and non-Muslims. Vahdetî elaborates on this position, noting that Muslims and non-Muslims are not equal. Al-Ḥalabī further comments that followers of different religions, such as Jews and Christians, can be *ʿaqīla* to each other, which Vahdetî explains as the result of their being equal to one another in their unbelief (fols 789v-790r).

One of the main subjects concerning the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in the *Muhtadī l-anhur* relates to the legal status of *dhimmī*s and their rights. Here, Vahdetî deals with three main issues. The first concerns the right to build a new place of worship within Islamic territory, on which he states that, while establishing new sanctuaries is not permitted, the repair and maintenance of already existing ones is. The second regards the difference in dress between Muslims and non-Muslims, on which he judges that *dhimmī*s may wear clothing associated with their religion and the customary clothes of society, though they are prohibited from wearing the clothes of Muslim scholars and from carrying weapons (fol. 570v). The third subject relates to wills made by *dhimmī*s, on which he says that a *dhimmī*'s will is valid on two conditions: it is limited to one-third of the *dhimmī*'s wealth, and it is not bequeathed to the *dhimmī*'s legal heirs. The bequest of goods by a non-Muslim to another non-Muslim of a different religion is valid in Islamic law (fols 805v-806r).

SIGNIFICANCE

This commentary reflects a characteristic approach of an Ottoman scholar to a standard legal text of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence. Vahdetî follows mainstream Ḥanafī opinions without reflecting on any marginal opinions within the school on relations between Muslims and non-Muslims.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Kastamonu, Kastamonu YEK – 2196, 644 fols (1655)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 506, 338 fols (1725)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 507, 400 fols (1733)
MS Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet – Veliyyüddin Efendi 1246, 314 fols (vol. 1), 274 fols (vol. 2), 298 fols (vol. 3), 274 fols (vol. 4) (1749-50)
MS Istanbul, Hacıselimağa - 349, 829 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı – Istanbul Müftülüğü 20, 313 fols (vol. 1) (undated)
MS Istanbul, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı – Istanbul Müftülüğü 21, 282 fols (vol. 2) (undated)
MS Istanbul, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı – Istanbul Müftülüğü 22, 301 fols (vol. 3) (undated)
MS Istanbul, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı – Müftülüğü 23, 300 fols (vol. 4) (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Carullah 751, 603 fols (vol. 1), and 720 fols (vol. 2) (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1047, 635 fols (vol. 1) (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 505, 760 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 508, 633 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 509, 620 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 510, 556 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 511, 672 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 1033, 428 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa – 533, 450 fols (undated)
MS Kütahya, Vahit Paşa – 2889, 445 fols (undated)

Al-Waḥdatī (ed.), *Muhtadī al-anhur ilā Multaqā l-abḥur*, Istanbul: Dâr-ı Tıbâat-ı Âmire, 1895 (vol. 1 only)

STUDIES

Has, art. 'Mülteka'l-ebhur'
Has, 'A study of Ibrahim al-Halebi with special reference to the *Multaqa*', pp. 255-6

Risāla fī ʿadam jawāz taʿẓīm aʿyād al-Naṣārā, 'Treatise on the impermissibility of the glorification of Christian festivals'
Al-ajwiba al-muḥarrara fī l-bayḍa l-khabītha l-munkara, 'Written answers about the evil and abominable egg'

DATE Unknown; presumably late 17th or early 18th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In this short treatise, covering fols 19-21 in the undated MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Giresun Yazmalar 115, Vahdetî writes that Muslims are prohibited from celebrating any non-Muslim holidays and, as an example, focuses on Easter. He claims that the origins of the Easter celebrations go back to Zoroastrian beliefs and that a deviant Christian group adopted this feast and incorporated it into their religion. Thus, celebrating Easter is one of the most abominable of Christian rituals. Vahdetî notes that Muslim scholars consider as acts of infidelity any practices or expressions taking place during non-Muslim holidays, as well as the acceptance of any non-Muslim ritual (Vahdetî, *Al-ajwiba*, MS Istanbul,

Süleymaniye – Giresun Yazmalar 115, fol. 19v). Further, Vahdetî writes, according to Muslim scholars, giving eggs as presents during Easter constitutes infidelity to Islam. He bases this opinion on three points. First, the act of giving an egg arises from the gift-giver's belief in the holiness of Easter, and Muslims are commanded to renounce the celebration of non-Muslim feasts and rituals. Even fasting during a non-Muslim feast is banned, in order to avoid any resemblance to the followers of that faith. Second, the act of giving an egg as a gift for Easter indicates that the person holds non-Muslim beliefs. Third, this act means that one resembles a non-Muslim (fols 19v-20r).

Vahdetî warns Muslims against participating in celebrations of this kind, because this may mislead them in their own religion. He states that the *Sharīʿa* prohibits the giving and receiving of items used by other religions in their festivities, as this would proclaim and encourage non-Muslim acts of worship, help them spread their false rituals, and convert Muslims to such religious practices (fol. 20r).

Vahdetî then draws a distinction between giving presents as a custom, and giving presents during religious festivals such as Easter. He considers the custom of giving gifts to be favourable in general, while certain items are forbidden during Easter because they carry religious significance at that time. After listing various types of gifts, Vahdetî focuses on the egg, stating that no other type of food carries the same meaning. Due to the religious significance of eggs at Easter, non-Muslims have given Easter the Turkish name *Kızıl Yumurta Bayramı* ('the Scarlet Egg Feast'). He adds that offering other gifts or dinner during the Easter period is permissible, provided these constitute ordinary customs and do not carry any significance for non-Muslim religious practices (fol. 20r).

After his discussion of the act of giving eggs as presents during Easter, Vahdetî examines the prohibition on eating these eggs. He bases his arguments on various similar examples of Muslim jurists' disapproval (*karāha*) and prohibition of certain things or actions. Scholars, for instance, disapprove of eating at an intemperate feast that includes alcohol. Similarly disapproved of is attending a vanity dinner party that has been arranged for the sole purpose of achieving glory and fame through ostentation. Accordingly, the exhibition of religious infidelity must also be forbidden (fol. 20v).

Vahdetî then studies the legal (*sharʿī*) rule of buying eggs from non-Muslims during Easter, and concludes that the act is impermissible on the basis of comparison with other legal cases. For example, a Muslim

is not permitted to buy a weapon from a person who sows sedition. The *ratio legis* (*'illa*) for prohibition in both cases is based on the sin that may be committed through the item, in these instances, a weapon or egg. He further adds that painting eggs is also forbidden to Muslims during Easter because it implies emulation of non-Muslims, which is sinful. At the end of the treatise, Vahdetî examines relations between Muslims and non-Muslims through a discussion of the religious exhibition of eggs by non-Muslim citizens (*dhimmī*s) of a Muslim country. He then issues a fatwa stating that *dhimmī*s are banned from displaying this infidel symbol in the Muslim community (fol. 20v).

SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise represents a good example of how something that is permissible in normal circumstances can be banned or forbidden in a context where it has an additional meaning or significance. Buying goods from, or giving a gift to, non-Muslims is seen as permissible for Muslims under normal conditions, but if these actions display or support a non-Muslim religious meaning or practice, then it becomes prohibited. Thus, this treatise carefully examines a subject that is licit in essence, but illicit in the context of a Christian festival.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Giresun Yazmalar 115, fols 19-21 (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehzade Mehmed 110, fols 235-237 (undated)
MS Skopje, National and University Library – 'St Clement of Ohrid', MSA II 279, fols 75r-76r (undated)

Necmettin Kızılkaya

Derviş Ali Nakşibendî

İncilî; Ali ibn el-Yunânî

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown, presumably early-mid 18th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The familiarity of Derviş Ali Nakşibendî, also known as İncilî and Ali ibn el-Yunânî (MS Fatih 30, fol. 22v), with the Bible – as he often quotes from it in Greek – indicates that he was a Christian convert to Islam. Likewise, his name and his expertise in Sufi psychology point to his being a Sufi of the Naqshbandi order. He notes that he studied Arabic, and the Gospel, Torah and Psalms, and found the name and the description of the Prophet Muḥammad. He then translated these references into Arabic (MS Nuruosmaniye 51/2, fol 34v).

Among his teachers appear to have been Jalāl al-Dīn Awjī (Avcı), Muḥammad al-Birkawī (Birgivî), al-Thānī l-Qādirī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Samarqandī l-Naqshbandī (MS Fatih 31, fols 3r-3v). In addition to the *Naʿt al-Nabī Muḥammad ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-Injīl*, he authored two works in Ottoman Turkish, *Sultan Ahmed ibn Muhammed'e dair istihrâc risâlesi* (MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 51/2, fols 33v-40v) and *Risale-i tertîb-i zikr-i Nakşibendiyye* (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yazma Bağışlar, 1086, fols 1v-4r).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – 51/2, fols 33v-40v
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 30, 22 fols
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 31, 27 fols

Secondary

H. Cevahir, 'Derviş Ali en-Nakşibendî el-İncilî ve *Na'tü'n-Nebî fi'l-İncil* isimli eserinin tahkik ve tercümesi', Sakarya, 2008 (MA Diss., Sakarya Üniversitesi) pp. 16-18

M. Hasenmüller, 'Die Beschreibung Muḥammads im Evangelium. Eine muslimische Polemik gegen die Christen aus dem osmanischen Reich (Anfang 18. Jhdt.)', 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, 83-195, 83-5

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Naʿt al-Nabī Muḥammad ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-Injīl, 'Description of the Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, in the Gospel'
Risāla fī bayān taḥrīf al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā, 'Treatise in explanation of scriptural alteration by the Jews and the Christians'

DATE Early 18th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This is a Muslim polemical treatise against Christianity from the early 18th century. Derviş Ali states that he composed it in order to explain ambiguous expressions in the Gospel and to add Sufi terminology to it. He notes that he studied the Gospel, Torah and Psalms, and noticed that most of the ambiguous and symbolic expressions were not falsified textually but only in respect to their meaning. As he also notes, together with some other scholars he used to argue that the scriptures were textually falsified, and wrote a shorter treatise on this matter. Later he changed his views, and he now believes that the Jews and Christians did not alter the text of the scripture, but they did falsify its meaning with their misinterpretations. Christian identification of the Paraclete with the Holy Spirit is one such example. In line with many Muslim polemicists, he argues that this refers to the Prophet Muḥammad. He claims that the holy scriptures – including the Qur'an – and particularly the Gospel are filled with figurative passages. Accordingly, he notes that he found the name of the Prophet Muḥammad in the Torah, Psalms and Gospel. Furthermore, he argues that the Gospel is the Word of God, not the words of the Apostles; it was revealed to Jesus all at once, in contrast to the revelation of the Qur'an.

At the end of the work, Derviş Ali incorporates certain Sufi views in his interpretation of some biblical and qur'anic passages.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is a classic polemical work in the long tradition of Muslim polemics against Christians and Jews. The author tries to derive predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad from the Bible, particularly the Gospel. Differing from the prevailing Islamic tradition on the issue of falsification of the scriptures, he argues that they have not been corrupted textually (*taḥrīf al-alfāẓ*) but falsified in their meaning (*taḥrīf al-maʿānī*) by Jewish and Christian misinterpretations. He dates the corruption of Christianity to the time after the Apostles. In addition, in contrast to other polemicists, Derviş Ali incorporates Sufi views into his interpretations of some biblical and qur'anic passages, figures and events.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – 51/2, fols 33v-40v, Derviş Ali Nakşibendî, *Sultan Ahmed ibn Muhammed'e dair istihrâc risâlesi* (date unknown)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 30, 22 fols, Derviş Ali Nakşibendî, *Naʿt al-Nabī Muḥammad ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-Injīl* (7 Dhū l-Ḥijja, Saturday, year unknown)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 31, 27 fols, Derviş Ali Nakşibendî, *Risāla fī bayān taḥrīf al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā* (date unknown)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 20M, 20 fols, *Fī bayān baʿḍ āyāt al-Injīl* (fol. 1r), *Kitāb Tafsīr āyāt Injīl wa-Tawrāt* (fol. 20v) (date unknown)

MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye - 51/1, fols 1r-32v, *Tafsīr baʿḍ āyāt al-Injīl* (date unknown)

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı – Revan 2043, fols 1r-15r (1716-17; *Tarjamat āyāt Injīl wa-l-Zabūr wa-Tawrāt li-dalā'il al-nubuwwa ʿalayhi l-salām)*

MS Istanbul, Köprülü Library – Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 105/3, fols 163v-178r (1748; *Risāla fī naʿt Muḥammad (ṣaw) fī l-Tawrāt wa-l-Zabūr wa-l-Injīl*)

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Wetzstein II 1753, fols 27v-38v (1722-3)

MS Munich, Staatsbibliothek – Cod. Arab. 886, fols 33v-41v or 49v-57v (1768)

MS Göttingen, Niedersächsiche Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen – Asch 75, fols 87v-105r (date unknown)

MS Çorum, Çorum Hasan Paşa İl Halk Library – 795, 26 fols, Derviş Ali bin Abdurrahman Nakşibendî İncili, *Şerhu âyât-i İncîl elletî fihâ ism-i Muhammed* (Ottoman Turkish trans.)

H. Cevahir, 'Derviş Ali en-Nakşibendî el-İncilî ve *Na'tü'n-Nebî fi'l-İncil* isimli eserinin tahkik ve tercümesi', Sakarya, 2008 (MA Diss. Sakarya Üniversitesi) pp. 37-102 (critical edition and modern Turkish trans.)

M. Hasenmüller, 'Die Beschreibung Muḥammads im Evangelium. Eine muslimische Polemik gegen die Christen aus dem osmanischen Reich (Anfang 18. Jhdt.)', 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, pp. 111-89 (critical edition)

STUDIES

Hasenmüller, 'Die Beschreibung Muḥammads im Evangelium'

Cevahir, 'Derviş Ali en-Nakşibendî el-İncilî'

Betül Avcı

Theodor Krump

DATE OF BIRTH 1660
PLACE OF BIRTH Aichach, Bavaria
DATE OF DEATH 1724
PLACE OF DEATH Dingolfing, Germany

BIOGRAPHY

Theodor Krump was born in 1660 in the Bavarian village of Aichach to a merchant, Peter Krump (Krump, *Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum*, 1710, p. 17). It is not clear exactly when he joined the Franciscan Order, but after completing his studies in medicine and Arabic, he joined a group of Franciscans to set off on a mission. The group was given permission by the pope to travel to Africa and work towards the conversion of the Abyssinian Christians to the Catholic Church. They departed for Africa in 1700, setting off from Munich via Rome to receive a blessing from the pope.

The missionaries travelled via Cairo to Gondar, the seat of the Abyssinian monarch. After passing through the Selima Oasis, they reached Sennar. Here Krump stayed behind to act as physician to the Funj (or Fung) king. He remained for some time in the Funj Kingdom before returning to Sennar, where he met up with his fellow Franciscans. After two years in Sudan, Krump left for Germany in 1702, where he settled at a monastery in Dingolfing. He died there in 1724 (Herzog, 'Ethnographical notes', p. 119).

Krump kept a meticulous diary of his experiences and encounters in Sudan, which was published in 1710 under the title *Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum deß Heiligen Evangelij*. This work contains a wealth of information about Muslims in the Funj Kingdom of Sennar and its surroundings.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

T.E. Gumprecht, *Untersuchungen über die geographische Verhältnisse von Africa. Die Reise des Pater Krump nach Nubien in den Jahren 1700-1702*, Berlin, 1850

L. Wilke, *Im Reiche des Negus vor 200 Jahren. Missionsreise der Franziskaner nach Abessinien von 1700 bis 1704*, Trier, 1914

O.G.S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar. With a geographical account of the middle Nile region*, Gloucester, 1951
K. Christl, *Der Franziskaner P. Theodor Krump aus Aichach. Priester und Reiseschriftsteller (1624-1724)*, 2002

Secondary

R. Herzog, 'Ethnographical notes on the Sudan in an early traveller's account', *Sudan Notes and Records* 38 (1957) 119-29

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum deß Heiligen Evangelij, 'High and fruitful palm-tree of the Holy Gospel'

DATE 1710
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German, with some Latin

DESCRIPTION

Krump's book was published in 1710 in Augsburg under the full title *Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum deß Heiligen Evangelij das ist: Tieff-eingepflantsser Glaubens-Lehr in das Hertz dess Hohen Abyssiner Monarchen erwisen. In einem Diario oder Täglich- und ordentlicher Reiss Beschreibung der mühesamen Verrichtungen jenner Apostolischen Glaubens-Sendlingen auss dem Orden dess Heil. Seraphischen Vatters Francisci der Reformirten, so anno 1700. von der Päpstl. Heiligk. Innocentio XII. von Rom auss, biss zu dem Grossmächtigen Abyssiner-Käyser Adiam Saghed Jasu, auss Eysser selbigen zu dem wahren Romanischen, Catholischen allein seeligmachenden Glauben zu bekehren, seynd geschickt worden. Welcher dann auch durch sonderbahre Mitwürckung, und Gnaden-reiche Erleuchtung Gottes dess H. Geistes die Christ-Catholische Glaubens, Bekandtnus, würcklich Anno 1702. den 2. Februarii in ihre Händ abgelegt hat. Neben unterschidlichen Anmerckungen und Beschreibungen deren Länder, Städt, Sitten der Menschen, Beschaffenheiten der Thieren, Fischen und anderen, so sich zu Wasser und Land durch meyr dann 4 Jahr vilfältig haben ereignet, mit Fleiss verzeichnet, auf guter Freund anhalten in Druck gegeben von P.F. Theodoro Krump* ('High and fruitful palm-tree of the Holy Gospel, that is: Deep-rooted teaching in faith proved to be in the heart of the high Abyssinian monarch. In a diary or daily and event description of a journey of the laborious acts of the apostolic faith mission of the order of the angelic Reformed Franciscan Fathers, in the year 1700 by the papal holiness

Innocent XII sent from Rome to the mighty Abyssinian emperor Adiam Saghed Jasu, who out of himself sent to Rome to convert to the Catholic soul-giving faith. Which then given in the hand the news through the miraculous help and gracious enlightening of God of the Holy Spirit the Christ-Catholic faith indeed in the year 1702 on 2 February. Besides various remarks and descriptions of the countries, towns and customs of the people, condition of the animals, fish and others in water and on land encountered throughout the four years, recorded with diligence, at the suggestion of good friends put into print by Fr Theodor Krump').

The work is written in German, sometimes in the 18th-century Bavarian dialect; some words are Latin with German grammatical endings, some are derived from Italian. The text contains several examples of Krump's unconventional spelling, and uses the outdated '/' instead of a comma. It is 501 pages long in the 1710 edition, and describes everything Krump witnessed, from clothing and social interactions to food, sunsets and camels swimming across the Nile. As a traveller describing his experience, Krump contributes to history, ethnology, anthropology and geography. Herzog considers his text substantially more informative on the social affairs of the Muslims than the work of Charles-Jacques Poncet, who had travelled through the same area three years earlier (Herzog, 'Ethnographical notes', p. 128).

Krump's writing style makes his text difficult to follow, and his use of language, as well as his deep conviction of the existence of weird and mystical creatures, makes interpretation difficult. Gumprecht refers to this conviction as Krump's 'narrow-minded superstition' (*Die Reise des pater Krump*, p. 53).

Krump draws on Leo Africanus for the general survey of the region, also referring to information he gathered from the works of Alvarez, Mármol and Kircher (Herzog, 'Ethnographical notes', p. 120). Although familiar with the journey undertaken by Poncet, he did not use Poncet's book because it had not yet been published.

Krump offers much description and several comments on day-to-day Muslim life in Sennar. For example, he describes a Muslim burial, noting that the body is, according to 'Muhammadan' custom, buried in a pit in an open field. The grave is decorated with colourful pebbles (*Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum*, 1710, pp. 228, 310). Krump also describes in detail the recipe for the local alcoholic drink: 'They make a drink or beer called busa from durra …' (p. 246). He says that a Muslim was witnessed killing his unmarried sister because she was pregnant, and was only fined a small sum for this murder (p. 247). According to Krump, the Moors (the



Illustration 6. Frontispiece from Theodor Krump, *Hoher, und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum Deß Heiligen Evangelij* ..., showing the 'High and fruitful palm-tree of the Holy Gospel, that is: Deep-rooted teaching in faith proved to be in the heart of the high Abyssinian monarch'

name he gives them) considered white people to be terribly ugly (p. 221), though just as the Europeans' white skin seemed repulsive and inappropriate to the Sudanese, so the Europeans despised the black skin of the Sudanese. Krump illustrates this by suggesting that the Moors portrayed the angels of heaven as black and the devil as white.

With regard to Christian-Muslim relations, Krump states that the inhabitants were Christian 200 years before, but they were now Muslim and therefore 'without law or faith' (p. 224). But he regards them as only pretending to be Muslim, and as 'sitting in the darkness of godless Muhammadanism, blackened in body and soul' (p. 226).

Krump questions Muḥammad's date of birth and attempts to explain his influence on people (p. 99). He at times engages in theological argumentation, claiming, for example, that the Qur'an, the 'holy book of the Arabs', contains a message that is just as false as that preached by the Lutherans (p. 535).

Krump encounters various religions on his travels. He refers to the heathen as Barbarians, probably belonging to the Berber tribes, and mentions Arabs, who seem to pose a constant threat to passing caravans. There are also references to Moors, Muhammadans, Saracens and Turks, without specifying that they are Muslims. Krump's descriptions also seem to include some syncretistic elements in the religions. He notes that when they reach the grave of a local Christian martyr the 'Turkish folk' feel able to leave some of their merchandise at the grave site as they believe people will not steal from such a place, even though the 'Turkish folk are thievish themselves' (p. 216). The expression 'Turks' is here presumably used to refer to Muslims, as in a different passage Krump indicates that during a severe sandstorm the Turks cry out their customary *Lā ilaha illā Allāh*, which he refers to as their 'false prophet' (p. 217). He, meanwhile, blesses the sandstorm with a relic that he believes to be a 'piece of the cross and thorn of the crown' (p. 217). It is statements of this kind that form the basis for Gumprecht's accusation that Krump was superstitious.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although strongly opinionated and biased against Muslims, Krump presents a valuable and rather unique source on the Funj Kingdom of Sennar in the 18th century. Unlike other travellers to the region, he spoke Arabic and was able to engage directly with the Muslim community.

It is difficult to assess the influence Krump's work had on contemporary and later authors. Herzog suggests that his work was either

unknown or uninfluential during his own lifetime ('Ethnographical notes'). The publication appears to be mentioned first in 1784 by Gottlieb Stuck in *Gottlieb Heinrich Stuck's ... Verzeichnis von aeltern und neuern Land- und Reisebeschreibungen* (Halle) and next in 1850 by Gumprecht in *Die Reise des pater Krump*, but without generating any real interest. Only in 1914, in Leonhard Wilke's *Im Reiche des Negus vor 200 Jahren* (Trier), is there a further reference to Krump as among those who contributed to the Franciscan Order. The main publications on the Sudan make no reference to Krump's work until the appearance of Spaulding's translation in 1979. Herzog attributes this obscurity to the fact that the work was only ever printed in a few copies, and the long title discouraged people from reading it ('Ethnographical notes', p. 123).

A theologian and priest, Krump was not a natural scientist, and acts as a mere observer of events and phenomena, with his descriptions revealing strong religious opinions. However, his detailed descriptions of events and conversations contain important information on Africa, the meeting point for Christians and Muslims. Spaulding considers that the work offers an unparalleled contribution on the organization and conduct of the trans-Saharan caravan trade, the slave trade and Sudanese medical practices, but also observes that the focus is first and foremost on Krump himself (*Sudanese travels*, 'Introduction', p. 1). Krump's Christian bias in his opinions and complaints overshadows his contribution to natural history. Although his approach to Islam is critical and even outright negative, he nonetheless gives credit and recognition to the pious virtues of the Sudanese Muslims he encounters.

PUBLICATIONS

According to Herzog ('Ethnographical notes', p. 122) a copy of Krump's work is kept in the University Library of Göttingen. Crawford (*Fung Kingdom*, p. 213) says there is also a copy of the manuscript in the British Museum (now British Library).

Herzog ('Ethnographical notes') refers to a translation made by Crawford and Bruce, which seems never to have been published. Herzog himself says he made a translation of a section of the work, but no evidence of its publication has been found.

Theodor Krump, *Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum deß Heiligen Evangelij*, Augsburg, 1710; Res/4 It.sing. 142 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

J. Spaulding (ed. and trans.), *The Sudanese travels of Theodoro Krump*, 1974 (English trans. of Sudanese section; copyrighted text, no published edition); available online http://www.kean.edu/~jspauldi/krump2home.html

J. Spaulding (ed. and trans.), *The Sudanese travels of Theodoro Krump*, Union NJ: Kean University History Department, 2001

STUDIES

R. Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa, a historical anthropology*, Bloomington IN, 2013, pp. 143-4

B. Streck, *Sudan. Steinerne Gräber und lebendige Kulturen am Nil*, Cologne, 1989, pp. 178-9

J. Spaulding, *The heroic age in Sinnār*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1985

Herzog, 'Ethnographical notes'

Crawford, *Fung Kingdom*

Gumprecht, *Die Reise des pater Krump*

Jaco Beyers

Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî

BIOGRAPHY

There is no certainty about the identity of the author of this text, allegedly a record of a dialogue between an Ottoman statesman and a Christian officer; it was copied verbatim (with very minor differences), probably in the late 1820s, by the chronicler Es'ad Efendi (d. 1848), who notes that it was written 'in the form of a discussion by some wise men' (*bazı erbâb-ı ukûl muhâkeme yollu kaleme alıp*) and 'submitted to Ahmed III through the Grand Vizier [Damad] Ibrahim Paşa'. Şerif Mardin ('Mind of the Turkish reformer', pp. 26-7) attributes the text to Damad Ibrahim Pasha himself. Niyazi Berkes (*Development of secularism*, pp. 30-1) thinks that it was 'inspired by the recommendations of some European observers who happened to be in Turkey at the time' and suggests more specifically a French officer, de Rochefort, who in 1717 had submitted to the Ottoman court a project to create an engineering corps. Berkes also offers the hypothesis that 'the document was inspired, if not prepared, by Ibrahim [Müteferrika], perhaps with encouragement from his former compatriots, for submittal to his patron, the Sadrazam [Damad] Ibrahim Paşa' (*Development of secularism*, p. 33). The same suggestion was made by Faik Unat ('Ahmet III', p. 107, n. 3), and was also thought probable by Anton Schaendlinger ('Reformtraktate', pp. 242 and 250).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

M. Sariyannis with a chapter by E.E. Tuşalp Atiyas, *Ottoman political thought up to the Tanzimat. A concise history*, Rethymno, 2015, pp. 157-9 (e-book: http://ottpol.ims.forth.gr/?q=content/book)

A. Schaendlinger, 'Reformtraktate und -vorschläge im Osmanischen Reich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in Ch. Franger and K. Schwarz (eds), *Festgabe an Josef Matuz. Osmanistik – Turkologie – Diplomatik*, Berlin, 1992, 239-53, pp. 241-2, 246-50

Ş. Mardin, 'The mind of the Turkish reformer, 1700-1900', in S.A. Hanna and G.H. Gardner (eds), *Arab socialism*, Salt Lake City UT, 1969, 24-48, pp. 26-7

N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, London, 1964 (repr. in facsimile 1998), pp. 30-3

F.R. Unat, 'Ahmet III devrine ait bir ıslahat takriri', *Tarih Vesikaları* 1 (1941) 107-21 (contains the text as included in Es'ad Efendi's chronicle)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî, 'Dialogue between an Ottoman and a Christian'

DATE 1718 [?]
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION
Copies of this short text exist in several manuscripts and in modern editions. It covers 18 fols in MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi – Hazine 1634, 9, which was copied by Mehmed Veliyüddin in 1719-20. In the modern editions used here, Z. Yılmazer (2000) and F.R. Unat (1941), the text covers pp. 586-606 and pp. 107-21 respectively.

A copy of *Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî* dated 1719-20 (MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi – H. 1634) would suggest that the original text was indeed composed in 1718 (the final part, containing diplomatic and strategic suggestions, clearly belongs to those years). The text reflects the 'modernist' trend of Ottoman political thought, and we find its echoes in İbrahim Müteferrika's description of European military discipline and organisation. In other aspects, however, it would seem to



Illustration 7. Page from *Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî* ('Dialogue between an Ottoman and a Christian'). The term *Nasrânî*, which usually means 'Christian', is used throughout the dialogue to indicate the opponent's political identity as a European

have closer links with the era of Es'ad Efendi, rather than its alleged dating. This indicates that it must have been in wide circulation and exerting a strong influence from the final decades of the 18th century onwards, as it resonates with recurrent tropes of reformist literature. For example, as Ethan Menchinger notes, there are points in the text that can be found verbatim in Vâsıf Efendi, particularly his ideas on *istidrâc* (E. Menchinger, 'An Ottoman historian in an age of reform. Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi [ca. 1730-1806]', Ann Arbor MI, 2014 [PhD Diss. University of Michigan], p. 154). Furthermore, the anonymous (but probably written by Ahmed Resmî Efendi) work *Avrupa'ya mensûb olan mîzân-ı umûr-ı hâriciyye*, (F. Yeşil [ed.], *Bir Osmanlı gözüyle Avrupa siyasetinde güç oyunu*, Istanbul, 2012) brings to mind the final part of *Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî* that deals with the European system of alliances. Finally, the concept of *mukabele bi'l-misl* resonates with similar passages found in the works of Râtıb Efendi and Koca Sekbanbaşı, composed in the 1790s and 1800s, as well as in Es'ad Efendi's chronicle (Yılmazer, pp. LXXXVIII, 456, 569-70).

According to the text, during the negotiations for the Treaty of Passarowitz, a Christian officer (*zümre-i zabıtân-ı Nasâra'dan bir kâfir*; note that the word *kâfir*, 'infidel', was changed to *şahs*, 'person' in Es'ad Efendi's 19th-century version) had some friendly discussions with a notable from the Ottoman army (*namdârân-ı asâkir-i osmaniyyeden bir merd*). The account of what passed between them was submitted to Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-30), as it was considered helpful for arranging state affairs. It is structured as a series of questions and answers by the two parties.

The Ottoman officer first states that he has spent his entire life engaged in holy war, and asks why it is that the Ottomans prevailed in all battles against the Austrians up until the first siege of Vienna in 1529, but after this point the Christians were usually victorious. He mentions that he has no knowledge of the Muslim arts of war, but is well acquainted with the Austrian ways, and asks why, following the double defeats of the Austrians by the French and the Hungarians, the Ottomans were unable to profit from the situation and sought peace instead. The Ottoman notable reminds his interlocutor that [Amcazâde Köprülü] Hüseyin Pasha, as principal negotiator, justified the treaty of Karlowitz on the grounds that peace was needed for the welfare of the towns and the treasury and in order to allow the number of troops to be multiplied so that they exact future revenge. Indeed, he says, it is obvious that the peasants needed peace and that war brings them only disaster.

The Christian interlocutor then remarks that all realms are governed either through justice or oppression, and it is the task of the wise men in a realm to be aware of the situation in other countries. He continues to say that he himself has read histories of the Ottoman Empire from its very beginnings, and knows well that the sultan is wise and just and his acts are in accordance with the law of wisdom (Unat, 'Ahmet III', p. 110; Yılmazer, *Sahhâflar*, p. 590). Nevertheless, he finds it striking that Ottoman statesmen and notables (*erkân-ı devlet ve â'yân-ı saltanat*) are moved in their positions continuously, while in other countries these posts are given for life or, at any rate, are not retracted unless a serious offence is committed by the holder. The Ottoman notable responds that there can be no comparison between the Ottoman Empire and other states: in the latter, posts belong to the nobility and are therefore hereditary, whereas the sultan grants offices to whoever is worthy (Unat, 'Ahmet III', p. 111; Yılmazer, *Sahhâflar*, p. 591). He adds, however, that it is often difficult to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy; moreover, the exalted state is like the human body, with the grand vizier as the head: if the head is lucid and wise, an injured limb may function, while in the opposite case the whole organism will be destroyed.

The discussion then turns again to the question of military superiority. Here the Christian officer comments that the Ottomans have stopped observing the rules of holy law as well as their old laws (*kavânîn-i kadîme*). Their officers used to be pious, valiant and zealous, with the soldiers neither pillaging the land nor engaging in agriculture or commerce, while now the Ottoman ranks are filled with 'Turks, Kurds and other groups of corruption' (Unat, 'Ahmet III', p. 113; Yılmazer, *Sahhâflar*, p. 595). He adds that discipline and order are the bases for victory, which is why the Austrians, knowing that they could not withstand an Ottoman assault, started to dig trenches, use artillery and increase their levels of discipline, organisation and military training. He comments that if the Ottomans did the same, they would be invincible.

The Ottoman interlocutor then asks his Christian counterpart whether he believes that an interval of peace could be beneficial to an army to allow it to reorganise itself in terms of discipline and equipment, so that they could come back even more powerful (Unat, 'Ahmet III', p. 114; Yılmazer, *Sahhâflar*, p. 596). The Christian agrees, remarking, however, that the victorious side will dictate the peace terms to the defeated. He then stresses that, while soldiers may display discipline for a short period of time, it requires far longer for officers to be trained in the sciences

of war. The discussion then moves to the terms of a possible peace, with the Ottoman asking about the possibility of keeping Belgrade and Timişoara, as well as about an English intervention, while the Christian keeps emphasising that whoever dominated the battlefield will also be the stronger party in negotiations. The Christian officer suggests that if a peace treaty is not achieved, the Ottomans should try to inspire zeal among their soldiers and punish those who are undisciplined or who desert; in particular, however, for the moment, they should protect their border using 20,000 or 30,000 experienced and trustworthy soldiers, trained by Christian officers (*tavâif-i nasârâdan mürettep*) who would be paid out of the money that would otherwise be used for war (Unat, 'Ahmet III', p. 116; Yılmazer, *Sahhâflar*, p. 599). The Ottoman insists that their ultimate goal is retaliation, and thus a long period of peace is needed to restore order; to which the Christian responds that there are two ways of campaigning, one through constant attack and sieges, and the other through having an army ready at the borders both to inspire fear in the enemy and to cause him to incur unnecessary expenses.

The discussion then focuses on the movements planned by each of the two foes for the following year, with the Christian giving detailed advice to his enemy. In conclusion, the Ottoman officer admits to the honesty of his interlocutor, but notes that Ottoman history has proved that victory comes with God's help. As for the victories of the infidels, they fall into the category of temporary successes, with God lulling them into a false sense of confidence and victory (*istidrâc*), as was the case with the crusaders when they captured Jerusalem (Unat, 'Ahmet III', p. 119; Yılmazer, *Sahhâflar*, pp. 602-3). The dialogue ends with the Christian explaining the alliances and enmities in Europe: the Christian kings, he says, always seek to be each other's equals (Unat, 'Ahmet III', p. 120; Yılmazer, *Sahhâflar*, p. 604: *beynlerinde müsâvât murâd ederler*), as they know that once one kingdom prevails over another it will soon prevail over all the rest as well. Thus, when one country appears stronger, the others will form an alliance against it, as is illustrated by numerous examples from recent European history.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although the term 'Christians' (*Nasârâ*) is used throughout the dialogue to denote the Europeans, the discussion does not deal with religion. The fact that the term is used here to refer to political entities or cultures rather than religion is telling: when speaking of Europe, Ottoman authors usually refer to 'infidels'. This is not the first instance of

such a term being used with this connotation. The anonymous author of the *Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî* here follows the example of Kâtib Çelebi (d. 1657), who also describes the institutions and kings of 'the Christian classes' (B. Yurtoğlu (ed.), *Katip Çelebi'nin Yunan, Roma ve Hristiyan tarihi hakkındaki risalesi*, Ankara, 2012, pp. 38, 47, etc.: *firak-ı Nasârâ, mülûk-ı Nasârâ*); similar use of the term can be found regularly in İbrahim Müteferrika's 1732 treatise (e.g. A. Şen (ed.), *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem*, Ankara, 1995, pp. 139, 162, 164, 173, 179). On the other hand, when advocating the use of European scientific sources, Kâtib Çelebi preferred to refer to 'Europe' (*Avrupa*) or 'Frenk/Frengistan' (see quotations in Kâtip Çelebi, *Hayatı ve eserleri hakkında incelemeler*, Ankara, 1957, repr. 1991, pp. 25, 26, 29, 64-5, 74, 131). *Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî* may thus be the first Ottoman work that suggests a remodelling of social and military structures along the lines of concepts that are explicitly referred to as 'Christian'. The idea that the Europeans initially copied the discipline and order of the Ottoman army represents an attempt to couch the contemporary efforts to 'Westernise' the Ottoman military within a 'patriotic' or even Islamic framework or line of argumentation, based on the principle of reciprocity (*mukâbele bi'l-misl*), thus avoiding any depiction of Europeans as inherently superior to Ottomans.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi – Hazine 1634, 9 fols (copied by Mehmed Veliyüddin in 1719-20)

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi – Yeniler 3963, 18 fols (n.d.)

These two MSS are described in F.E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, Istanbul, 1961, vol. 1, pp. 281-2 (nos 877-8)

The text was included in Es'ad Efendi's historical work, found in the following MSS (for details see Yılmazer, *Vak'a-nüvîs Es'ad Efendi tarihi*, pp. XLIX-LI):

MS Istanbul, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi – T.6005

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Cod. H.O. 210

MS Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi – Ali Emîri Tarih 50

MS Istanbul, Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi – T.2391

MS Istanbul, Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi – T.158

Unat, 'Ahmet III', 107-21 (contains the text as included in Es'ad Efendi's chronicle)

Z. Yılmazer (ed.), *Sahhâflar Şeyhi-zâde Seyyid Mehmed Es'ad Efendi. Vak'a-nüvîs Es'ad Efendi tarihi (Bâhir Efendi'nin zeyl ve ilâveleriyle), 1237-1241/1821-1826*, Istanbul, 2000, pp. 586-606

STUDIES

Sariyannis, *Ottoman political thought*

Schaendlinger, 'Reformtraktate und -vorschläge im Osmanischen Reich'

C. Kafadar, 'Self and others. The diary of a dervish in seventeenth century Istanbul and first-person narratives in Ottoman literature', *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989) 121-50, p. 133

Mardin, 'Mind of the Turkish reformer'

Berkes, *Development of secularism*

Marinos Sariyannis

Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Bākirjī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1721
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of an 18th-century work entitled *Risāla fī radd man istaḥalla amwāl ahl al-dhimma* ('An epistle in refutation of those who regard it as lawful to seize the properties of the *dhimmīs*'), except that he was named Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Bākirjī. From the contents of the *Risāla*, it seems that he received a traditional religious education in the Qur'an, the Hadith, *tafsīr* and *fiqh*, while the date of 1133 AH (1721) on the colophon indicates that he lived between the second half of the 17th century and the first quarter of the 18th.

He should not be confused with Qasīm al-Bākirjī the linguist, who was living in Aleppo at about this time, though sharing the same surname (*nisba*) may suggest that the scholars were relatives or at least were based in the same region.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reşid Efendi 380, fols 81v-84r (1721)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī radd man istaḥalla amwāl ahl al-dhimma, 'An epistle in refutation of those who regard it as lawful to seize the properties of the *dhimmīs*'

DATE 1721
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This unpublished work (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reşid Efendi 380) is about six folios long, and is evidently part of a longer book that appears

to have been lost. The *Risāla* starts at fol. 81v, line 30 (beginning with the *basmala*), and continues to the bottom of fol. 84r, ending with the colophon that includes the date 1133 AH (1721). It is located at the end of Chapter 14 and is followed by Chapter 15 of the lost book. Although its subject matter is the relationship between Muslims and *dhimmī*s, it seems that the lost book was devoted mainly to Islamic jurisprudence, because Chapters 14 and 15 both discuss religious matters, namely, the punishment of those who do not pray, and the virtues of performing ablution (*wuḍūʿ* and/or *tayammum*) before going to sleep.

Al-Bākirjī opens his *Risāla* with the *basmala*, praise of God, the Prophet and his Companions, and introduces himself as 'the weak servant seeking his Lord's mercy, the most Benevolent, Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Bākirjī'. He then explains the reason for the *Risāla* as being to refute a mufti who had issued a fatwa that legitimised rulers seizing the property of *dhimmī*s and killing them. Al-Bākirjī sees it as his duty to refute this opinion and to show that it contradicts the tradition of Islam and the consensus of Muslim scholars. Al-Bākirjī neither mentions the mufti's name nor gives a complete version of his original fatwa, suggesting that they were extremely well-known, and also that al-Bākirjī aimed to insult the mufti by not lowering himself to mention his name.

The anonymous mufti justifies seizing the property of non-Muslims living in Muslim lands on the basis of Q 9:29, 'Fight against such of those who have been given the scripture as believe not in Allāh nor the last day, and forbid not that which Allāh hath forbidden by his messenger, and follow not the religion of truth until they pay the tribute readily, being brought low.' Al-Bākirjī counters with arguments from the Qur'an, the Hadiths and scholarly opinions, together with his own reflections on conditions in the region. He accuses the mufti of ignorance and bias by taking his citations from the Qur'an and Hadiths out of context. He lists interpretations of Q 9:29 from earlier Muslim scholars, and argues that none of these legitimises killing the *ahl al-dhimma* or confiscating their property as long as they do not betray Muslims by helping their enemies. The fact that the *ahl al-dhimma* refuse to pay the *jizya* should not be understood as an attempt to breach their covenant with Muslims, but rather as the result of Muslim rulers being unable to reverse the economic decline in the region that prevented them from paying the *jizya*. Al-Bākirjī concludes that the mufti's opinion is unquestionably irreligious.

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite the lack of information about the author, the work is of importance for understanding Muslim-Christian relations in the 18th-century Ottoman world. The epistle shows how 18th-century Muslim scholars used the Qur'an and Hadith together with earlier Muslim literature to support their religious views, but more importantly it shows pronounced differences of attitude among Muslim scholars with regard to Christians and other non-Muslims. For some, they were not to be treated as subhuman, but with the dignity due to them by virtue of their position within Islamic religious law.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reşid Efendi 380, fols 81v-84r (1721)

Mariam M. Shehata

ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir

DATE OF BIRTH 1684
PLACE OF BIRTH Aleppo
DATE OF DEATH 31 August 1748
PLACE OF DEATH al-Shuwayr (Mount Lebanon)

BIOGRAPHY

ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir, son of Zakhariyā Ṣāʾigh, was a major figure in the Romanophile movement (which favoured union of the Eastern Churches with Rome), first in Aleppo until November 1722, then in Mount Lebanon, especially in al-Shuwayr, from 1722 until his death. He was part of the generation that saw the Melkite Antiochian community split in two after the death of Patriarch Athanasius Dabbās (24 July 1724). One group sided with the Romanophile Patriarch Kīrillus Ṭānās (d. 1760), with the other accepting as their patriarch Sylvester the Cypriot (d. 1766), who was appointed by Constantinople.

ʿAbd Allāh was born into a wealthy Melkite family of goldsmiths – hence his father's nick-name *al-ṣāʾigh*. Qualifying ʿAbd Allāh's family as Catholic or Orthodox at his birth is an anachronism, but he may have been raised in a Romanophile milieu. According to his biographer, he was nicknamed Zākhir or Ibn al-Zākhir because of the breadth (implied in the etymology of this name) of his virtues and his knowledge. Aleppo in the late 17th century saw the beginnings of an intellectual ferment. Like some of his Christian contemporaries who studied Arabic under Muslim teachers, ʿAbd Allāh was the disciple of Sulaymān al-Naḥwī (d. 1728), a scholar of some local fame, and this unusual cultural inter-religious encounter deserves to be highlighted. In addition, ʿAbd Allāh learned philosophy and theology from the great minds of his time: Mīkhāʾil Bajaʿ (d. early 18th century) and Buṭrus al-Tulāwī (1655-1745). ʿAbd Allāh's undisputed command of Arabic earned him close collaboration with Jesuit missionaries, who employed him in correcting their Arabic translations of European works. Indeed, ʿAbd Allāh seems to have opted for Romanophilism after being challenged by reading the anti-Latin *Kitāb al-Silāḥ al-qāṭiʿ wa-l-sayf al-murhaf al-lāmiʿ* by Maximos the Peloponnesian (d. 1602) (originally titled *Encheiridion kata tou schismatos tōn Papistōn*), published by Dositheos in Bucharest in 1690.

ʿAbd Allāh entered the service of Athanasius Dabbās, who was still undecided between Romanophilism and its opponents until he attended the Synod of Constantinople in late 1722. After that date, when Athanasius started to oppose Romanophilism, collaboration between the two men became impossible and ʿAbd Allāh had to leave Aleppo for Mount Lebanon. He lived between Zūq Mīkhāʾīl, ʿAyn Ṭūrah (with the Jesuits, January 1724-June 1725) and al-Shuwayr, where he settled permanently after 1731. As a layman, he lived a monastic lifestyle next to the monastery, helping with the philosophical and theological formation of young monks.

The name ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir is also linked to the development of the printing press in the Middle East. He first directed the press that Dabbās installed in Aleppo, and then he built one himself in the Convent of St John of Shuwayr, which was the first of its kind to use an Arabic font.

ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir excelled in intra-Christian, especially anti-Byzantine, polemic. His talent as a theologian and linguist was almost entirely devoted to the cause of Romanophilism. Joseph Nasrallah reports ten anti-Byzantine works, six against other Christians (Anglican, Armenian and Jacobite), one against the Jews and one against Muslims.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Ḥarīṣā, Bibliothèque de S. Paul – 209, 3° (numbering according to J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban* [s.l.], 1958, vol. 1, p. 173; edited in *Al-Masarra* 4 (1913) 201-9; 34 (1948) 386-96; contains a short biography of Zākhir probably written by his disciple Yuwākīm Muṭrān [1696-1766]; French trans. in J.E. Kahale, *Abdallah Zakher. Philosophe, théologien et fondateur de l'imprimerie arabe en Orient. Son époque. Sa vie. Ses œuvres*, Paris, 2000, pp. 39-54)

Secondary

J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du V^e^ au XX^e^ siècle*, Louvain, 1989, vol. 4/2, pp. 111-14 (contains an extensive bibliography on ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir, to which Kahale, *Abdallah Zakher* should be added)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray al-Masīḥ, wa-humā sirr al-tathlīth wa-sirr al-tajassud al-ilāhī, 'The evident proof for the truth of the two mysteries of Christ, which are the mystery of the Trinity and the mystery of the divine Incarnation'

DATE 1721

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir's book *Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray al-Masīḥ, wa-humā sirr al-tathlīth wa-sirr al-tajassud al-ilāhī* is, as its title indicates, a defence of the two great Christian mysteries, the Trinity and the Incarnation. On the first page of the edition published in Shuwayr in 1764, 16 years after the author's death, there is a note, which could be from the publishers, saying that the book was written in Aleppo in 1721 and is addressed to a *mutafaqqih* (p. 1; all references are to the 1764 al-Shuwayr edition), an expert (or so-called expert) in Muslim law, although in the preface the author says he wrote the book in response to a request made by 'an authority to whom he owes obedience' (p. 8). One could surmise that this request was made by Patriarch Athanasius Dabbās, with whom ʿAbd Allāh had a good relationship – however, attaching a monograph to a request from an authority was commonplace in this era. Whatever the involvement of the patriarch may have been, the book is indeed addressed to a Muslim interlocutor – at one point, ʿAbd Allāh calls him *ayyuhā al-faqīh*, 'O expert in Muslim law' (p. 31).

In the 1764 Shuwayr edition, *Al-burhān* comprises: the front page (p. 1); a warning, *tanbīh*, written by the editors (pp. 2-6); the preface, *fātiḥa* (pp. 8-9); table of contents, *fiḥris* (pp. 10-13); the introduction (pp. 14-21); the first treatise, *baḥth*, on the Trinity (pp. 21-79); the second treatise, on the Incarnation (pp. 80-157); and finally a conclusion, *khātima* (pp. 158-69). The first treatise comprises four chapters, and the second five. The apologetic method is announced in the introduction: human reason (*al-ʿaql*) was made by God that we might know him as he is (*bi-ḥasab-mā hū fī dhātih*), by faith – which is the submission of our reason to the testimonies (*shahādāt*) of the two Testaments. While searching to understand the mysteries of God, one must not exceed

the divine limits (*ḥudūd*), claiming to know the infinite God through finite reason. Rather, one must rely on revelation, even if it seems to contradict the light of natural reason.

Faith based on the Bible precedes reason, but in his argument ʿAbd Allāh reverses this order. He begins each treatise with a rational argument, using syllogisms and analogies (*qiyās*) to understand the two divine mysteries, and he closes each with biblical quotations. Since the apologetic argument thus depends ultimately on the Bible, it becomes imperative to dismiss the Muslim accusation of textual corruption, and ʿAbd Allāh marshals arguments to do this at the end, finally making *Al-burhān* an explicitly apologetic piece.

The first treatise is an exposition of the Trinity along traditional lines. In Ch. 1, ʿAbd Allāh adduces the two Trinitarian analogies of the sun, its heat and rays, and the soul with its faculties of reason and will; Ch. 2 explains the divine names; Ch. 3 warns about misunderstanding these names: their multiplicity does not mean any preference of one over the another or a deficiency in any one, but only a distinction between the Persons; Ch. 4 quotes well-known biblical verses in support. This first treatise has no explicit allusion to any debate with Muslim theology.

ʿAbd Allāh begins the second treatise with two reasons for the Incarnation: the infinite generosity (*jūd*) of God, which offers humankind the infinite object of God's own Person, and the infinite price paid for humankind's infinite wickedness in the Incarnation; Ch. 2 defends the Incarnation as not unfitting for either God or humankind; and as a condition for the greater glory of God, and the salvation of human beings; Ch. 3 explains the union of natures in Christ: just as the nature of a branch that has been grafted into a trunk does not change, though its fruits come from the trunk, so the actions of Christ, even through his human body, are those of his divine person and their value is divine; Ch. 4 deals with the life of Christ, his death (which was real) on the cross, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the sending of the Spirit, and finally the spread of the Church, its intention being to show how the historical Jesus demonstrated his divinity.

In this last chapter, criticisms of Islam emerge for the first time: the perfect law (*sharīʿa*) of Christ far surpasses 'the legitimising of the passions and the unleashing of the pleasures' (p. 109); Christ's acceptance of death 'is not imaginary, but real, for the real acquittal' of the human race (p. 111); the Christian religion was founded 'not on the strength of the sword and weapons, nor on threats and incentives (*targhīb*), nor on the

legitimacy of [human] pleasures, nor the unleashing of [human] nature' (p. 115), all Christian apologetic reasons for the rapid expansion of Islam.

At the end of this chapter, ʿAbd Allāh refers to the Spirit, allowing him to assert that this Spirit is not a prophet but the third Person of the Trinity (pp. 116-18), a tacit denial of any identification of Muḥammad with the Paraclete. He gives five reasons to avoid any confusion: Christ forbade his disciples to accept any prophets after him; the Spirit is not corporeal; the Spirit is not visible; the Spirit comforts the disciples and gives them strength; they received the Spirit before their departure from Jerusalem. Therefore, the Spirit is the third Person of the Trinity and not a creature or a prophet – the Spirit is Lord of the prophets!

Ch. 5 of this second treatise, at 40 pages by far the longest, presents biblical quotations giving evidence of the divinity of Christ. They come from both Testaments, and contain clear inferences that Christ was not a prophet but greater than the prophets.

In the last part of this long chapter, ʿAbd Allāh responds to two well-known objections from Muslims: how could Christ not have known the Day of Judgment (Mark 13: 32), and why did he refuse to be called good by the rich man (Mark 10: 18)? His answer to the first is classic: as a man, Jesus was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, but only in this respect (*ḥaythiyya*), for as God, in communication with the Father's knowledge, Jesus certainly knew the hour of judgment. As for Jesus's refusal to be called good, ʿAbd Allāh emphasises that this does not deny the divinity of Christ, but rather his response invites the rich man to accept the implication of his statement: that Jesus, who is called good, must be God, since only God is good.

ʿAbd Allāh ends his work with a defence of the Bible as the foundation of the doctrines he has expounded. He produces a series of arguments: the text of the Old Testament is preserved by Jews as well as Christians, even though they are the 'enemies of our faith'; the New Testament was written down in the apostolic era in different languages in different places and at different times, making collusion impossible; no falsification could have taken place after the apostolic era, because it is impossible that the various Christian sects, scattered around the world and in mutual condemnation, would have agreed on such an undertaking; the attempt would be even more difficult after the 7th century (the coming of Islam), since this would require altering not only the biblical texts themselves, already numerous and translated into several languages, but also the texts of commentaries, which are innumerable.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work presents, first, a synthesis of theology that is immersed in Latin scholasticism but where the echoes of Arab Christian theology are still noticeable. Second, it demonstrates the indirect, rational, discreet and respectful manner in which Muslim-Christian polemics were conducted in the Ottoman Empire in Aleppo in the early 18th century; when ʿAbd Allāh dealt with the Romanophiles or with 'heretical' Christian confessions, he was rather more passionate, virulent and bitter, even to the point of insolence. Finally, the basically biblical argument of the book, even if it gives large place to scholastic schemas, earned this book a reception among the Protestant communities. The American missionary Eli Smith hailed the work's qualities as follows: 'In a work of Abdallah's on the Trinity and the incarnation of Christ, the Arabic language assumes a force and clearness, of which I had supposed it incapable when applied to religious controversy' (Salibi and Khoury, *Missionary Herald*, p. 158). For this reason, the book was reprinted almost a century later by Protestant missionaries in Malta, though without any mention of its author. The existence of many manuscripts in the possession of Christian institutions and individuals speaks of the great popularity of *Al-burhān*, though there is no indication that it had any effect among Muslims.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Jūn, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 1390 (1731)
MS Ṣarbā, Dayr Mukhalliṣ – collection Dayr al-Shīr, 841 (1731)
MS Luwayza, Notre Dame University – MD 9 (18 April 1738)
MS al-Shuwayr, Monastery of St John – 195/2 (1738; numbering according to Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, vol. 3, p. 176)
MS Vat – collection Sbath, 437 (18th century)
MSS Paris, BNF - arabe 4704 (1838)
MSS Jūn, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 908 (1851)
MS Shurfa (Sharfet), Dayr al-Sayyida – ar 5/24, pp. 1-35 (undated)
MS Mār Shaʿya, Dayr Mār Ishaʿya – without numbering (according to N. al-Jumayyil, *Al-nussākh al-mawārina wa-mansūkhātuhum*, Beirut, 2004, vol. 3, p. 137)
MSS Aleppo, Collections Rizk Allāh Bāsīl; Shaḥḥūd; Qusṭanṭīn Khuḍarī; Būlus Najm; Rufāʾīl Rabbāṭ; Wakīl Naṣrī (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1448; all must be regarded as lost)
MS Aleppo, Collection Naḥḥās (= MS Sbath Fihris, Supplément, p. 80; must be regarded as lost)

Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray al-Masīḥ, wa-humā sirr al-tathlīth wa-sirr al-tajassud al-ilāhī, al-Shuwayr, 1764

Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray al-Masīḥ, wa-humā sirr al-tathlīth wa-sirr al-tajassud al-ilāhī, Malta, 1834; (digitised version available through *Early Arabic Printed Books from the British Library*)

A Syriac trans. by Isrāʾīl of al-Qōsh is reported in J. Voste, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences, près d'Alqosh (Iraq)*, Rome, 1929, p. 35 (catalogue repr. by Gorgias Press, 2012)

STUDIES

K. Salibi and Y.K. Khoury (eds), *The Missionary Herald. Reports from Ottoman Syria 1819-1870*, vol. 2: *1828-1835*, Amman, 1995, p. 158 (extracts from a 'Journal' by Eli Smith describing a visit to the Monastery of St John at al-Shuwayr in April 1828, in which ʿAbd Allāh's work is praised as being of the highest linguistic quality)

P. Sbath, *Al-Fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes). Deuxième partie: Ouvrages des auteurs des trois derniers siècles*, Cairo, 1939, p. 41, no. 1448; Supplément, Cairo, 1940, p. 80

Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire*, vol. 4/2, p. 125

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1949, p. 195

Ronney el Gemayel

ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī

ʿAbd al-Ghanī ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī
ibn Ismāʿīl l-Nābulusī

DATE OF BIRTH 1641
PLACE OF BIRTH Damascus
DATE OF DEATH 1731
PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

An eminent theologian, jurist, poet, Sufi, and great commentator on Ibn ʿArabī's (d. 1240) mystical thought, ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī was one of the most illustrious intellectual figures of the 17th- and 18th-century Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire. He served as judge in al-Maydān (south of Damascus), and then as mufti of Damascus for a short period of time. He held a teaching post at the Salīmiyya Mosque and also taught at the Umayyad Mosque. He was known for his bold criticism of the religious establishment and for his outspoken disapproval of the political corruption of the time. Al-Nābulusī led a fruitful scholarly life, following in the footsteps of his forefathers, many of whom were also well-respected scholars.

Al-Nābulusī is known for his travels to Edirne and Istanbul (1664), Baʿlbak and the Biqāʿ Valley in Lebanon (1688), Jerusalem and Hebron (1689), Egypt and the Ḥijāz (1693), and Tripoli in Lebanon (1700). Apart from his visit to Istanbul, his journeys are all recorded in his travel books. As a polymath and prolific author, he wrote over 300 works on qur'anic exegesis, Prophetic traditions, law, theology, mysticism, history, poetry, travel, dream interpretation, and even agriculture. Only about 60 of these have so far been published; the great majority are still in manuscript form.

Al-Nābulusī's writings provide extensive information about his life and his meetings with people from all walks of life, including Christians. In his travelogues, the Christian holy places are described very reverently. He says, for example, that he and his companions visited the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, 'seeking a blessing by means of the relics (*āthār*) of the infallible prophet [Jesus]'. There he and his group enjoyed the monks' warm hospitality. He praises the monks not only for offering food to their Muslim visitors, but also for entertaining them by playing a

musical wind instrument called an *urghūl*, the sound of which al-Nābulusī compares to the singing of blackbirds and nightingales (*Al-ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz*, vol. 1, pp. 365-6). He also describes his visit to the Armenian monastery in Jaffa, where he and his companions attained 'perfect happiness, and the most complete purity and joy' (*Al-ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz*, vol. 1, p. 418). During his journey to the holy places in Jerusalem and Hebron, he visited pilgrimage sites honoured by Muslims and Christians in common, such as the footprint of Jesus at the Place of the Ascension, the tomb of Mary in Gethsemane and the tombs of the prophets Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in Hebron (see Sirriyeh, *Sufi visionary of Ottoman Damascus*, pp. 90-1; also p. 101).

Al-Nābulusī's collection of letters also provides useful information about his approach to religious pluralism. In a short letter sent to a certain Ali Efendi of Tekirdağ (1678), he expounds on piety (*taqwā*), which in his view is a concept shared by all religions, for God has exhorted all faith communities, the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*) as well as Muslims, to act piously towards God (Q 4:131). Thus, for al-Nābulusī, *taqwā* indicates 'being careful' and 'cautious' in situations that threaten sensory (*ḥissī*) and spiritual (*maʿnawī*) perdition in religion, in this world and in the hereafter (Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*, pp. 109-10, 114). In another letter sent to his friend in Nāblus, Palestine (1680), al-Nābulusī writes that self-purification and goodness should include all humanity, as he urges his correspondent 'to maintain purity of the chest from all evil, for one must not sleep and wake up while in one's heart there is harm for any of God's creatures at all, even if that creature is an unbeliever (*kāfir*) in God most high. For unbelief (*kufr*) is an attribute of the unbeliever, not his essence, and so is faith' (Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*, pp. 115, 143).

Al-Nābulusī's letters also reflect the degree of respect he enjoyed in wider Ottoman society. He corresponded with a number of his friends, colleagues, Sufis and high-ranking Ottoman officials, such as the Grand Vizier Mustafa Köprülü and Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi. His correspondents wrote to him from 16 cities and towns across the Ottoman Empire, from Istanbul, Edirne, Hayrabolu, Tekirdağ, Antep, Van, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Tripoli, Medina, Cairo and the town of Sombor in modern-day Serbia (see Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*).

The degree of respect and fame he enjoyed is clearly illustrated by the words of the highest religious authority of the time, Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi (d. 1703), who addressed him as the 'pole of the circle of

righteousness, and the centre of guidance and good deeds' (Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*, pp. 109, 337). In the modern period, he is described by Hamilton Gibb, as 'the outstanding figure in the Arabic literature of the Ottoman period' (H.A.R. Gibb, art. "Arabiyya. Arabic language and literature', in *EI2*), and by Walid Khalidi as 'the leading figure in the religious and literary life of Syria in his time' (Khalidi, "Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī'), while in the words of Samer Akkach, he appears as 'one of the key figures of Islamic enlightenment' (Akkach, *ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi*, p. xi).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Princeton, University Library, Islamic Manuscripts – 1808Y (date unknown; Ḥusayn ibn Ṭuʿma l-Baytamānī, *Al-mashrab al-hanī l-quds fī karāmat al-shaykh ʿAbd l-Ghanī l-Nābulusī*)

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān min abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Damascus, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 371-2

ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī, *Al-tuḥfa l-Nābulusiyya fī l-riḥla l-Ṭarābulusiyya*, ed. H. Busse as *Die Reise des ʿAbd al-Ġanī an-Nābulusī durch den Libanon*, Beirut, 1971

ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī, *Ḥullat al-dhahab al-ibrīz fī riḥlat Baʿlabakk wa-l-Biqāʿ al-ʿazīz*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munajjid, in Ṣ. al-Munağğid and S. Wild (eds), *Zwei Beschreibungen des Libanon. ʿAbd al-Ġani al-Nābulusīs Reise durch die Biqāʿ und al-Uṭaifīs Reise nach Tripolis*, Beirut, 1979

ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī, *Al-ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz fī riḥlat bilād al-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-l-Ḥijāz*, ed. R.ʿA.-Ḥ. Murād, Damascus, 1989

ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī, *Al-ḥaḍra l-unsiyya fī l-riḥla l-Qudsiyya*, ed. A.Ḥ. al-ʿUlabī, Beirut: al-Maṣādir, 1990

Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Beirut, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 30-8

ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī, *Wasāʾil al-taḥqīq wa-rasāʾil al-tawfīq*, ed. S. Akkach as *Letters of a Sufi scholar. The correspondence of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731)*, Leiden, 2010

Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-wird al-unsī wa-l-wārid al-qudsī fī tarjamat al-ʿārif ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī*, ed. S. Akkach as *Intimate invocations. Al-Ghazzī's biography of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nabulusī (1641-1731)*, Leiden, 2012

Secondary

S. Akkach, art. "Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī', in *EI3*

S. Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar. The correspondence of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731)*, Leiden, 2010

S. Akkach, *ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi. Islam and the Enlightenment*, Oxford, 2007

ʿA.M. Farghalī, *ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. Ḥayātuhu ārāʾuhu*, Cairo, 2005
E. Sirriyeh, *Sufi visionary of Ottoman Damascus. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, 1641-1731*, London, 2005
A. Maṭlūb, *Al-ʿārif ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī. Ḥayātuhu wa-shiʿruhu*, Beirut, 2004
Z.Kh. al-Barqāwī, *ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī wa-taṣawwufuhu*, Amman, 2003
A. Özel, art. 'Nablusî, Abdülganî b. İsmâil', in *DİA*
W.A.S. Khalidi, art. "Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī', in *EI2*
B.R. von Schlegell, 'Sufism in the Ottoman Arab world. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731)', Berkeley CA, 1997 (PhD Diss., University of California)
A.K. Cihan, 'Abdülgani Nablusi'nin hayatı ve kelami görüşleri', Kayseri, 1988 (MA Diss., Erciyes University)
B. Aladdin, "Abdalġanī an-Nābulusī (1143/1731). Œuvre, vie et doctrine', Paris, 1985 (PhD Diss., University of Paris-Sorbonne)
ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihras al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt wa-muʿjam al-maʿājim wa-l-mashyakhāt wa-l-musalsalāt*, Beirut, 1982, vol. 2, pp. 756-8

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Radd al-muftarī ʿan al-ṭaʿn fī l-Shushtarī, 'Refutation of the slanderer concerning the defamation of al-Shushtarī'

DATE 1685
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
This is al-Nābulusī's commentary on the famous poem by the Andalusian Sufi, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī l-Shushtarī (d. 1269), a disciple of Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 1269-70). Al-Shushtarī used Christian imagery in his poetry to express his spiritual journey to God. As the poem had been criticised by some of al-Nābulusī's contemporaries, he was asked to explain the hidden meanings behind al-Shushtarī's symbolic language.

In his defence of al-Shushtarī's use of Christian terminology, al-Nābulusī builds his argument upon the idea of universal sainthood, a concept that he adopted from Ibn ʿArabī. Following the Islamic teaching of universal prophethood, which begins with Adam and comes to completion with Muḥammad, al-Nābulusī asserts that at all times there are saints (*awliyāʾ*) who inherit the prophetic knowledge of God (*al-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyya*) and the truths of gnosis (*al-ḥaqāʾiq al-ʿirfāniyya*) (see the edition in Demiri, *Muslim perceptions*, § 5; all citations of the text that follow refer to this edition).

Al-Nābulusī writes that no prophet (*nabī*) or messenger (*rasūl*) will come after Muḥammad, but the 'knowers of God' (*al-ʿulamāʾ bi-llāh*) and the heirs (*al-waratha*) of the prophets and messengers of God will always be present until the end of time. In his view, each saint assumes the spiritual disposition (*mashrab*) of one particular prophet or messenger, so that the presence and support of the prophets and messengers is constantly felt within the *umma* (§ 7).

Among the saints there is what al-Nābulusī calls an *Ādamī Muḥammadī*, a Muḥammadan saint of Adam's disposition; a *Nūhī Muḥammadī*, a Muḥammadan saint of Noah's disposition; an *Ibrāhīmī Muḥammadī*, a Muḥammadan saint of Abrahamic disposition; a *Mūsawī Muḥammadī*, a Muḥammadan saint of Moses' disposition; an *ʿĪsawī Muḥammadī*, a Muḥammadan saint of Jesus' disposition, and so on. Ultimately, there is a Muḥammadan saint who encompasses the dispositions of all the prophets, called *Khātam al-wilāya l-Muḥammadiyya*, the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood, and there can be only one such saint at a time (§ 9).

In al-Nābulusī's opinion, when a divine manifestation occurs to a saint in the form of the disposition of Jesus, the saint's language will correspond to Jesus' language, i.e. his way of expression will be in Syriac. In his actions, worship, beliefs and states, the saint will follow the religion of Muḥammad, but his 'colour' (*ṣibgha*) will be that of Jesus. For some this may be a temporary state, while for others it may be permanent. Al-Nābulusī concludes that a saint of such spiritual inclination will live the religion of Muḥammad in the manner of Jesus (§ 10).

The reality of Jesus consisted of both affirming the principles of the Torah and explaining the secrets of the Gospel in Syriac, the language of the children of Israel. And when the Gospel was translated into Arabic, these spiritual stations (*al-maqāmāt al-suryāniyya l-injīliyya*) were introduced into Arabic as 'monastery' (*dayr*), 'monk' (*rāhib*), 'patriarch' (*biṭrīq*), 'deacon' (*shammās*), 'priest' (*qissīs*), 'wine' (*khamr*), 'chalice' (*kaʾs*), and 'church' (*kanīsa*). These terms in reality indicate divine mysteries (*asrār ilāhiyya*) and lordly states of special knowledge (*aḥwāl rabbāniyya ʿirfāniyya*) that Christians failed to preserve (§§ 11, 19-20). According to al-Nābulusī's reading, *shammās* (deacon – from *shams* or 'sun') means a worshipper who witnesses the sun of eternity; *biṭrīq* (patriarch) is one who serves the spiritual leaders; *rāhib* (monk – from the verb *r-h-b*, 'to fear') indicates one who is in awe of God; *qissīs* (priest – from the verb *q-s-s*, 'to pursue persistently') refers to striving for the knowledge of the divine; *khamr* (wine) indicates a divine manifestation

as experienced by the worshipper; *ka's* (chalice) refers to the image of the soul that has become an object of the divine manifestation; *kanīsa* (church – from the verb *k-n-s*, 'to sweep and clean the house') signifies purification of the soul from the impurities of other engagements (*aghyār*) and its cleansing from the dirt of claiming to have the power to act (§ 13); *dayr* (monastery) indicates *dayr al-azal* (home of eternity) and symbolises the eternal presence of God as witnessed by the knower of God (*ʿārif*) (§ 24), while *ṣulbān* (crosses/crucifixes) stands as a metaphor for the physical bodies of those who have gone through spiritual training (*riyāḍa*) and self-discipline (*mujāhada*), seeking God's pleasure (*al-ṭarīqa l-marḍiyya*) (§ 27).

In his theological thinking, al-Nābulusī holds a triumphalist view of Islam, as he writes that all religions (*al-adyān*) were abrogated by the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad. But the abrogation occurred in religious rulings related to practices (*al-aʿmāl al-sharʿiyya*), and certainly not in matters of belief (*ʿaqā'id*), for ultimately all the prophets brought the same monotheistic message of God. Hence, there is room, al-Nābulusī claims, for the Muḥammadan saints of Jesus' disposition to use the terminology of the true Gospel. Thus the book of Jesus descends to their hearts through inspiration (*ilhām*), though not through revelation (*waḥy*) as in the case of the prophets. In his view, it is possible that the scriptures can descend again into the hearts of the heirs (*al-waratha*) of the prophets, i.e. the saints, through inspiration (*ilhām*), although they originally descended into the hearts of the prophets through revelation (*waḥy*) (§§ 14-16). It therefore seems that al-Nābulusī's idea of the continuous revelation of scriptures has its origin in the writings of Ibn ʿArabī who held that 'the Qur'an came down to the heart of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, and it will never cease to come down to his community until the Day of Resurrection. What comes down to the hearts is new and will never wither; it is a perpetual revelation (*al-waḥy al-dā'im*)' (§ 17).

Al-Nābulusī concludes his argument by saying that al-Shushtarī was a Muḥammadan saint of Jesus' spiritual disposition (*mashrab*), and so there should be nothing objectionable in his use of the terminology of the unaltered true Gospel and his way of expression. Although al-Shushtarī spoke Arabic, the nature of his speech was essentially Syriac, the language of Jesus, says al-Nābulusī (§§ 18-20). He then goes on to comment on al-Shushtarī's poem verse by verse, explaining the words and offering his interpretation of the Christian terms used to expound the seeker's purification of the soul in the path to God.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although he was addressing his coreligionists, al-Nābulusī's commentary on al-Shushtarī's poetry demonstrates the on-going interest in exploring the mystical path to God through the encounter of the religious 'other', in this case Christianity. At the same time as his opponents, the puritanical Kadizadelis, had a problem identifying Islam as 'the religion of Abraham' (*millat Ibrāhīm*), he was promoting inclusivity in his spirituality. His defence of al-Shushtarī's use of Christian imagery also bears witness to the intellectual preoccupations that were shaping the Muslim world in the late 17th century.

Al-Nābulusī's outlook, however, was not shaped by an attempt to ignore the existence of fundamental theological differences between Islam and Christianity. He did not shy away from criticising theological matters that he found to be problematic from the perspective of Islamic doctrine, as seen in this work, where Christians are explicitly criticised on the grounds of theology, and Muslims are presented to be more deserving of Jesus than Christians since, in al-Nābulusī's view, Muslims are the true followers of Jesus' teaching (§§ 19-20).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Halet Efendi 759, fols 269r-275r (undated; presumably 1685)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3606, fols 119v-124r (1720)
MS Princeton, Firestone Library – Garrett 295Y, fols 122r-127v (18th century)
MS Baghdad, Maktabat al-Awqāf al-ʿĀmma – 6491/3, fol. 5 (1846)
MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – Majāmīʿ 9/73, fols 573-5 (1855-6)
MS Jerusalem, Budeiri Library – 1065/43 (undated; presumably 19th century)
MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya – ʿĀmm 4008, fols 63-8 (undated)
MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya – ʿĀmm 6979 (undated)
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – We. 1706, fols 37r-39v (undated)
MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – Majāmīʿ 496/3, fols 7-11 (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Lala İsmail 162, fols 44r-47v (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1730, fols 45r-51v (undated)
MS Kayseri, Raşid Efendi – 611, fols 60r-64v (undated)
MS Sarajevo, Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka – 3357/10, fols 104-8 (undated)
MS Alexandria, Baladiyyat al-Iskandariyya – 3792/jīm, fols 389-91 (undated)

MS Alexandria, Baladiyyat al-Iskandariyya – 3763/jīm, fols 40-51 (undated)

MS Tunis, Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya – Ḥasan Ḥasanī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 17906/4, fols 16-21 (undated)

Ighnāṭiyūs ʿAbdū Khalīfa al-Yasūʿī, 'Radd al-muftarī ʿan al-ṭaʿn fī l-Shushtarī', *Al-Machriq* 54 (1960) 629-39 (edition with no critical apparatus – not even qur'anic verses are referenced; apparently based on a manuscript found in the Maktabat Ḥabīb Zayyāt dated 1692)

L. Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731) on religious pluralism*, 'Sapientia Islamica', Tübingen (work in progress)

STUDIES

Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'*

O. Abou-Bakr, 'The symbolic function of metaphor in medieval Sufi poetry. The case of Shushtari', *Alif. Journal of Comparative Poetics* 12 (1992) 40-57, pp. 48-50

O.M. Abou-Bakr, 'A study of the poetry of al-Shushtari', Berkeley CA, 1987 (PhD Diss., University of California)

Al-qawl al-sadīd fī jawāz khulf al-waʿīd wa-l-radd ʿalā l-Rūmī l-ʿanīd, 'A sound discourse concerning the possibility that God will not carry out his threats and a refutation of the stubborn Turk'

DATE 1692

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise concerns the question of salvation, and whether the *ahl al-kitāb*, Jews and Christians, will be among those granted felicity in the hereafter. It is written in the form of a theological defence of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240), and is directed against an unnamed Turkish scholar who apparently criticised Ibn ʿArabī for his inclusivist views on the salvation of the People of the Book.

Michael Winter, the first to write about this work, describes al-Nābulusī's opponent as no more than 'an anonymous Turk' ('Polemical treatise',

p. 93), whereas Hamid Algar proposes that he may have been a Greek or Slav Turkicised by his conversion to Islam. Barbara von Schlegell, however, identifies him as Maḥmūd ibn Shaykh ʿAlī, relying on a note found in one of the manuscripts of *Al-qawl al-sadīd* ('Sufism in the Ottoman Arab world', p. 101; for Algar's view, see p. 100, n. 276). This is further corroborated by a letter in which al-Nābulusī writes that, following the recommendation of a friend, he agreed that a certain Mahmud Efendi could attend his study circle. At some point, however, when al-Nābulusī quoted and commented on a passage from Ibn ʿArabī's *Al-futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* concerning the status of the *ahl al-kitāb*, this same Mahmud Efendi condemned and attacked both Ibn ʿArabī and al-Nābulusī. After leaving al-Nābulusī's study circle, the student reproached his former teacher and spread 'false' information about him (see Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*, pp. 64, 214-20), prompting al-Nābulusī to respond to these claims.

In his meticulously executed theological response, al-Nābulusī's first strategy is to remind his opponent of his non-Muslim origins; he who accused Ibn ʿArabī of unbelief (*kufr*) should first of all be reminded of his own time as a non-Muslim. How dare a recent convert to Islam condemn such an eminent scholar and a servant of Islam for his inclusivist views regarding non-Muslims (see the edition in Demiri, *Muslim perceptions*, § 3; all citations of the text that follow refer to this edition)? Al-Nābulusī also criticises his opponent for his lack of knowledge of Arabic, Islamic theology and jurisprudence. He stands not even at the lowest level of a seeker of knowledge (*ṭālib li-l-ʿilm*), and yet he foolishly reproaches scholars (§§ 39, 61 and 121). It is, in his words, the 'ignorant and wicked' opponent's pretension to act as a learned man, when he is not one, that particularly alarms al-Nābulusī (§ 112).

With this treatise, al-Nābulusī aims to defend Ibn ʿArabī's views. It was specifically a statement in Ibn ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt* that triggered the polemic between al-Nābulusī and his student. In a passage discussing the universality of Muḥammad's prophethood, Ibn ʿArabī concludes that the People of the Book, the Jews and the Christians, will attain happiness (*saʿāda*) by paying the *jizya* (poll-tax). Apparently, al-Nābulusī's adversary took the word *saʿāda* to refer exclusively to eternal happiness in heaven. As a result, he declared Ibn ʿArabī's statement to be in contradiction with God's *waʿīd*, i.e. God's threatening of the unbelievers with hellfire. Al-Nābulusī, however, accuses his opponent of misunderstanding and misinterpreting Ibn ʿArabī's words, and offers a three-fold explanation for *saʿāda*. First, it encompasses both meanings, earthly and heavenly happiness. In this

particular context, i.e. when happiness is granted to the Jews and the Christians based on their payment of the *jizya*, it is earthly happiness that first comes to mind. By paying the *jizya*, the *ahl al-kitāb* gain the same rights as those of the Muslims and legally become their equals. Thus they reach the state of happiness in this world. Second, *saʿāda* may also refer to happiness in the hereafter, for theologically speaking the *ahl al-kitāb*'s unbelief is less than that of other categories of unbelievers. Therefore, they may deserve to be in a better position than the rest. Just as heaven has different degrees, likewise hell has different levels (§§ 46-51). The third interpretation is to read this passage as a reference to a specific type of Christian and Jew: those who may have accepted Islam in secret without expressing it openly, for faith (*īmān*) means affirmation by the heart alone. Declaration by the tongue is necessary only for the application of the laws of this world, and is not part of faith itself. Outwardly they are considered unbelievers, while inwardly they are in reality believers. In this case, it is heavenly happiness that is intended, which al-Nābulusī identifies as a special kind of happiness (*al-saʿāda l-khāṣṣa*) that he correlates to the payment of the *jizya*, the only act by which they outwardly follow the Muḥammadan Law (*al-sharīʿa l-Muḥammadiyya*) (§§ 62-5).

After this lengthy analysis of the meaning of *saʿāda*, al-Nābulusī goes on to develop his main argument against his opponent, which is primarily based on the nature of divine mercy and forgiveness. Is God's forgiveness limited to believers, or does it also include unbelievers? If God's mercy is all-encompassing, how should we interpret his threats against sinners? How should one read the scriptural texts (*nuṣūṣ*) concerning God's threatening unbelievers with hellfire? Are these threats inevitable? If not, does it make God guilty of lying? Al-Nābulusī's response is shaped by his understanding of divine mercy, based on an Ashʿarī principle that suggests that God is free not to carry out his threats (*waʿīd*) if he so wishes. In fact, not carrying them out is an act of generosity on God's part, one of the attributes of perfection. In al-Nābulusī's view, to claim the opposite would result in accusing Sunnī *'ulamā'*, i.e. Ashʿarī theologians, of unbelief. And to accuse them of unbelief is itself without doubt an act of unbelief. By this reasoning, al-Nābulusī actually turns the argument of his opponent against him, concluding that his approach amounts to unbelief (§ 72). Al-Nābulusī concludes that since, according to the theologians of the *ahl al-sunna*, God may not punish unbelievers in hellfire and may even allow them to enter heaven, no faithful Muslim

has the right to declare someone to be an unbeliever for claiming that Jews and Christians may enter heaven (§ 88).

Thereby, the adversary who questioned Ibn ʿArabī's and al-Nābulusī's orthodoxy is himself accused of holding unorthodox views, particularly those of the Muʿtazila, who emphasise divine justice over God's mercy and believe that it is incumbent upon God to reward the obedient and punish the disobedient (§ 107). Since God has threatened sinners with punishment, he must, according to Muʿtazilī doctrine, carry out his threats. Otherwise, it would mean that God lied. Al-Nābulusī objects to this argument, saying that the *waʿd* (promise) and *waʿīd* (threat) are meant to encourage the obedient and warn the disobedient, rather than to disclose information about the future (§§ 89-90, 97).

Al-Nābulusī also differentiates between God's *waʿd* (promise) and his *waʿīd* (threat). Regarding the *waʿd*, i.e. the promise of reward for believers, he holds that God's promise will be fulfilled for breaking it would be meanness, which implies imperfection, and no imperfection can be attributed to God. As for the *waʿīd*, i.e. the threat of punishment in hellfire, refraining from carrying it out is an act of generosity, and generosity is one of the attributes of God's perfection (§§ 129.1 and 129.2; see also § 108.2). If God's forgiveness can encompass complete unbelievers, then the People of the Book who pay the *jizya* and thus accept the laws of Islam should be more entitled to such divine mercy (§ 106). Moreover, even if they were not paying the *jizya*, God may still forgive them and admit them to heaven, as their unbelief is less than that of other unbelievers (§ 115). As a result of this argument, al-Nābulusī identifies his opponent as an ignorant and wicked man who has opposed the entire Muslim community (§ 113).

The distinction between promise (*waʿd*) and threat (*waʿīd*) is crucial for al-Nābulusī, whose theology of all-embracing divine mercy and forgiveness allows unbelievers in general, and the People of the Book in particular, to enjoy the blessings of heaven. Even so, al-Nābulusī does not recognise Jewish and Christian theologies to be sufficient for salvation in their own right. Ultimately, it is God's unlimited mercy that saves them from eternal damnation and grants them everlasting felicity. Al-Nābulusī follows a supersessionist approach when it comes to the validity of Jewish and Christian religious laws by saying that their *sharīʿa*s are abrogated and have been superseded by the *sharīʿa* of Islam. They do not, therefore, merit real happiness (*al-saʿāda l-ḥaqīqiyya*) due to their lack of faith in Muḥammad's prophethood (§ 119). The heavenly happiness they may attain can be facilitated only through God's mercy. Elsewhere,

al-Nābulusī also applies the same reasoning to believers, for in his view, when believers enter heaven it is due to God's favour and grace that they do so, not because they deserve it as a result of their good deeds (al-Nābulusī, *Al-kashf wa-l-bayān*, in Demiri, *Muslim perceptions*, § 26). In the end, it is God's mercy that grants humanity the blessings of heaven, be they believers or unbelievers.

SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise is an important witness to 17th-century Muslim theologies of the religious 'other'. In this work, al-Nābulusī creates an inclusivist soteriology based on his reading of Ibn ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt*, seeking an explicit harmony between Akbarian mysticism and Ashʿarī theology.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya – 1418, fols 53-101 (1692-3)
MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – Majāmīʿ 664, fols 48r-79r (1709-10)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3606, fols 210v-227v (1720)
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – MQ 1581, fols 29r-46v (undated)
MS Los Angeles CA, University of California (UCLA) – Special Collections 898, Box 99, no. 576, pp. 4-79 (undated)

Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'*

STUDIES

Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'*
S. Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*
A.-K. Rafeq, "Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi. Religious tolerance and "Arabness" in Ottoman Damascus', in C. Mansour and L. Fawaz (eds), *Transformed landscapes. Essays on Palestine and the Middle East in honor of Walid Khalidi*, Cairo, 2009, 1-17
Von Schlegell, 'Sufism in the Ottoman Arab world'
M. Winter, 'A polemical treatise by 'Abd al-Ganī al-Nābulusī against a Turkish scholar on the religious status of the *dhimmīs*', *Arabica* 35 (1988) 92-103

Risāla fī jawāb suʾāl warada ʿalaynā min al-Quds al-sharīf fī mā yuʾkhadhu min ahl al-kufr min al-ʿawāʾid min al-shamʿ wa-l-sukkar wa-l-jūkh wa-ghayrihi wa-bayān ḥukmihi, 'Treatise in response to the question reaching us from Jerusalem the noble concerning the special tax revenues from non-Muslims on wax, sugar, broadcloth and other goods, and an explanation of its legal status'

DATE 1702
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
This work is al-Nābulusī's response to the question raised by some Muslim residents of Jerusalem concerning certain taxes (*ʿawāʾid*) on wax, sugar and broadcloth that were collected from non-Muslims monthly, yearly or every third year, the revenues of which would then benefit a certain group of Muslim individuals and be passed down to their descendants. They were inquiring whether such a customary practice (*ʿurf*) was permissible (MS Istanbul – Çelebi Abdullah 385, fols 67r-67v). In his response, al-Nābulusī categorically declares it to be unlawful: no specific taxes are to be imposed on the *ahl al-dhimma* other than the *jizya*. A fatwa cannot be established on hearsay if there was no written edict to decree such practice. It is legally impermissible to impose such taxes and it is an act of injustice (*ẓulm*) and oppression (*jawr*) towards the *ahl al-dhimma* (MS Çelebi Abdullah 385, fols 67v-68r).

Al-Nābulusī substantiates his view with numerous quotations from legal sources in support of the rights of the *dhimmī*. He primarily relies on the opinion that the rights of the *dhimmī* are represented by the Prophet in the hereafter, who will litigate against anyone who has treated a *dhimmī* unjustly, for in this life they were under the protection of Prophetic law (MS Çelebi Abdullah 385, fols 68r-71v). Al-Nābulusī concludes that it is binding upon rulers and scholars, especially those with authority and power, to uphold justice and stop this practice (MS Çelebi Abdullah 385, fol. 71r).

SIGNIFICANCE

This short text demonstrates that al-Nābulusī's view of the religious 'other' was not simply a theoretical matter, but had implications for the legal and socio-political issues of contemporary society. This particular taxation practice was apparently abolished in 1831 (Barkān, *Dirāsāt*, p. 375); whether this work by al-Nābulusī played any role in this decision is yet to be investigated.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Çelebi Abdullah 385, fols 66v-71r (undated; title: *Risāla fī jawāb suʾāl warada ʿalaynā min al-Quds al-sharīf fī mā yuʾkhadhu min ahl al-kufr min al-ʿawāʾid min al-shamʿ wa-l-sukkar wa-l-jūkh wa-ghayrihi wa-bayān ḥukmihi*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3607, fols 185r-189r (undated; title: *Jawāb ʿan jaʿl al-fatḥ ʿawāʾid ʿalā ahl al-kufr bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*)

MS Jerusalem, Maktabat Dār Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī (Issaf Nashashibi Center for Culture and Literature) – 234/155 m-b (undated; title: *Risālat al-ʿawāʾid al-mafrūḍa ʿalā ahl al-dhimma*)

STUDIES

B. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Barkān, *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh Bayt al-Maqdis*, Beirut, 2014, pp. 368-75

Al-kashf wa-l-bayān ʿan asrār al-adyān fī Kitāb al-insān al-kāmil wa-kāmil al-insān, 'Uncovering and explaining the secrets of religions in the Book of the perfect human being and the perfection of the human being'

DATE 1708

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise on religious plurality is written in the form of a commentary on the controversial section of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's (d. 1408 or 1428) *Al-insān al-kāmil* ('The perfect human being'). In his chapter 'on the secrets of other religions and acts of worship', al-Jīlī reflected on how all people ultimately worship one God, a view that was apparently criticised by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660), an eminent Medinan scholar. As indicated in the opening of the treatise, al-Nābulusī aims to defend al-Jīlī's

understanding of religious pluralism against this criticism (see the edition in Demiri, *Muslim perceptions*, §§ 4-5; all citations of the text that follow refer to this edition)

Al-Nābulusī holds that with regard to God, whose existence is real and unique and who manifests himself in creation, all created beings are upright and truthful in their states (*aḥwāl*), words (*aqwāl*) and actions (*afʿāl*), for they represent nothing but the acts of God and the traits of his beautiful names. But with regard to themselves, as created beings endowed with power and free-will to follow God's commandments and avoid his prohibitions, their actions may be classified as those pleasing to God (*al-afʿāl al-marḍiyya*) and those displeasing (*ghayr al-marḍiyya*) to him. Therefore some human beings would be regarded as upright and truthful, while some others would be considered sinful and disobedient, believers and unbelievers (§§ 9-10).

In al-Nābulusī's view, the first perception, that all religions and forms of worship are right and true, is disclosed by *ḥaqīqa* (divine truth), while the second observation, that there is only one true religion and correct form of worship, is defined by *sharīʿa* (divine law). In his terminology, these appear to be two different types of knowledge brought forth by the religion of Islam. As a source of knowledge, *ḥaqīqa* unveils the way creation emanates from God and the way God manifests himself in creation, while *sharīʿa* informs us of good and bad deeds, obedience and disobedience, and distinguishes between belief and unbelief, right and wrong. These two ways of knowing, *ḥaqīqa* and *sharīʿa*, are not in contradiction or conflict with each other in al-Nābulusī's understanding, since they deal with different aspects of reality and are both ultimately derived from the book of God and the *sunna* of his Prophet (§§ 11-14).

Al-Nābulusī also writes that, with respect to *ḥaqīqa*, all religions are expressions of two divine names: *al-Hādī* (he who guides) and *al-Muḍill* (he who leads astray). The first results in divine pleasure and the second in divine wrath. Their effects are equally high and noble, for all the divine names are beautiful and perfect. But when considered from the point view of *sharīʿa*, the implication of *al-Hādī* is not the same as that of *al-Muḍill*, for there is a difference between belief and unbelief, obedience and disobedience, pleasure and wrath, happiness and misfortune, good and evil (§§ 16-19). Al-Nābulusī applies the same reasoning to acts of worship (*ʿibādāt*). Thus, with regard to *ḥaqīqa*, the acts of worship of all religions are based upon truth, whereas with regard to *sharīʿa* the only true form of worship is the one that belongs to Islam. Finally, al-Nābulusī reaches the conclusion that one who possesses the knowledge of *ḥaqīqa*

unveils truths without denying the *sharīʿa*, while one who possesses the knowledge of *sharīʿa* passes judgement according to the principles of *sharīʿa* alone and does not have a unifying view of reality, and so is unable to recognise the divine presence (*tajallī*) in what he sees (§§ 20-1).

All forms of worship are, on the level of *ḥaqīqa*, divine acts, lordly manifestations and the outworking of the beautiful names of God, including the worship of unbelievers, although on the level of *sharīʿa* such worship is considered the action of unbelievers (§§ 49, 51).

SIGNIFICANCE

The focus of the *Kashf* is on the relationship between adherents of other religions (including Christians) and God, the way they relate to him and the fact that they all worship none other than him (§§ 29, 31, 46). Following al-Jīlī's position, al-Nābulusī describes the Christians as the nearest to God among the earlier faith communities, but because of their unbelief in the last Prophet, they are the furthest from truth (§ 71). Although with the emergence of Muḥammad and Islam the previous *sharīʿa*s have been abrogated, acts of worship performed by the followers of these religions still have a certain value as they are also acts of God and are facilitated by his manifestation (§ 69).

Al-Nābulusī holds that, when believers enter heaven, it is due to God's favour and grace, not because they have earned it by their good deeds. Likewise, it is the case with unbelievers and their abode in hellfire. Nothing can have an absolute effect (*taʾthīr*) on things in an absolute manner (*muṭlaqan*); it is God who is the ultimate cause of everything (§ 26).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 660, fols 76r-85v (1708)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Halet Efendi 289, fols 169v-176v (1769)

MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya – ʿĀmm 111, fols 30-33 (1788-9)

MS Princeton, Princeton University Library – Garrett 3233Y, fols 78r-95r (19th century)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Esad Efendi 1689, fols 109r-117v (undated)

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Spr. 820, fols 1r-10r (undated)

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – We. 1756, fols 26r-42r (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 680, fols 27r-44r (undated)

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – Taṣawwuf Talʿat 1306, fols 1v-22v (undated)

MS Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi – 105506/3, fols 18-31 (undated)

Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'*

STUDIES

Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'*

Jawāb su'āl warada min ṭaraf Bitrik al-Naṣārā, 'Response to the question raised by the Patriarch of the Christians'

DATE 1712

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This is al-Nābulusī's response to the three theological questions on the essence of God and his attributes raised by the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch Athanasius Dabbās (d. 1724). Although he does not name his addressee, the interlocutor is identified as the Patriarch by Bakri Aladdin, who has edited and published the text (Aladdin, 'Deux *fatwā*-s', p. 8; citations that follow refer to this edition). It is noteworthy that al-Nābulusī describes his addressee as 'one of our brothers in spiritual practice, whose noble souls and subtle essences have become moons in the heavens of monotheism' (p. 22). In addition to al-Nābulusī's highly reverential description of the patriarch, the letter includes numerous formulas of respect used by the patriarch for al-Nābulusī, showing the degree of reciprocal courtesy that was present between these two eminent Damascene religious authorities (p. 9). In André Raymond's words: 'Such an exchange, at such a level, reveals a mutual respect and consideration that are remarkable, and far remote from the anathema habitually exchanged between Muslims and Christians on either side of the thin line of tolerance that both united and separated them' (A. Raymond, *Arab cities in the Ottoman period. Cairo, Syria and the Maghreb*, Aldershot, 2002, p. 97).

SIGNIFICANCE

This work shows that al-Nābulusī's ideas did not develop in a vacuum. He was an active member of Ottoman multi-faith society, in close interaction with the members of other faith communities, most especially with Christians.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1730, fols 99r-103r (1751; title: *Su'āl wa-jawāb*)

MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya – 14123 (undated; title: *al-Jawāb ʿalā su'āl warada min ṭaraf al-Naṣārā*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Bağdatlı Vehbi 2112, fols 16v-19r (undated; title: *Jawāb su'āl warada min ṭaraf bitrik al-Naṣārā*)

B. Aladdin, 'Deux *fatwā*-s du Šayḫ ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī (1143/1731). Présentation et édition critique', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 39-40 (1987-8) 7-37

STUDIES

Aladdin, 'Deux *fatwā*-s'

Fatḥ al-ʿayn wa-kashf al-ghayn ʿan al-farq bayna l-basmalatayn wa-īḍāḥ maʿnā l-tasmiyatayn, 'Opening the eye and removing the cloud on the difference between the two *basmalas*, and expounding the meaning of the two ways of naming God'

DATE 1720

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This short text was written in response to a question on whether the *basmala* of the Gospel (In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit) was the same as the *basmala* of the Qur'an (In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate). In his response, al-Nābulusī first lays out his theology, emphasising the divine uniqueness: 'nothing resembles Him'; no one other than God can truly and completely know God. The divine knowledge of himself cannot be compared to the human knowledge of God. Human comprehension is inadequate in comprehending or knowing God as he truly is (see the edition in Demiri, *Muslim perceptions*, §§ 3-5; all citations of the text that follow refer to this edition). This is then supported by quotations from Ibn ʿArabī, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Jamāʿa al-Maqdisī, and a number of qur'anic verses (§§ 6-8).

Al-Nābulusī also reflects on the theophany (*tajallī*) and how the divine manifestation occurred through the medium of the angel Gabriel in the case of the Prophet Muḥammad on the Night of Ascension (*laylat al-miʿrāj*). The Qur'an is God's revelation to the Prophet through the divine manifestation in the image of Gabriel. The Prophet is a human being to whom his Lord manifests himself; he is thus the instrument as well as the locus of the divine manifestation. So, when he sees himself, he sees his Lord through his own humanity and through the angelhood of Gabriel (§ 15).

Reflecting on Q 53:2-18, traditionally discussed in the context of whether or not the Prophet saw God on the Night of Ascension, and if he did see him, whether it was with his eye or with his heart, al-Nabulusī cites Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafī, Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī, Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, and others (§§ 9-27). In an attempt to harmonise the two opposing positions, al-Nābulusī then concludes that in his absolute essence God's nature (*huwiyya*) cannot be grasped, nor can his quiddity (*māhiyya*) be known. As for his attributes and names, he created creatures and he manifests himself to whomever he wishes through whatever means he chooses from his creation. His Lord manifested himself to Muḥammad in the Gabriel-like form without defining 'how' or in which 'modality' (*bilā kayf wa-lā kayfiyya*) (§ 28).

Then al-Nābulusī's attention is drawn to distinguishing between real existence (*al-wujūd al-muḥaqqaq*), which belongs to God alone, and the virtual existence (*al-wujūd al-muqaddar*) of created beings, and he states that Jesus's existence falls into the latter category. He knew himself and he knew God in the most perfect way, to the extent that God had given him that knowledge. His spirit was free of worldly attachments and animal desires, because his creation differed from the creation of the rest of humanity. God created him from a human mother, without a human father, while he created Adam from no mother or father, Eve from a male being without a female, and the rest of humanity from a father and a mother (§ 29). Yet there is in reality no difference between Jesus's creation and that of the rest of humanity, for at the time of the annunciation Gabriel appeared (*inkashafa*) to Mary in the form of a perfect human being, as, according to al-Nābulusī, he appears to other women in the form of their husbands or partners. Gabriel, the trusted spirit (Q 26:193: *al-rūḥ al-amīn*), serves thus as the agent in creation of every human being, be it in the usual (*maʿrūf*) way or in an unusual way (*ghayr maʿrūf*), as in the case of Jesus. For a true knower of God, there is no difference between Jesus's creation and the creation of any other human being. It

is the ignorant who judge that they are different (§§ 32-3). Al-Nābulusī's argument is based on his theological view that, throughout creation, the origin of all events is God. The agency of the angel of death in taking human lives does not make him the creator of death. It may appear that it is the angel who is causing death, but in reality it is God; the angel is one of the manifestations of God and is put in charge of this task (§ 31).

Al-Nābulusī again emphasises that there is no difference between Jesus and anyone or anything else, in heaven or on earth; they are all servants of God. The Spirit is what God created first. And so in relation to Jesus, the Spirit stands for a father. Therefore, the *basmala* of the Gospel, which God sent down through Gabriel's revelation, 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit', indicates that the Father is the Spirit, the first created being; the Son is Jesus, son of Mary; and the Holy Spirit is what descended and appeared to Mary in the form of a perfect human being. All three are dependent on God and are his creation; and none of them can truly perceive (*idrāk*) God. All they can see is themselves as the loci of the divine manifestation (*tajallī*) (§§ 37-8).

Comparing Muḥammad and Jesus, al-Nābulusī observes that, on the Night of the Ascension, Muḥammad's vision of God was at the station of essence (*al-maqām al-dhātī*), whereas Jesus's vision of God was at the station of attributes-names (*al-maqām al-ṣifātī l-asmāʾī*), as their ranks differed from one another. Thus the *basmala* of the Gospel is of the station of divine attributes and lordly names, and not of the station of the holy essence. They are three manifestations and three appearances of the one absolute unseen Existence. They are the divine presence in creation. The Father is the Spirit, the Son is Jesus, and the Holy Spirit is Gabriel. The unseen Absolute transcends and is above all three, as he is one and unique (§§ 39-40).

Al-Nābulusī concludes that both Jews and Christians have misjudged Jesus, the former in their rejection of him, and the latter in misunderstanding him and what he proclaimed. Christians attribute the miracles of Jesus to him alone and fail to see them as acts of God in confirmation of Jesus's truthfulness and in support of him (§ 41). The unlettered Messenger experienced the manifestation of the essence-attributes-names. Hence the *basmala*, sent down to him through the revelation of Gabriel, includes the names of the divine essence and the lordly attributes of the highest presence of the unseen: 'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'. *Allāh* is the proper name of the essence, the necessary-existent, the unseen, and the absolute. No one can be named *Allāh* or *al-Raḥmān* other than God, while *al-Raḥīm* is not so, as indicated in

Q 9:128, where the Prophet Muḥammad is described as being merciful (*raḥīm*) (§ 43).

SIGNIFICANCE

The work includes al-Nābulusī's examination of the Trinitarian formula, offering an esoteric reading compatible with Islamic monotheism. The significance of this short treatise lies in the fact that this is a commentary on the Christian doctrine of the Trinity from a Muslim perspective by an influential scholarly figure from Ottoman Damascus. The treatise was written in response to a question about the Trinity, and stands as an example of Muslim theologies of Christianity in the early 18th century.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1730, fols 35r-44v (1772-3)
MS Baghdad, Maktabat al-Awqāf al-ʿĀmma – 6492/3, fol. 9 (1846)
MS Jerusalem, National Library of Israel – AP Ar. 466, fols 30v-31v (1854-5)

Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'*

STUDIES

Demiri, *Muslim perceptions of the religious 'other'*

Risāla fī l-jawāb ʿan suʾāl li-baʿḍ ahl al-dhimma, 'Treatise in response to the question of one of the *dhimmī*s'

DATE Undated; presumably 1725-6 or earlier
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This is a short (three-folio) treatise written in response to an unnamed Christian scholar who apparently raised some questions concerning divine names and attributes. Al-Nābulusī accuses his addressee of being ignorant in knowing his Lord, the Creator. Although we are not told what he was asked about exactly, al-Nābulusī primarily aims to clarify that God has names not only of *jamāl* (beauty) but also of *jalāl* (majesty). These two categories of names and attributes are always coupled with one another to provide an accurate understanding of God, as explained by his Book and his Prophet. Al-Nābulusī then elaborates on this further, first in prose and then in verse.

SIGNIFICANCE

This *risāla* attests to the fact that Christians and Muslims held lively and candid theological conversations in the early 18th-century Ottoman world.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Serez 1521, fols 185r-188r (undated; presumably 1725-6; title: *Risāla fī l-jawāb ʿan suʾāl li-baʿḍ ahl al-dhimma*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1730, fols 62r-65r (undated; title: *Risāla fī suʾāl al-dhimmī wa-jawābih*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1762, fols 239r-242r (undated; title: *Risāla fī asmāʾ Allāh wa-ṣifātih*)

Lejla Demiri

Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa

DATE OF BIRTH 1671
PLACE OF BIRTH Timişoara (present-day Romania)
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1725
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

The only source of information about Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa's life is his own works. He was born into a military-class family but lost his parents while he was still a child. Thanks to his prowess in horsemanship and swordsmanship, he became a senior sergeant in the fortress cavalry at an early age, and for a few years he took part in various campaigns and battles. In 1687/8, as a young cavalry officer, he was sent from Timişoara to Lipova, escorting the pay sent from Istanbul to the soldiers at the fortress of Arad. The day after delivering it, he was captured by Austrian forces at the bloody siege of Lipova and was presented as a trophy of war to an Austrian military officer. He was sold to Venetian dealers, and for a number of years worked as a servant in various Austrian nobles' households.

After word spread of a truce between the Austrian Empire and the Ottoman Empire with the Treaty of Karlowitz (January 1699), Osman Ağa returned to his old position in the cavalry in his home town of Timişoara and also began working as an interpreter to the governor's council, thanks to his knowledge of German (he was also proficient in Hungarian and some Balkan languages). He was then appointed to the commission that had been set up to determine the borders between the two empires, and remained in this position for many years. He served as an interpreter to officials in Timişoara for about 17 years. He also translated communications between government officials and was assigned as an ambassador to generals serving at the forts at Erdel, Arad, Segedin and Varadin, as well as taking on important official duties.

When the Ottoman Empire lost Timişoara in 1716, Osman Ağa moved to Belgrade, and then to Vidin, where he continued to work as an interpreter. He left for Istanbul with the surviving members of his family in 1724, and took up an interpreter's position at the grand vizier's palace. We have no information about him after 1725.

Beginning in 1722/3, Osman Ağa translated into Turkish *Nemçe tarihi* ('The history of Austria') from its original German, most probably at the request of its author, Damad Ibrahim Pasha. This work contains brief details of the history of Austria between 800 and 1662, as well as significant information on Ottoman–Austrian relations. The only known copy, completed in 1857, is MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Hacı Ahmed Paşa 220 (Aydüz, 'Lâle devrinde yapılan ilmî faaliyetler', p. 159).

Osman Ağa also authored *Kitâbü'l-inşâ*, which contains diplomatic notes and his reports from official state visits, as well as another work on diplomacy. He also left a collection of letters. The manuscripts of these works are kept in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

H. Tolasa (ed.), *Kendi kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa (Bir Osmanlı Türk sipahisi ve esirlik hayatı)*, Ankara, 2004

Secondary

E. Afyoncu, *Tanzimat öncesi Osmanlı tarihi araştırma rehberi*, Istanbul, 2014, pp. 166-7

S. Aydüz, 'Lâle devrinde yapılan ilmî faaliyetler', *Dîvan* 1 (1997) 143-70

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa'nin Hâtıraları, 'Memoirs of Osman Ağa of Timişoara'

DATE 1724

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

The only known copy of this work is preserved in the British Library, London, where it was brought from Istanbul during the second half of the 19th century. Osman Ağa completed the 124-folio book in Istanbul in 1724, but did not give it a title.

Osman Ağa spent the first five years of his 12-year captivity in the service of his captors, following them throughout the Austrian Empire to wherever they were posted. He spent the final five years of his captivity in Vienna. In his book, he describes the difficult war environment of his time, as well as the harsh conditions of his captivity. The first

128 pages (ed. Tolasa, *Kendi kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa*, 2004) lay out in great detail his troubles during the first period of his captivity, when he came face-to-face with death on several occasions, and was starved, imprisoned, chained, beaten and insulted.

During his captivity, Osman Ağa's captors were mainly Christians. The work reveals that prisoners who converted to Christianity during that time were given improved treatment (Tolasa, *Kendi kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa*, 2004, p. 171; all references are to this edition). Indeed, the wife of his friendly master, Count Schallenberg, who was a member of the imperial palace, said that if he converted the count would appoint him as his valet and put him in charge of the entire household's affairs, an offer that he declined (pp. 143-4). He refers to the Muslim captives who embraced Christianity as *dönme*, a pejorative word for converts (p. 184).

Osman Ağa endured great hardship and poor treatment, especially in the early days of his captivity but, as well as describing his troubles, he also writes about the help and support he received from people he encountered. For instance, when he was left at a Croatian village by his master, tasked with taking care of the horses, he became the subject of great interest to the locals, who had never before met a Turk or Muslim. Each day, a different family brought him food, respecting his wish not to eat pork or lard. He also received help in protecting himself against his master's violent treatment (pp. 107-14). Sold for a second time by his captor, despite paying the required ransom, he was saved from being handed over to Venetian merchants with the help of Croatian priests, who requested the cancellation of his sale, which was in fact against Italian law at the time (p. 96). He points out that churches at this time were places where individuals could seek refuge for three days.

Osman Ağa writes that, from time to time, he would socialise with Christian servants or his fellow captives. He would drink wine with them and find himself in altercations, but he then would feel remorse and pray to God for forgiveness (pp. 145-6, 148-50).

Most Muslim prisoners of war, both men and women, as well as converts to Christianity, rushed to Vienna to return to their homeland as soon as the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed. Some of them tried to cross the border with the help of Cardinal Kollonitsch, while others disguised themselves as Germans or found other ways of crossing the border (pp. 169-70). Osman Ağa disguised himself as a local by dressing in Christian attire, and when he was confronted by his mistress, who asked,

'What kind of Christian are you? Why don't you go to church with everyone else?', he retorted: 'We belong to the Lutheran sect. We do not go to your churches. We pray alone' (p. 176).

SIGNIFICANCE

Osman Ağa's work is one of the few memoirs written by a Muslim captured by Christians. He passed through many cities and other places during his long period of captivity and met numerous people. His work is thus rich in information: he describes in great detail the places he visited, the people he came across and the events he witnessed. In his memoir, he also includes his views on Christian perceptions of Muslims at the time.

While the initial years of Osman Ağa's captivity were full of hardship and difficulties, his living conditions improved rapidly once his talent for horsemanship was discovered. Although his treatment as a prisoner was quite cruel, he also received help from Christians in various ways. At a time when transportation and communication networks were extremely limited, the people he came across showed interest and curiosity in him as a Muslim, sought knowledge about his homeland and lifestyle and respected his religious sensitivities pertaining to issues such as eating and drinking.

An important theme in Osman Ağa's book is religious conversion. It suggests that captives who converted from Islam to Christianity experienced an improvement in their quality of life; some of them were even freed. Nonetheless, some of these converts were waiting for the opportunity to return home as Muslims once circumstances tipped in their favour. Osman Ağa was encouraged to convert, and was promised advantageous treatment should he decide to do so.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Or. 3213, 124 fols (1724)

H. Griesbach, 'Osmān ibn Aḥmed. Memoiren e. Zeitgenossen Prinz Eugens', [s.l. Bonn?], 1950 (PhD Diss. University of Bonn; first edition of the text)

R.F. Kreutel and O. Spies, *Leben und Abenteuer des Dolmetschers Osman Aga. Eine türkische Autobiographie aus der Zeit der grossen Kriege gegen Österreich. Unter Benutzung von Vorarbeiten von Heinz Griesbach ins Deutsche übertragen und erläutert*, Bonn, 1954 (German trans.)

M.Ş. Yazman, *Viyana muhasarasından sonra Avusturyalılara esir düşen Osman Ağanın hatıraları*, Istanbul, 1961 (adaptation into modern Turkish)

M.Ş. Yazman, *Viyana kapılarından dönüş ve Osman Ağanın çilesi*, Istanbul, 1962 (adaptation into modern Turkish)

R.F. Kreutel and O. Spies, *Der Gefangene der Giauren. Die abenteuerlichen Schicksale des Dolmetschers Osman Aga aus Temeswar von ihm selbst erzählt, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt*, Graz, 1962 (revised German trans.)

E. Nermi, *Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa. Gavurların esiri*, Istanbul, 1971 (Turkish trans. of Kreutel and Spies's 1962 trans.)

R.F. Kreutel, *Die Autobiographie des Dolmetschers Osman Aga aus Temeschwar. Der Text des Londoner Autographen in normalisierter Rechtschreibung*, trans. R.F. Kreutel, Cambridge, 1980 (text in original, commentary in German)

H. Tolasa, *Kendi kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa (Bir Osmanlı Türk sipahisinin hayatı ve esirlik hatıraları)*, Konya, 1986 (adaptation into modern Turkish)

H. Tolasa, *Kendi kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa*, Ankara, 2004 (adaptation into modern Turkish)

O. Sakin, *Bir Osmanlı askerinin sıradışı anıları 1688-1770*, Istanbul, 2007 (adaptation into modern Turkish)

STUDIES

Tolasa, *Kendi kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa*, 2004

Tolasa, *Kendi kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa*, 1986

Kreutel, *Die Autobiographie*

Emine Nurefşan Dinç

Jirmānūs Farḥāt

Jibrā'īl ibn Farḥāt ibn Miṭr ibn Shāhīn al-Mashrūqī ibn Ra'd
al-Ḥaṣrūnī al-Ḥalabī al-Mārūnī

DATE OF BIRTH 20/21 November 1670
PLACE OF BIRTH Aleppo
DATE OF DEATH 9 July 1732
PLACE OF DEATH Aleppo

BIOGRAPHY

Jirmānūs (Germanos) Farḥāt, as he was called after his consecration as the Maronite bishop of Aleppo in 1725, stands out as one of the founders of the Lebanese Maronite monastic order and as one of the early proponents of the *nahḍa*, the rebirth of Arabic literature and thought in the Middle East.

Born into a wealthy Maronite trader family, Jibrā'īl Farḥāt was sent at an early age to the Maronite primary school in his birthplace Aleppo in order to learn Arabic and Syriac. At the age of 12, he attended another school in Aleppo, where he learned Italian and Latin. After gaining mastery over Arabic at the age of 14 under his teacher Sulaymān al-Naḥwī, a local Muslim scholar of some fame, he began to study logic, rhetoric, philosophy and theology with the Aleppan philosopher and theologian Buṭrus al-Tulāwī, who was a graduate of the Maronite College in Rome. In his adolescence, Farḥāt opted for an ascetic life and withdrew to the region of Mount Lebanon, where he started his spiritual training. In Wādī Qādīshā, the 'Holy Valley' of the Maronites, he decided to become a monk, and he was ordained priest. In 1711, he was sent to Rome, where he met the pope. The following year, he travelled from Rome to various European countries including Spain, where he sought out the Arab heritage.

After a short visit to Jerusalem, Farḥāt returned to Lebanon and continued his ascetic life until his consecration as bishop of Aleppo in 1725. He spent the rest of his life in Aleppo, where he became a central figure in a circle of Christian intellectuals who must be regarded as the forerunners of the literary renaissance in the Arab world that came to full flower in the 19th century. Farḥāt died on 9 July 1732 in Aleppo.

Jirmānūs Farḥāt was a prolific writer. He wrote his first texts on Arabic grammar and his first poems during his Arabic language study in Aleppo. He produced more than 100 treatises, literary works, summaries and commentaries in various fields of knowledge ranging from Arabic grammar and literature to philosophy, theology and history. His treatises on the Arab language and his collection of poems became extremely popular and were widely read and used among Arabic-speaking Christians until far into the 19th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

M. Aouad and H. Fadlallah, 'Philosophes chrétiens de langue arabe aux XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles en Syrie at au Liban', *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009) 443-68, pp. 446, 451, 457, 461, 463-6 (mainly on the intellectual milieu in Aleppo in the early 18th century)

H. Kilpatrick, 'From *Literatur* to *adab*. The literary renaissance in Aleppo around 1700', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) 195-220, pp. 206-9

N. Razzūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt. Ḥayātuhu wa āthāruhu*, Kaslik, Lebanon, 1998

B. Fahd, *Al-muṭrān Jirmānūs Farḥāt. Tarjama ḥayātihi wa-mu'allafātihi wa-tārīkh rahbāniyyatihi fī Rūmā*, Beirut, 1994

N. Razzūq, 'Jirmānūs Farḥāt (1670-1732). Ḥayātuhu wa āthāruhu', Beirut, 1972 (MA thesis, Lebanese University, Beirut; not identical with the 1998 work published under the same title)

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 406-28

B. Mas'ad, *Al-dhikrā fī ḥayāt al-muṭrān Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, Jounieh, 1934

F.A. al-Bustānī, *Al-muṭrān Jirmānūs Farḥāt (1670-1732)*, [s.l.], 1932

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ḍaḥḍ al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī, 'Apologetic answer to Shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī'

Al-maqāṣid al-saniyya fī ithbāt al-tathlīth wa-l-waḥdāniyya, 'La lettre de l'Évêque Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt'

DATE 1727/8

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

As well as his other activities, Jirmānūs Farḥāt also engaged in Christian-Muslim debates. According to Louis Cheikho and Joseph Nasrallah, he composed an apologetic work which starts with a poem of 42 verses and develops into a treatise of six chapters in which he defends the Christian faith against the accusations of a Mutawālī (Shīʿī) shaykh named Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī from the Bishāra region – according to Nasser Gemayel, from Jibāʿ – close to Sidon, who had written a satirical poem of nine verses against Christianity (this also attracted a response from the Maronite author Antūn Shahwān al-Ghusṭāwī (d. 1780); Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, pp. 463-4). Hani Chelala, however, argues that Farḥāt actually composed two separate apologetic texts: first, a polemical poem of 42 verses as a response to Shaykh Ṣāliḥ's satirical poem; and second, a treatise in prose in response to a tract written by the shaykh which is lost. Chelala bases his thesis on the following observation: in his apologetic treatise, Farḥāt answers many questions which are not raised in Shaykh Ṣāliḥ's nine verses, and hence one finds expressions such as: 'I have not forgotten to answer your plentiful questions ...' or 'with regard to your question ...'. Chelala therefore concludes that the poem and the apologetic treatise are two independent writings by Farḥāt in response to two separate attacks by Shaykh Ṣāliḥ. Besides his religious affiliation and his place of origin, nothing is known about al-Kawtharānī, though Farḥāt was not the only one to respond to his accusations. We know of another reply by Anṭūn(iyūs) Shahwān al-Ghusṭāwī (d. c. 1780) which bears many similarities to Farḥāt's work.

Farḥāt does not seem to have given his treatise a title. Paul Sbath and Louis Cheikho call it *Ḍaḥḍ al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī fī bayān ṣiḥḥat al-muʿtaqad al-Naṣrānī* ('The rebuttal of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī in demonstration of the truthfulness of the Christian belief'), though this sounds more like a description of the treatise's contents than its real title. The two surviving manuscripts of the ten that Sbath lists in his catalogue obviously do not bear any title. Chelala names his modern edition 'La lettre de l'Évêque Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt en résponse a la lettre apologétique composée par le cheikh mutawalite Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr connu par al-Kawṯarānī', obviously following the title of the treatise in one of the manuscripts described by Nasrallah in his catalogue.

According to Chelala, Farḥāt most probably composed the treatise during his episcopate in Aleppo (1725-32). In Cheikho's catalogue Chelala found a hint to further specify the date: Farḥāt visited south Lebanon

towards the end of the year 1727, and it might have been during that visit that he learned about Shaykh Ṣāliḥ's attack on Christianity. Based on this assumption, Chelala suggests that Farḥāt wrote the treatise shortly after he had returned to Aleppo, which would have been towards the end of 1727 or at the beginning of the 1728. Chelala supports his thesis that the treatise was written in Aleppo by the fact that the majority of manuscripts are found in Aleppo and not in Lebanon. In total, Chelala identifies 26 manuscripts of the treatise.

The background story for Shaykh Ṣāliḥ's attack is as follows: a member of the Shīʿī (*mutawālī*) notable family Ḥamāda engaged in a debate about differences in beliefs with a Maronite priest called Yūsuf from the village of Mishmish in the region of Byblos. One day, this notable travelled to the region of Bishāra, a district of Sidon, where he met Shaykh Ṣāliḥ. He informed him about the encounter with Yūsuf and gave an account of the priest's arguments. The shaykh responded with a polemical treatise (*risāla jadaliyya*) in which he rebuked the priest and attacked Christianity.

Farḥāt's treatise is a dialectical work structured into an introduction and six chapters. The introduction consists of an invocation, a thanksgiving to God and a division that explains Farḥāt's intention in writing, which is simply to refute the attacks of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ and rebut his proofs. In Chapter 1, which starts with a short poem, he addresses methodological and epistemological issues and argues that religion can be proved by reason as well as by tradition. In Chapter 2 the Holy Trinity is discussed, first based on rational arguments and then by proofs for the Trinity from the Qur'an. Here, Farḥāt stands out with an original interpretation of a verse in Sūrat al-Najm. He argues that when the Qur'an condemns the Trinity, it means the three deities al-Lāt, al-Manāt and al-ʿUzzā mentioned in that *sūra* (Q 53:19-20). Chapter 3 is dedicated to the question of Jesus' divinity. In his argument, Farḥāt first takes recourse to salvation history and then adds a philosophical proof and qur'anic evidence for the divinity of Jesus. In Chapter 4, he addresses the accusation that the Bible is corrupt and its original lost, and Chapter 5 is a refutation of the proofs on which Shaykh Ṣāliḥ bases his accusations. Chapter 6 is entitled 'On the remainder of your scattered questions' (*fī baqiyyat su'ālātik al-mubalbala*). Here, Farḥāt starts with a response to questions Shaykh Ṣāliḥ seems to have asked, such as: 'What is the definition of religion?', 'What is reason and why has it been created?' or 'What are the dimensions of the earth and the sun?' The chapter, however, develops into an open attack on Islam in which Farḥāt formulates and provides arguments for positions

on certain Islamic notions such as that Abraham was a Muslim, or on 'the qur'anic inconsistency between [the doctrines of human] freedom and predestination' and 'the qur'anic confusion with regard to the story of Mary'. Farḥāt closes the chapter with 'the parable of the sick man and the doctor' and 'the parable of the four books', which also mark the end of the whole treatise.

As mentioned above, Chelala argues that there were two polemical encounters between Farḥāt and Shaykh Ṣāliḥ, one resulting in Farḥāt's treatise and the other in a poem. However, Chelala neither discusses nor gives any background information about the encounter that is supposed to have prompted Farḥāt to write a polemical poem of 42 verses as a response to a satirical poem of 9 verses by Shaykh Ṣāliḥ. Chelala merely presents the texts of the two poems without a translation or any discussion of their contents. In what follows, a short summary of the two poems is given.

The work consisting of the two poems is entitled in most manuscripts *Al-maqāṣid al-saniyya fī ithbāt al-tathlīth wa-l-waḥdāniyya* ('The splendid purposes of proving the divine tripleness and unity'). Both poems are composed in the metre *al-baḥr al-kāmil* with the verses ending on the letter *dāl.* Shaykh Ṣāliḥ's poem is styled as a question (*fa-l-su'āl*) directed towards Christians, and its first verse begins with the words *yā mushrikīn lanā su'āl* ('O polytheists, we have a question'), which will remind readers of a poem by the 14th century theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350) that starts with *yā ʿubbād al-ṣalīb lanā su'āl* ('O worshippers of the cross, we have a question') and was still very popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. Shaykh Ṣāliḥ first attacks the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (verses 2-6). He asks how God can be called a procreator (*wālid*) when parturition (*wilāda*) belongs to the actions of material beings, and parturition is the reason for the multiplication of human beings. If this applied to the divine as well, would it not entail a multitude of divine beings? He goes on to attack the doctrine of the Incarnation (verses 7-8.), asking what its point is and why a God needs to die crucified after being accused of sinning. Shaykh Ṣāliḥ ends his poem by reaffirming that if the Christians do believe in all these matters, they are without doubt polytheists (verse 9).

Farḥāt's reply is not an abstractionist discourse but a thorough engagement with the accusations put forward by the shaykh. He points to the weaknesses in what the Muslim has said, and presents his answers according to the logic of his interlocutor's arguments. He employs philosophical and linguistic conceptions, and he sometimes uses Islamic

terminology. He appears as a self-confident defender of the Christian faith, and in some places he even directs subtle attacks against Islam.

Farḥāt opens his poem by calling the attacker someone who has trespassed over a limit in his claim that Christians must be polytheists. This does not hold true, because Christians believe in one essence (*dhāt wāḥid*) which transcends anything observed in the material world. He then argues that the Torah, the Gospel and the ongoing tradition of Christianity all prove the truth of the Trinity. He takes up the shaykh's argument with regard to parturition, and answers that in the case of the divine it is an eternal parturition (*wilāda azaliyya*), which can be explained by the relationship between the rational mind and the act of speaking. He then makes clear that the Son is called Son because he emanates from the Father and is like the Father in his eternity, and that both are one in essence. With regard to the Holy Spirit, this signifies the love of God which emanates from the Father and the Son. Farḥāt goes on to take up the questions concerning the Incarnation, arguing that without the Incarnation there would be no salvation for humankind.

He believes he has produced sufficient proofs to rebut the shaykh's accusations. He then reaffirms that Christians follow the right belief and that they have sufficient proofs and people willing to debate these issues. They debate with books, and support themselves with proofs not with swords. He ends the poem with praise for the three Persons in one essence and for the Incarnation, which are the two pillars (*rukn*, a term he borrows from Islam) of the Christian faith.

Throughout the treatise and poem, Farḥāt stands out with his profound knowledge of the Qur'an and Islam. He expresses himself very eloquently in well-constructed sentences and verses, while at the same time he censures Shaykh Ṣāliḥ for his 'poor' Arabic despite the fact that the Arabic language is considered sacred among Muslims.

In his discussions, Farḥāt resorts to arguments from the Arab theological and philosophical traditions of his time. In discussing the Trinity, for example, he takes up Buṭrus Makhlūf's interpretation of the *Fātiḥa*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an, and argues that God is absolutely one (*Allāhu aḥad ṣamad* from Q 112), and that he was not born like human beings, but his generation was rather of a spiritual nature. He is able to employ logic and other philosophical methods to support his positions thanks to his training in philosophy with Buṭrus al-Tulāwī. Furthermore, he stands in the tradition of Christian-Muslim polemics and argues in accordance with many other Arab Christian apologists that it is not the

Qur'an itself that is incorrect, but the Islamic tradition that preserves another interpretation. At the same time, Chelala observes the influence of Western philosophy on Farḥāt's thought. His concept of religion, for example, is very much influenced by the 'Western' – as Chelala calls it – understanding of religion. This, too, certainly traces back to his studies of philosophy and theology under Buṭrus al-Tulāwī and his visit to Rome. This fascinating aspect of Farḥāt's thinking that he, on the one hand, clearly remains in the tradition of the Arabic Christian-Muslim discourse and is, at the same time, influenced by Western Christian concepts deserves further investigation.

SIGNIFICANCE

This response to the brief Muslim poem, and the poem itself, show that Christian-Muslim exchanges in the 18th century could contain as much energy and virulence as at any time in the history of relations between the two faiths. Farḥāt's response also shows that in the case of a senior cleric such as this, a Christian participant did not feel unduly hampered by the *dhimmī* status as long as his demeanour remained courteous and his arguments were sound. His treatise makes clear that knowledge of traditional arguments from earlier times had not been forgotten, and that the importance for Christians of studying the Qur'an, or at least reading it for apologetic purposes, was keenly understood.

The treatise demonstrates the ongoing intellectual vigour of Arab Christian communities under Ottoman rule, and the undiminished rancour that could be expressed by the followers of the two faiths.

PUBLICATIONS

For a list of 26 MSS containing Farḥāt's treatise, see H. Chelala, 'L'apologie du Christianisme de l'eveque Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt en response au cheikh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawṭarānī', Rome, 1986 (PhD Diss. Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana), vol. 1, pp. 132-9; seven manuscripts containing Farḥāt's poem are listed on pp. 126-7

Chelala, 'L'apologie du Christianisme de l'eveque Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt', vol. 2 (Arabic edition and French trans. based on four manuscripts only, because access to others was prevented by the Lebanese civil war)

STUDIES

N. Gemayel, *Bibliographie des auteurs maronites*, Beirut, 2011, vol. 1, p. 299 (giving Jibāʿ as Shaykh al-Kawtharānī's place of origin)

F. del Rio Sanchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (Alep, Syrie),* Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 167 (MS Salem Ar. 298, *olim* Sbath 1106), 203 (MS Salem Ar. 363, *olim* Sbath 1186) (brief description of two MSS containing the treatise, without mention of a title)

Razzūq, *Jirmānūs Farḥāt*, pp. 88–93

J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du Ve au XX e siècle*, Louvain, 1989, vol. 4/2, p. 238

Chelala, 'L'apologie du Christianisme de l'eveque Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt', vol. 1 (the seminal study of the treatise)

N. Gemayel, *Les echanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe. Du collège Maronite de Rome (1584) au collège de 'Ayn Warqa (1789)*, Beirut, 1984, vol. 2, pp. 991-8

J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, Harissa, 1958 (vol. 1), Beirut, 1961-70 (vols 2-4), vol. 2, p. 19 (mentions a copy of the treatise in MS Jounieh, Bibliothèque des Missionaires Libanais de Dair al-Kreim – 16 [1770?], calling it *Risālat al-Muṭrān Jirmānūs Farḥāt raddan ʿalā l-risāla l-jadaliyya l-manẓūma min al-mutawālī al-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Kawtharānī* ['The letter of Metroplitan Jirmānūs Farḥāt in reply to the polemical letter composed by the Mutawālī Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Kawtharānī'])

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 416 (Graf does not mention the poem, which was obviously unknown to him, but says that the apologetic treatise consists of 5 or 6 chapters)

P. Sbath, *Al-Fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes)*. Part two. *Ouvrages des auteurs des trois derniers siècles*, Cairo, 1939, pp. 65-6, no. 1648

I. Armala, *Al-Ṭurfa fī makhṭūṭāt Dayr al-Shurfa / Catalogue des manuscrits de Charfet*, Jounieh, 1936, pp. 188-9 (an explanation of what made Shaykh Ṣāliḥ write his polemical poem, based on a remark in MS 6/7 which contains the reply by Anṭūniyūs Shahwān al-Ghusṭāwī)

L. Cheikho, *Kitāb al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya li-katabat al-naṣrāniyya / Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam*, Beirut, 1924, 2000², p. 161, no. 15

Elena Sahin

Fī mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān al-mutafarriqa fī l-sharq al-khārija ʿan dīn al-Masīḥ

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Mid-18th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The only hints as to the identity of the author of this work are to be found in the work itself. In the text, he describes Chrysanthos [Notaras], the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem (r. 1707-31), as his lord (*sayyidī*). That the patriarch entrusted the author with writing the treatise gives reason to think of him as a man of some learning and reading, and his use of the term *aqānīm* ('hypostases') as a synonym for the term *wujūh* found in his source reveals a certain theological knowledge. The mention of a meeting he once had with certain people at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus suggests either a Syrian background or some regional mobility.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

G.H. Bernstein, *De initiis et originibus religionum in Oriente dispersarum quae differunt a religione Christiana liber*, Berlin, 1817, pp. 2, 20-1, 23 (Arab.)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Fī mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān al-mutafarriqa fī l-sharq al-khārija ʿan dīn al-Masīḥ, 'On the principles and roots of the religions scattered in the East which are different from the religion of Christ'

DATE Sometime between 1707 and 1731
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, a highly learned man of wide interests, is assumed to have asked the author to compose a treatise on 'the principles and basics of the religious communities to be found in the Arab lands, their religion, their belief and their formation of confessional groups'. The author claims that his response will be based on 'the opinion of the historians of the Arabs, Muslims and Christians' alike (ed. Bernstein, 1817, Arabic, p. 3; all references are to this edition), but he draws his information almost exclusively from the *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-duwal* ('Abridgement of the history of dynasties') by the famous Syrian Orthodox author Ghrighūriyūs Abū l-Faraj, known in the West as Barhebraeus (1226-86).

The work has been preserved in a single copy, which was presented to the University Library at Göttingen by the famous traveller Carsten Niebuhr in 1784. The cataloguer assumed that the copy was made at Niebuhr's request when he was in the East (1761-7).

After a short prologue, the work consists of seven parts, some of which are introduced by the word *faṣl* (chapter).

Part one deals briefly with pre-Islamic Arabia and then tells about the appearance of Islam. For the biography of 'the prophet of Islam' (*nabī al-Islām*), *al-qāḍī* Ṣā'id ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī is given as a reference, but, like many other parts of the work, it is in fact taken from Barhebraeus. Important events of early Islamic history, Muḥammad's early mission (*da'wa*), the *hijra*, the raids (*ghazawāt*) and his death, are highlighted, and among the duties prescribed by the new religion are fasting in Ramaḍān and pilgrimage to Mecca. Muḥammad 'became the ruler of Arabia and he prescribed that everyone who denied his being a prophet should be killed' (p. 14). The 'scholars of Islam' verified Muḥammad's prophethood with quotations from the Old Testament, the Gospels and the Qur'an.

The next part deals with the early rifts within Islam. Two groups are identified, one relating to the principles of Islamic jurisprudence and the other dealing with the application of Islamic law, and they are related to four main areas: the oneness and attributes of God; predestination; the promise and the threat; prophethood and the imamate. Early groups are named, their beliefs outlined and some of their main representatives identified.

Part three is devoted to the four Islamic schools of jurisprudence. The main principles of Islamic jurisprudence are explained and the most

important prescriptions of the law are mentioned: ritual cleanliness, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, the requirement to attend communal prayers on Fridays and holy days, circumcision, and the prohibition against non-ritually slaughtered meat and blood.

The next part reports on the appearance of a certain al-Muqannaʿ during the reign of the Caliph al-Mahdī (775-85). He propagated the idea of the transmigration of souls and attracted many followers who, when he disappeared mysteriously, started to believe that he would return. There follows a treatment of the Qarāmiṭa in part five.

The sixth part deals with the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 996-1021), who had a 'strange life' and created a 'strange' religion (*wa-l-dīn alladhī aẓharahu ʿajīb*). He insulted the Companions of the Prophet and published these insults in all the mosques and places of worship in his realm. He became a great destroyer of Christian churches and pursued the conversion of all Christians to Islam. He imposed many strange regulations, not least for women. He performed acts that were regarded as miracles, reinforcing in the minds of his followers the idea of his divinity. Many people in the eastern part of the Arab world followed his proclamation [of his divinity and religion]. The author concludes this chapter with the remark: 'If we were to talk in this chapter about the wrath of this man against Jesus Christ, the explanation would really be long, but we abstain from this' (p. 53).

Finally, in the last chapter, the religion of the Sabians (*dīn al-Ṣābiyyīn*) is introduced.

As already mentioned, the work is heavily indebted to Barhebraeus' *Mukhtaṣar*. The anonymous author borrows systematically, often verbatim, from the chapter on the ninth 'dynasty/state'. He does not reveal his source, but tries to hide his plagiarism by giving as his authorities 'the historians of the Arabs, Muslims and Christians'. Only parts of the chapter on al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh and the treatment of the Sabians derive from other, unknown sources. The author follows Barhebraeus closely for the most part, though he adds odd details, sometimes from his other sources, and omits blessings on Muḥammad and similar items.

SIGNIFICANCE

The author, or rather compiler, of *Mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān* provides a sober and impartial description of Islam without any negative overtones. This stands in sharp contrast to other contemporary Christian Arabic writings about Islam, which are largely apologetic or polemical. Although the treatise is mainly an adaptation of the earlier source, it

can nevertheless be regarded as the first attempt by a Christian Arab of early modern times to describe Islam in an objective way. How far this approach should be attributed to the compiler himself, or to what the enlightened (or pragmatic) Patriarch Chrysanthos expected, cannot be said. The choice of the main source is nevertheless remarkable, even though it is not fully acknowledged. By choosing a non-Orthodox author, the compiler crosses confessional boundaries and reveals wide reading in Christian Arabic literature.

That *Mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān* did not enjoy great distribution must be attributed to its subject-matter, but also to its weak composition.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Göttingen, University Library – Arab. 47 (orient. 72), 16 fols (18th century)

G.H. Bernstein, *De initiis et originibus religionum*, Berolini, 1817 (Latin trans. pp. 1-71; Arabic edition, pp. 1-57); AC09802693 (digitised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

STUDIES

J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, Louvain, 1979-89, vol. 4/1, pp. 160-1

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1951, p. 134

W. Meyer (ed.), *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate 1, Hannover – Die Handschrifen in Göttingen*, vol. 3. *Universitätsbibliothek. Nachlässe von Gelehrten. Orientalische Handschriften. Handschriften im Besitz von Instituten und Behörden. Register zu Band 1-3*, Berlin, 1894, p. 330

Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung 227 (September 1817) cols 145-52 (critical review of Bernstein's edition and trans.)

Bernstein, *De initiis et originibus religionum*, pp. III-VIII

Carsten Walbiner

İskender ibn Ahmed Feylesof et-Trabzonî

Iskandar ibn Aḥmad

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably Trabzon
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

We do not possess any information about Iskandar ibn Aḥmad other than a single surviving copy of his anti-Christian treatise. In this work, the author describes himself as *faylasūf al-Ṭrabzūnī*, 'philosopher from Trabzon', which may indicate that he was originally from, or spent most of his life in Trabzon, in the Black Sea region. He wrote his treatise in Arabic, but the biblical passages he quotes all feature in Greek and some of the words in these passages are accompanied by a Persian translation, written below the Greek original. The use of Arabic, Greek and Persian in a single treatise may be taken as a sign of the author's erudition, and perhaps his fluency in these three languages.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Lala İsmail 261, Iskandar ibn Aḥmad Faylasūf al-Ṭrabzūnī, *Risāla fī radd al-milla l-naṣrāniyya bi-l-Injīl min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*

Secondary

M. Tarakçı, 'Iskandar ibn Ahmad's epistle in refutation of Christians', *Ilahiyat Studies* 3 (2012) 73-104, pp. 77-9

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī radd al-milla l-naṣrāniyya bi-l-Injīl min qibal ʿilm al-kalām, 'Epistle refuting the Christian religion through the Gospel by means of the discipline of *kalām*'

DATE Unknown; presumably 18th century or earlier
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

A recent study of the *Risāla* has placed its origins in the 19th century, when many Ottoman scholars and intellectuals wrote treatises on Christianity in response to Christian missionaries (Tarakçı, 'Iskandar ibn Ahmad's epistle', p. 77). However, there is no sign in the treatise to suggest that the work was written in that context. On the contrary, the style of the text as well as the manuscript itself shows an earlier provenance, which we have cautiously defined as 18th century or even earlier.

The 28-folio treatise begins with a prayer to God, the One (*al-Wāḥid*), who has taken neither spouse nor child, the eternally besought of all (*al-Ṣamad*); He begot no one nor was He begotten, and there is none comparable to Him (Q 112:1-4, 72:3). The opening prayer thus reveals the author's intention to expound the Islamic understanding of divine Unity in contrast to the Triune God of Christianity.

The author then asserts that the Christian doctrine is untenable either by reason (*ʿaql*) or by scripture (*naql*), though Christians take seriously neither the rational arguments nor the self-evident scriptural proofs presented by Muslims. Hence the need to refute the Christian doctrine with the help of the Gospel – a task that he aims to fulfil in his treatise.

The author constructs a series of arguments based on a number of Gospel verses, but he also often refers to the Qur'an, offering Islamic interpretations of the various Gospel passages he quotes. His main objective is to investigate those Gospel verses that are traditionally read by Christians as an indication of Jesus' divinity and his filial relationship to God. One such example is John 1:1, where the author reads *thios* (magnificent) instead of *theos* (God). Thus the meaning would be 'the word was magnificent' rather than 'the Word was God', suggesting that this verse does not support the divinity of Jesus.

Another example is Matthew 25:31 ('When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, he will sit on his glorious throne'), which for the author constitutes proof that Jesus identified himself as a human being rather than as divine, a position that corresponds with the Qur'an (e.g. Q 2:116). He draws a similar conclusion that Jesus is not God from John 7:14-8 as well as Luke 8:12-5, which again are read in accordance with Q 3:79 and Q 40:15 respectively. In order to prove the created nature and humanity of Jesus, the author further analyses John 14:15-16 and 14:28, and presents a number of qur'anic parallels (e.g. Q 9:31, 16:51, 4:172).

In addition to his rejection of the divinity of Jesus and his emphasis on Jesus' human nature, the author also asserts that the Gospels testify

to Jesus' acknowledgment and annunciation of the Prophet Muḥammad, identified as *paráklētos* in the Gospel of John (14:16 and 14:26), which again he says is in conformity with the qur'anic message (Q 61:6, 7:157, 48:28-9).

The author concludes his treatise by pointing out that there are further proofs in the Gospels that reject the divinity of Jesus, confirm his servanthood to God and announce the prophethood of Muḥammad, but the few representative examples he has adduced suffice to prove the truth.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Risāla* brings nothing new to the Muslim critical analysis of Christian doctrines. Its originality lies in the fact that the Arabic, Greek and Persian languages feature in a single treatise. It further shows how an Ottoman scholar interprets the Bible from a Muslim perspective. The work provides valuable information about the Ottoman reception and appropriation of the earlier Muslim theological writings produced in the Middle East.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Lala İsmail 261, 28 fols (undated)

Tarakçı, 'Iskandar ibn Ahmad's epistle' (edition of the Arabic original and English trans.)

STUDIES

Tarakçı, 'Iskandar ibn Ahmad's epistle'

Lejla Demiri & Serkan Ince

ʿAbbūd Ṣaydaḥ

ʿAbbūd ibn Ilyās ibn ʿAbduh Ṣaydaḥ

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably Aleppo
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about ʿAbbūd ibn Ilyās ibn ʿAbduh Ṣaydaḥ except that he was an Arabic-speaking Christian, and that he wrote his description of the fall of Constantinople in Aleppo in 1731. No other document has come to light that can be associated with him. Some internal evidence in the text gives reason to think that he was a Catholic, most likely a Melkite.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kayfa futiḥat al-madīna l-mutamallika, 'How the imperial city was conquered'

DATE 1731
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This description of the fall of Constantinople, which was written in 1731 in Aleppo (its full title is *Kayfa futiḥat al-madīna l-mutamallika ayy al-Qusṭanṭīniyya min qibal al-Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān wa-kayfa al-sabī ḥattā ukhidhat min yad al-Rūm al-mutamallikīn ayy al-bizānṭiyyīn lahā wa-kayfa jarā lahum*, 'How the imperial city, i.e. Constantinople, was conquered by Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān and how the capture proceeded until it was taken from the hands of the ruling Greeks, i.e. the Byzantines, and what happened to them'), fills the last 20 pages (fols 99v-109v) of MS 628 in the Oriental Library at the St Joseph University in Beirut. The rest of the manuscript contains hagiographical stories about a certain Nasimus, the seven Sleepers in the Cave, St James the Persian, the young boy, king and prophet Daniel, St Marina and St John the Evangelist.

The story of the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottomans is told in a disordered way. It lacks precision concerning the conjunctures and dates of events, and the language used is full of errors in spelling and style. Nevertheless, the text reveals an important aspect of the Christian popular attitude towards Muslim and the Ottomans.

Ṣaydaḥ reminds his readers that in the year 1455 (sic!), 'God took his (protective) hand from the imperial city and the Christian people living in it and put this huge city in the hands of their enemies'. He relates that Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451-81) sent an army of 700,000 soldiers from Adrianople to besiege Constantinople. The inhabitants were afraid, and the Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos (r. 1449-53) asked for the help of European rulers, who imposed the condition that the Byzantines would convert to their faith and that the emperor would hand the city over to them after their victory. The emperor was near to agreeing, but popular opinion was strongly opposed to such an 'ecumenical' initiative. The ships sent by the Europeans were not able to reach the harbour because of strong north winds and storms, 'because of our sins', points out Ṣaydaḥ. After bombarding the city, the Ottoman army entered it through the Golden Horn.

Here again the population was divided: some wanted to resist the invaders, others wanted to surrender and ask for protection. At that moment, the emperor took advantage of a Frankish ship to escape by sea with his advisors. Sultan Mehmed let his soldiers loot the city for three days, during which massacres, profanation, enslavement of the population and plundering of houses occurred, and liturgical objects were stolen and sold. The capture is depicted in its full cruelty. The Ottoman soldiers did their work 'thirsty for blood, roaring like lions, to drink the tears of the Christians'. No miracle occurred and no one came to rescue the people, 'because of our sins', as Ṣaydaḥ again observes.

The Franks living in the Galata quarter of the city were granted permission to leave, though the poorest were allowed to remain on condition they tore down the fortifications. After changing the city's name and converting Hagia Sophia into a mosque, Mehmed designated a *qāḍī* to rule the city and new populations were settled in it.

The Muslims rejoiced at these events while the Christians were filled with deep sorrow, 'because God had given the city that had been their pride and hope into the hands of their enemies'.

Written more than two centuries after the event and based on unidentifiable sources, this text cannot be regarded as a narrative of any historical value. It contains a number of obvious errors, the most egregious

being that the Emperor Constantine XI escaped from the city, while he in fact died there in battle (though this could be an expression of the wish of a Uniate Christian to link the Orthodox and Catholic strands of Christianity – the Ṣaydaḥ family today is Catholic). It seems that Ṣaydaḥ's report was inspired by a Greek history written by Matthaios Kigalas. This was translated into Arabic in the 17th century under the title *Al-durr al-manẓūm fī tārīkh mulūk al-Rūm* ('The well-arranged string of pearls on the history of the Byzantine kings'), and it enjoyed great popularity amongst Arab Orthodox Christians. It contains a compilation of biographies of the Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great (r. 307-37) to Constantine XI, the last emperor, and then of the Ottoman sultans from Osman, the eponymous founder of the dynasty, to Mustafa II (r. 1695-1703). Between the two periods, the story of the fall of Constantinople is told in eight pages. Ṣaydaḥ's description seems to be an abstract from this work, written from memory or based on an oral account (this suggestion is based on a comparison of Ṣaydaḥ's work with a copy of *Al-durr al-manẓūm* in the Balamand University collection [no. 187]).

SIGNIFICANCE

The fall of Constantinople constituted for the Byzantines a traumatic event of the greatest symbolic value that was for centuries – even until recent times – lamented in literature and popular culture. Ṣaydaḥ's text is the first detailed description of it by an Arab Christian. He treats it as a universal fact with a religious and theological significance, raising the question of the extent to which it matches in his mind the social and religious context of Arab Christianity and the political situation of this first half of the 18th century.

Ṣaydaḥ's report bears clear traces of the influence of Greek thought on the mentalities of the Orthodox Christians living in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. He adopts the Greek attitude to the fall of the Constantinople, three times saying that the sins of the Christians themselves were the cause the city's fate. Interestingly, he says 'our sins', as though he regards the fall of the city as God's punishment on his own people. God abandoned Byzantium because its rulers and bishops had failed in performing their duties, and he was looking for their repentance.

This attitude of fatalistic resignation was developed among the Byzantines long before the fall of the imperial city and was also adopted by the Christian Syrians of the Patriarchate of Antioch, who had come under the rule of Islam 800 years before the Greeks of Constantinople. Traces

of it can already be found in the writings of St John of Damascus, which inspired many Byzantine authors.

Several times, Ṣaydaḥ refers to religious divisions in Constantinople between those who approved of union with Rome and those who opposed the Councils of Lyon and Florence. This insistence that it was the internal divisions in the Byzantine Church that finally led to the downfall of the empire must be seen against the background of the divisions that had appeared at the beginning of the 18th century within the Orthodox communities in Aleppo (Syriac, Armenian, Greek). By recalling the disastrous consequences of ancient divisions, Ṣaydaḥ evidently wishes to warn his contemporaries against the tragic results of such schisms.

Ṣaydaḥ avoids any clear references to the situation in which he and his co-religionists were currently living. The work serves a memorial function, and is a hagiographical story rather than a historical narrative, underlining that martyrdom is not suffered by an individual or a group but by a whole city, a whole empire. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the story is part of a collection of hagiographical pieces. It aims to instil in believers patience and submission to God's decisions and the acceptance of the inevitable rule of Islam. This attitude had been common among Orthodox Arab Christians under Islamic dynasties for over a thousand years. They did not enjoy 'the glory of Byzantium', but they experienced what they called 'the martyrdom of silence'.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Bibliothèque Oriental – 628, fols 99v-109v (1731; collection of hagiographical texts containing the description of the fall of Constantinople)

MS Balamand, Monastery of Our Lady – 187 (copied in 1875; contains the so far unpublished Arabic trans. of Kigalas's history, which was probably Ṣaydaḥ's main source of information)

S. Slim Abouelrousse, 'L'impact de la chute de Constantinople sur les mentalités arabes chrétiennes à Alep au XVIIIe siècle', in S.K. Samir (ed.), *Actes du Ium Symposium Syro-Arabicum (Kaslik, septembre 1995)*, vol. 2, *Etudes arabes chrétiennes (1), Parole de l'Orient* 21 (1996) 199-213, edition at pp. 208-12

STUDIES

Slim Abouelrousse, 'L'impact de la chute de Constantinople', 199-207

Souad Slim

İbrahim Müteferrika

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably sometime between 1670 and 1674
PLACE OF BIRTH Kolozsvár (present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania)
DATE OF DEATH 1747
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

İbrahim Müteferrika was an Ottoman soldier, statesman, physicist, geographer, mapmaker, historian, editor, translator and intellectual, as well as the first Muslim to establish a publishing house in the Ottoman Empire. He was of Hungarian origin, born to a Christian family. Though some early 20th-century historians have claimed that he came from a Calvinist background (e.g. Karácson, Mordtmann), his subsequent biographers have identified him as Unitarian (Berkes, Sabev and others). In addition, he has been described as Catholic (a Franciscan monk), Jewish or Sabbatean (see Tezcan, 'İbrâhîm Müteferrika', pp. 545-8).

His connection to Unitarianism is supported by a number of recent studies. He reportedly left Transylvania for the Ottoman Empire in his early youth, and there he converted to Islam. His study of anti-Trinitarian works in his youth, and his discontent with Christian doctrine may have prepared the way for his subsequent conversion to Islam.

There is not much clarity about the pre-Ottoman period of İbrahim's life; not even his original name is documented. The major sources of information about his early years are the narratives of his contemporaries César de Saussure and Charles Peyssonnel, as well as of İbrahim himself. All three originate from his Ottoman period and in some parts differ from one another. Given that some of the accounts could have been later interpretations, modern studies have suggested that they should be read with caution (Sabev, 'Portrait and self-portrait', p. 102).

With his study of the Ottoman Turkish and Islamic sciences, İbrahim Müteferrika's career flourished at the Ottoman court (Sabev, 'İbrahim Müteferrika'). As early as 1715, he was serving in the cavalry of the imperial army (*kapıkulu sipahisi*). After his appointment as *müteferrika* (special servant of the sultan) in 1716, he took part in numerous diplomatic missions in Europe (e.g. Vienna, Belgrade, Salonika, Poland, Dagestan). He was the imperial historian (*dîvân-ı hümâyun*) from 1744 to 1745.

Besides his activities as a statesman and diplomat, İbrahim Müteferrika participated in Ottoman intellectual life and promoted the idea of reform, as is clearly articulated in his treatise *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem* ('Principles of rule for the order of the nations'). He regarded the new order (*nizâm-ı cedîd*) of European military and government as the major reason for Europe's increasing political power, and thus urged the Ottomans to adapt to this order.

İbrahim Müteferrika is best known for his printing house, founded in 1726 in Istanbul, which produced works primarily addressed to the empire's Turkish-speaking population. He published four maps and 17 books on history, grammar, language (dictionaries), natural sciences (physics and astronomy) and geography. In addition to Ottoman Turkish and Persian, he also knew Latin, Hungarian, French and German, which enabled him to undertake the study of Christianity and the Bible from European sources.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

G. Duverdier, 'Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika. Deux drogmans culturels à l'origine de l'imprimerie turque', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 3 (1987) 322-59 (contains the text of Charles Peyssonnel's report of 1738)

César de Saussure, *Lettres de Turquie* (*1700-39*) *et Notices* (*1740*), ed. K. Thály, Budapest, 1909, pp. 93-4, 176

İ. Müteferrika, 'Risâle-i İslâmiyye', in M.E. Coşan, *Risâle-i İslâmiyye. Matbaacı İbrahim-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiyye adlı eserinin tenkitli metni*, Istanbul, 2012

Secondary

O. Sabev, art. 'İbrahim Müteferrika', in *EI3*

V. Erginbaş, 'Enlightenment in the Ottoman context. İbrahim Müteferrika and his intellectual landscape', in G. Roper (ed.), *Historical aspects of printing and publishing in languages of the Middle East*, Leiden, 2014, 53-100

O. Sabev (Orhan Salih), 'Portrait and self-portrait. Ibrahim Müteferrika's mind games', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies* 44 (2014) 99-121

B. Tezcan, 'İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*', in H. Aynur, B. Aydın and M.B. Ülker (eds), *Kitaplara vakfedilen bir ömre tuhfe. İsmail E. Erünsal'a armağan*, Istanbul, 2014, vol. 1, pp. 515-56

Z. Barbarics-Hermanik, 'İbrahim Müteferrika als transkultureller Vermittler im Osmanischen Reich', in A. Strohmeyer and N. Spannenberger (eds), *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen. Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart, 2013, 283-308

E. Afyoncu, 'İbrahim Müteferrika hakkında önemli bir vesika', *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi/Journal of Turkish Cultural Studies* 28 (2013) 51-6

S. Karahasanoğlu, 'Osmanlı matbaasının başarısını/başarısızlığını yeniden gözden geçirmek ya da İbrahim Müteferrika'nın terekesinin tespitine katkı', *Journal of Turkish Studies. Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 33 (2009) 319-28

O. Sabev (Orhan Salih), 'The first Ottoman Turkish printing enterprise. Success or failure?', in D. Sajdi (ed.), *Ottoman tulips, Ottoman coffee. Leisure and lifestyle in the eighteenth century*, London, 2007, 63-89

O. Sabev (Orhan Salih), 'Formation of Ottoman print culture (1726-1746). Some general remarks', in I. Vainovski-Mihai (ed.), *New Europe college yearbook. Regional program 2003-2004 and 2004-2005*, Bucharest, 2007, 293-333

O. Sabev (Orhan Salih), *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da ilk Osmanlı matbaa serüveni (1726-1746). Yeniden değerlendirme*, Istanbul, 2006

O. Sabev, *Parvoto osmansko pateshestvie v sveta na pechatnata kniga (1726-1746). Nov pogled* [First Ottoman trip in the world of printed books (1726-1746). A reassessment], Sofia, 2004

H.G. Topdemir, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk matbaacılığı*, Ankara, 2002

S. Reichmuth, 'Islamic reformist discourse in the Tulip Period (1718-30). Ibrahim Müteferriqa and his arguments for printing', in A. Çaksu (ed.), *International congress on 'Learning and education in the Ottoman world'. Istanbul, 12-15 April 1999. Proceedings*, Istanbul, 2001, 149-61

E. Afyoncu, 'İlk Türk matbaasının kurucusu hakkında yeni bilgiler', *Belleten* 65/243 (2001) 607-22

E. Afyoncu, art. 'İbrâhim Müteferrika', in *DİA*

C. Yılmaz, 'Hezarfen bir şahsiyet. İbrahim Müteferrika ve siyaset felsefesi', in M. Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul armağanı 4. Lâle devri*, Istanbul, 2000, 259-333

Ş. Korkmaz, 'İbrahim Müteferrika ve İlk Türk Matbaası', *Dini Araştırmalar* 5 (1999) 285-97

G. Duverdier, 'Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika. Deux drogmans culturels à l'origine de l'imprimerie turque', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 3 (1987) 322-59

A.S. Ünver, 'İbrahim Müteferrika'nın bilimsel yönü ile yayınlarındaki özellikler', in *Türk kütüphaneciler derneği. Basım ve yayıncılığımızın 250. yılı bilimsel toplantısı. 10-11 Aralık 1979, Ankara. Bildiriler*, Ankara, 1980, 1-7

W.J. Watson, 'Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa and Turkish incunabula', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968) 435-41

N. Berkes, art. 'Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa', in *EI2*

N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, London, 1998 [first published in 1964]

N. Berkes, 'İlk Türk matbaası kurucusunun dinî ve fikrî kimliği', *Belleten* 26/104 (1962) 715-37
O. Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye matbaanın girişi ve ilk basılan eserler*, Ankara, 1959
T. Halasi Kun, art. 'İbrâhim Müteferrika', in *İslâm ansiklopedisi. İslâm âlemi tarih, coğrafya, etnografya ve bibliografya lugati*, Istanbul, 1950, vol. 5/2, pp. 896-900
A. v. Simonffy, *Ibrahim Müteferrika. Bahnbrecher des Buchdrucks in der Türkei*, Budapest, 1944
A.A. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul, 1943, pp. 147-52
S.N. Gerçek, *Türk matbaacılığı I. Müteferrika matbaası*, Istanbul, 1939
J.H. Mordtmann, art. 'Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳa', in *EI1*
F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1919
I. Karácson, 'İbrahim Müteferrika', *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 1/3 (1328 [1910]) 178-85

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risâle-i İslâmiye, 'Treatise on Islam'

DATE 1710
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION
İbrahim Müteferrika's *Risâle-i İslâmiye*, 'Treatise on Islam', offers an alternative reading of the Christian scripture. Some historians, consider this treatise to be İbrahim Müteferrika's defence of Islam, while others see it as a link between his early Unitarianism and his later conversion to Islam.

Müteferrika opens his treatise with a short account of his pre-Muslim past, writing that during his studies of the Old and New Testaments he had read a verse in Greek foretelling Muḥammad's prophethood, and thus realised the truthfulness of Islam (Coşan, *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*, p. 126, all references here are to this edition). With this note, he implies that his interest in Islam predated his settlement in the Ottoman Empire.

Relying on biblical and qur'anic material, the *Risâle-i İslâmiye* describes the lives of the prophets throughout world history. The first thousand years begin with Adam; the second millennium with Idris; the third with Noah; the fourth with Abraham; the fifth with Moses; the sixth with Jesus; the seventh with Muḥammad, the last prophet (pp. 167-94). Muḥammad was foretold by earlier prophets, as the Bible testifies, but the Christians misinterpreted the relevant passages.

For his portrayal of the prophets, Müteferrika uses quotations from both the Bible and the Qur'an. From time to time, he criticises the Christian interpretation of these passages, offering an alternative interpretation that accords with the teachings of Islam. In his view, the Bible contains information that is in conformity with the Qur'an; any passages contradicting the Qur'an must have been either altered or misinterpreted (pp. 125, 131-6).

Müteferrika pays much attention to the story of Jesus, looking at his birth, his prophetic mission, his ascension and his disciples (pp. 143-8). He further aims to analyse how Jesus' teaching was corrupted, claiming that the doctrine of the Trinity led Christianity astray from the true doctrine of monotheism; it was Paul who misled the Christians (pp. 149-54). He further discusses the Christianisation of America (*yeni dünya*) and criticises missionary work in that continent (pp. 163-7).

Müteferrika attributes a particular religious role to the Ottomans: God has established them to facilitate Islam's triumph over unbelief (pp. 129, 195-7). He also praises the Ottoman sultans for strategically leading Europeans to fight each other, and regards the wars between the Christian kingdoms as evidence of a weakness in the Christian faith (pp. 165-6, 196-9). As Tijana Krstić writes, he 'engages his knowledge of contemporary European power struggles and religious politics and argues that the Ottoman rivals will collapse because of constant religious and political turmoil'. For him, 'the Ottomans were the only guarantors of purity of belief, especially against Rome, the accursed "Red Apple", and its Habsburg agents, who would succumb to the Ottomans before the Day of Judgment' (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 118-19).

In the *Risâle-i İslâmiye*, Müteferrika quotes from the Latin Bible and then translates these passages into Ottoman Turkish, though his Ottoman translation often substantially deviates from the original wording and is more like a commentary; sometimes he even adjusts the biblical texts so that they support his argument (see Tezcan, 'İbrâhîm Müteferrika', pp. 524-38).

SIGNIFICANCE

As a self-narrative of conversion, the *Risâle-i İslâmiye* shows İbrahim Müteferrika's attitude towards the teachings of his former faith. It also provides insights into a Muslim reading of the Bible by a European author who had intimate knowledge of Christianity. The work reflects his earlier confrontation with Christian doctrine, especially his strong criticism of the papacy and Catholicism. The treatise is also important

for the light it sheds upon the Ottoman Muslim diplomat's former life as a Christian and of Christianity in Europe at the time.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Türk Tasavvuf Musikisi Vakfı – Ö. Tuğrul İnançer Kütüphanesi, YK-İ, 1, fols 1v-64r (undated; this is a private collection; information from Coşan, *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*, pp. 352-6)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3442/1, fols 1v-41r (undated; catalogued as *Terceme-i bazı âyâti'l-kütübi'l-mukaddese*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1187, 65 fols (undated; title *Risâle-i İslâmiye*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 7, 64 fols (undated; title *Terceme-i âyât-ı İncil ve Tevrat ve Zebur*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yahya Tevfik 4, 64 fols (undated; title *Terceme-i bazı âyât-ı İncil-i şerif*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Halet Efendi Ek 10, 60 fols (undated; title *Terceme-i İncil-i şerif*)

H. Necatioğlu, *Matbaacı İbrâhîm-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiye (Tenkidli metin)*, Ankara, 1982 (transliteration into Modern Turkish script)

A. Usta, 'İbrahim-i Müteferrika'nın Risâle-i İslâmiyesi, eserin Dinler Tarihi açısından tahlili ve günümüz Türkçesine çevirisi', Samsun, 1991 (PhD Diss. Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi) (adaptation into Modern Turkish)

M.E. Coşan, *Risâle-i İslâmiyye. Matbaacı İbrahim-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiyye adlı eserinin tenkitli metni*, Istanbul, 2012 (transliterated into modern Turkish; first published by Coşan in 1982 under the pseudonym Halil Necatioğlu; the 2012 edition also includes an adaptation into Modern Turkish by Necdet Yılmaz)

STUDIES

Tezcan, 'İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*'

M. Yıldız, 'İbrahim Mü'teferrika'nın beşairü'n-nübüvve'ye dair tespit ve görüşleri', *Türk-İslam Medeniyeti Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 14 (2012) 79-100

T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early Ottoman Empire*, Palo Alto CA, 2011, pp. 118-19, 203

T. Krstić, 'Illuminated by the light of Islam and the glory of the Ottoman sultanate. Self-narratives of conversion to Islam in the age of confessionalization', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (2009) 35-63, pp. 61-2

A. Usta, 'İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Risale-i İslâmiye isimli eserinin tanıtılması', in *Türkiye 1. Dinler tarihi araştırmaları sempozyumu (24-25 Eylül 1992)*, Samsun, 1992, 149-58
Usta, 'İbrahim-i Müteferrika'nın Risâle-i İslâmiyesi'

Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem, 'Principles of rule for the order of the nations'

DATE 1731
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION
İbrahim Müteferrika informs us that he was prompted to write his treatise *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem* as a result of the economic and military decline of the Ottoman Empire as compared with the Christian European powers. He holds that the Ottoman state and its military can be reformed by studying the Europeans. The *Usûlü'l-hikem* is a development of the literary genres *siyâsetnâme* (book of government) and *nasîhatnâme* (counsel for rulers). However, unlike his predecessors who wrote in these genres, Müteferrika recommends the adoption of new military technologies developed by the Christian European states. In this regard, his approach is similar to that of Hasan Kâfî Akhisârî (d. 1615), who had also written a work with an identical title, *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem* (see Erginbaş, 'Enlightenment in the Ottoman context', pp. 90-2).

In this work, İbrahim Müteferrika proposes a wide variety of strategies for modernising the Ottoman state structure, especially its military organisation. In Modern Turkish transliteration, the treatise covers pp. 123-92 in the 1995 edition edited by A. Şen, to which all references here are made.

The work aims to analyse the reasons behind the rise of Christian Europe and the decline of the Ottoman Empire, a topic that İbrahim apparently discussed with European officers and statesmen. He criticises the existing military practices of the Ottomans, and suggests adopting the new military technologies developed by the European states. He criticises the Ottoman Empire for not paying enough attention to the European powers, allowing the Europeans to develop unnoticed and thus maintain their position against the Ottomans. He takes the view

that the Ottoman Empire and Muslims should adapt to the new order in order to prevent the decline of the state, as the old order is no longer tenable. Although God promised victory to believers over their enemies, Muslims have themselves to work for this victory. Therefore, they need to develop an efficient military system and strategy. He believes that a smoothly working military apparatus would create harmony among the population, which would then make rebellions against the government impossible (pp. 148-9).

Furthermore, İbrahim recommends the study of geography, because a good military strategy must be based on precise geographical knowledge of roads, locations and borders. Geography can also improve communications among Muslims worldwide. It is important not only for military purposes, but also for trade. Just as the Europeans benefitted very much from their knowledge of global geography and travelled and had an impact on the whole world, the Ottomans too should refine their knowledge of geography (pp. 154-62).

İbrahim defines the difference between the Ottoman Empire and Europe as a religious difference that is based on their respective scriptural traditions. Unlike Muslim scripture, the Christian scriptures do not contain any legal rules, and so the Christians built a state organisation upon their own secular and rational principles. Christians fight wars only for worldly gain, and have no thought for the hereafter. In contrast, Muslims fight with noble intentions and aim to gain blessings in this world and the next. Moreover, even in their natural disposition, Muslims are fearless, steadfast and brave, while Christians are fearful and cowardly and hence in need of heavy armour, which ironically then weakens and slows down their physical movements. This and similar considerations ultimately led the Christian European states to develop new weapons and military strategies in order to triumph over the Ottomans, producing the new military and political order in Europe (pp. 162-5).

When the *Usûlü'l-hikem* was ready for publication in 1731, it was presented to Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-54) who then recommended it for publication. It was published in 1732 by İbrahim's publishing house in Istanbul and was the ninth book produced there.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem*, the ninth book printed by İbrahim Müteferrika's press, draws attention to European state organisation, and encourages the Ottomans to study Europe thoroughly in order to reform their state and military structure. Müteferrika does not shy away from

presenting the European model created by the Christians as the new rule (*nizâm-ı cedîd*) that the Muslim Ottoman Empire should aspire to achieve. The treatise is thus of great importance for understanding Ottoman policies with regard to Christian Europe and Christian-Muslim relations in the early 18th century.

In 1769, a French translation of the *Usûlü'l-hikem* was published in Vienna, and in 1777 it was translated from French into Russian (Afyoncu, art. 'İbrâhim Müteferrika', in *DİA*).

PUBLICATIONS

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Usûlü'l-hikem fi nizâmi'l-ümem*, Istanbul, 1732

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Traité de la tactique ou méthode artificielle pour l'ordonnance des troupes*, ed. and trans. K.E. Reviczky, Vienna, 1769 (French trans.); 1487981 A.or. 5870 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

İbrahim Müteferrika, *Izobrazhenie taktiki, ili iskusnyj obraz vojsk ustanovlenija, obnarodovannoe i napechatannoe v Konstantinopole na tureckom jazyke Ibragim Jefen-diem Mjuteferrikom Porty Osmanskoj v 1144 godu Jegiry, to est' god spustja posle poslednego vozmushhenija i nizverzhenija sultana Ahmeda v 1730 godu prikljuchivshegosja*, trans. A. Levashov, St Petersburg, 1777 (Russian trans. of Reviczky's French trans.)

A. Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-hikem fi nizâmi'l-ümem*, Ankara, 1995, pp. 123-92 (transliteration into Modern Turkish script)

STUDIES

Erginbaş, 'Enlightenment in the Ottoman context', pp. 90-4

Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-hikem fi nizâmi'l-ümem*

Lejla Demiri & Serkan Ince

Isṭifān Ward

Stephanus Roselli, Stéphane Ward

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1699
PLACE OF BIRTH Kfarḥawrā, northern Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH Before 10 April 1745
PLACE OF DEATH Ṣaydā, southern Lebanon

BIOGRAPHY

Isṭifān was the son of the priest Ibrahīm Ward. He was born in about 1699 in the village of Kfarḥawrā, in northern Lebanon. In September 1708, at the age of nine, he went to the Maronite College in Rome and in March 1720, after completing his studies, he returned to Mount Lebanon to establish a mission in the area. He was part of a fraternity of missionaries, graduates of the Maronite College, who provided preaching in the various Maronite communities of Lebanon, Syria and Cyprus. The fraternity, known as the 'Maronite Mission', was founded in about 1727-8 with the encouragement and financial support of the Propaganda Fide. Ward was appointed to the Ṣaydā and Ṣūr (Sidon and Tyre) region. He later held a secretarial post at the famous Maronite Synod, which was convened at Luwayza Monastery between 30 September and 2 October 1736.

Throughout his missionary work, he remained in contact with the Vatican authorities. We know of two letters, written in 1737 and 1738 to Cardinal Antonfelice Zondadari (d. 1737), 'protector' of the Maronites, the second sent after the cardinal's death, to inform him about the mission and to request financial support.

Isṭifān Ward was the author of texts on spirituality, catechism and morality, including a treatise on Christian teaching, *Al-taʿlīm al-Masīḥī* (1724), a book of sermons, and two spiritual texts, *Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm* or *al-amīn* ('The wise or loyal friend', 1727) and *Nuzhat al-ʿābid* ('The walk of the devotee', 1734). In 1747, he also translated letters sent from Rome regarding the appointment of Simʿān ʿAwwād as the Maronite patriarch in 1742. The manuscripts of these letters date from 1747.

In Ṣaydā, where his mission was based, he wrote a brief letter on the devotion of the rosary (1728), an explanation of the Mass (7 July 1731), a letter regarding the honour of the Maronite nation (19 April 1732), and a concise account of history from Adam to Christ (11 July 1732). Isṭifān

drew up his will on 17 December 1741, and died sometime before 10 April 1745 at Ṣaydā.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Vat – Syr. 410, fol. 70v (17th-18th century)

MS Rome, Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide (ASPF) – CP, vol. 94, fols 199r-204r, 205r-221v (18th century)

MS Rome, ASPF – CV, vol. 45, fol. 267r (his entry into the College in 1708), fols 291r-292r (certificate of his scholarship in 1720)

MS Rome, ASPF – SC, Maroniti, vol. 5, fols 54r-55r (Letter to Cardinal Zondadari, 14 March 1737), fol. 153r (Letter to Cardinal Zondadari, 6 February 1738)

Secondary

N. Gemayel, *Bibliographie des auteurs maronites*, Beirut, 2011, vol. 1, pp. 619-21

N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de 'Ayn Warqa (1789)*, Beirut, 1984, vol. 1, p. 120, vol. 2, pp. 759, 778, 785, 982

I.Ṭ. al-Khūrī, *Ḥaqīqat al-Mawārina wa-ba'ḍ rijālātihim fī l-ajyāl. Baḥth jadīd wa-wathā'iq majhūla*, Beirut, 1958, pp. 107-217

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 437-8

I. Ḥarfūsh, 'Talāmidhat al-madrasa l-rūmāniyya l-mārūniyya l-qadīma', *Al-Manāra* 7 (1936) 18-27, p. 23

L. Cheikho, *Kitāb al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya li-katabat al-Naṣrāniyya / Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'islam*, Beirut, 1924, 2000², pp. 210-11

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-radd 'alā 'ulamā' al-Muslimīn, 'Response to Muslim scholars'

DATE 22 April 1732

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Before discussing the contents of this polemical letter, it is important to explain how research has led to confusion between this treatise and another work by Ward. In an article published in 1931, Mīkhā'īl Ghabra'īl noted that Isṭifān Ward wrote 'a pleasant letter summarising [taken from] his book *Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm* to counter those who claim that the

Gospels and the Torah have been distorted. This letter was sent on 22 April 1732' (p. 652), and was directed to a Muslim scholar. Ghabra'īl admits not knowing *Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm* but only the letter referring to it.

Paul Sbath mentions in his two catalogues (*Fihris*, vol. 2, p. 91; *Bibliothèque*, vol. 2, p. 87) a work by Ward entitled *Al-qarīn al-amīn* ('The loyal friend'), of which he owned a manuscript (Sbath 885, copied in 1817), while another three copies were to be found in Sbath's time in private collections in Aleppo in the possession of the deacon ʿAbdallāh al-Armannī, the heirs of the priest Nīqūlāwus Kaylūn, and Shidyāq Muʿawwaḍ. These are now regarded as lost.

Georg Graf (*Geschichte*, p. 437), for his part, maintains a distinction between these two works by Ward: *Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm* is characterised on the basis of Ghabra'īl's information as a polemical text, and *Al-qarīn al-amīn*, following Sbath, is described as a book of meditation.

On the other hand, Ighnāṭiyūs Ṭannūs al-Khūrī believes that both titles refer to the same book (*Ḥaqīqat*, p. 116). This argument has also been made by Nasser Gemayel (*Bibliographie*, p. 620). However, Ward himself refers in his will to the existence of two different works entitled *Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm* and *Al-qarīn al-amīn* (al-Khūrī, *Ḥaqīqat*, p. 123).

In fact, *Al-qarīn al-amīn* is a book of meditations, as stated by Sbath, which has so far received no scholarly attention. According to the introduction, the author was 'elevated to the top of a mountain' where a *qarīn ḥakīm* ('a wise friend') explained to him many 'sweet matters', which he later summarised in his book in 31 chapters. It includes subjects such as death, the last judgment, paradise, hell, sin, the Incarnation, the Passion, the love of God, prayer, patience, resistance to temptations, sacraments, the veneration of Mary, veneration of the saints. (This brief account is based on an inspection of the following manuscripts: MS Aleppo, Salem Foundation – Salem Syr. 5 [*olim* MS Sbath 885, copied in 1817], MS Kaslik, Holy Spirit University – OLM 736 [copied in 1834] and MS Kaslik, Holy Spirit University – OLM 1496 [copied in 1727].)

While researchers have not so far been able to find a copy of the book entitled *Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm*, they have all referred to manuscripts containing *Al-qarīn al-amīn.* To say that the polemical letter is the same as *Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm* remains merely a guess.

As for the polemical letter itself, it is only known in the form of a summary published by al-Khūrī, who copied it from a manuscript (he describes it as a letter or opuscule) that cannot currently be located, but which at one time belonged in Ghabra'īl's library. This summary comprises 19 large pages and is dated 22 April 1732.

Given that parts of the letter attack the Muslim religion and Islamic doctrine, al-Khūrī decided it would be more prudent to paraphrase only the general contents of the letter, rather than to publish it in its entirety.

The main subjects of the letter can be summarised as follows:

1. The falsification of biblical texts: Ward devotes a chapter to demonstrating that the Torah and Gospel have never been falsified by the Church, and that Muḥammad himself is a witness to this because the Qur'an contains several mentions of the authenticity of these books (Q 3:84; 5:46; 2:87). Consequently, Ward adds, if there had been any textual falsification, Muḥammad would have been ideally placed to reveal it, but he did not, thus proving that the texts of the Bible had not been corrupted up to his time. Furthermore, no Jewish sect or Christian heresy, separated from the Church on grounds of various resentments and disagreements, has ever accused the Church of corrupting the Bible. Indeed, how could these biblical texts, which are found in many languages and various countries, have been corrupted without anyone knowing and saying so?

In order to support his arguments, Ward refers to a certain learned Muslim by the name of al-Shaykh Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAlīm who, in his book *Dīn al-Islām* ('The religion of Islam'), says that 'among the Christians (*al-Naṣārā*), [we find] stories relating to the Apostles (*ḥawāriyyīn*), Constantine, the first Council of Nicaea, the second, third, fourth and fifth councils, and other information regarding their councils and history, which their scholars hold to be true, without the others [i.e. non-Christians] being aware of it all' (al-Khūrī, *Ḥaqīqat*, p. 208). While this Shaykh Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAlīm may be unknown, or his name may have been incorrectly transcribed in the manuscript or by al-Khūrī, this quotation is nonetheless clearly recorded by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) in his book *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ* (Riyadh, 1999, vol. 6, p. 344).

2. Anachronisms in the Qur'an: According to the Qur'an (Q 66:12), the Virgin Mary (Maryam), mother of Christ, was the daughter of Amram ('Imrān), the sister of Moses and Aaron, and a descendant of the tribe of Levi, one of the twelve tribes of Israel. This is false, argues Ward, because Mary was the daughter of Joachim of the tribe of Judah and of David. The time difference between the two Marys is some 1,400 years.

Other errors in the Qur'an mentioned in the letter include:

Sūrat al-Shuʿarā' (Q 26) says that after the Jews left Egypt they returned and ruled the country.

In *Sūrat Hūd* (Q 11) it is reported that many people took refuge in the ark in addition to Noah's family.

What is written in *Sūrat al-Naml* (Q 27) and *Sūrat Yūsuf* (Q 12) regarding Solomon and Joseph son of Jacob contradicts the accounts given in the Bible and the Gospels.

The distortion of Jesus in *ʿĪsā* and of John the Baptist in *Yaḥyā* (there are no suras with these titles in the Qur'an) also contradicts the accounts given in the Bible and the Gospels.

3. The divinity, passion, crucifixion and death of Christ: Muslims reject these articles of faith, and Ward responds with an argument based on verses from the Bible:

The divinity of Christ: Genesis 49:8-12; Baruch 3; Isaiah 7:5-7, 13-17, 35, 61; Jeremiah 23, 31; Psalms 2, 9, 44, 89, 109; Wisdom 2; Daniel 9; Micah 5; Zechariah 2.

The passion of Christ, his crucifixion and death: Exodus 12; Numbers 17, 21; Deuteronomy 28; Jeremiah 4; Daniel 9; Isaiah 5, 8, 9, 11, 42, 50-4; Hosea 6; Amos 8; Zechariah 11-14; Psalms 2, 21, 26, 28, 32, 36, 40, 77 and 128; Wisdom 2.

God is one being in three Persons (*aqānīm*): God, the Word and the Spirit, known as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. These three Persons are equal and constitute a single essence (*jawhar*). Biblical proofs are taken from: Genesis 1 and 29 (words of Moses), and 18 (words of Abraham); Isaiah 6 and 34; Hosea 1; Zechariah 2; Psalms 21; Proverbs 38.

The letter ends with the author's signature, which affirms that it was written on the 22 April 1732.

SIGNIFICANCE

From the 17th century, Maronites made known to the West texts from the Arabic-speaking Muslim world and translated Western philosophy and Christian theology into Arabic. While some of them, such as Ecchellensis and Jean-Baptiste Hesronite, denounced the falseness of Islam and the prophecies of Muḥammad, others, such as Ward in this letter, preferred the more positive approach of attempting to establish the truth of the Bible and Christian doctrines on the basis of the Qur'an and Muslim writings. However, such works gradually gave way to a more moderate approach, most notably with the new generation of Orientalists in the 18th century.

PUBLICATIONS

al-Khūrī, *Ḥaqīqat al-mawārina*, pp. 204-10 (summarising paraphrase of the letter)

STUDIES

Gemayel, *Bibliographie*, vol. 1, p. 620

F. del Rio Sanchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (Alep, Syrie)*, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 285

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 437

P. Sbath, *Al-fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes)*, Part 2. *Ouvrages des auteurs des trois derniers siècles*, Cairo, 1939, p. 91

M. Ghabra'īl, 'Ta'līf wa-rasā'il mārūniyya', *Al-Majalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* 6 (1931) 649-52

P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, Cairo, 1928, vol. 2, p. 87

Joseph Moukarzel

Makirdīj al-Kassīḥ

Makirdīj al-Kassīḥ ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Mukhallaʿ al-Armanī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Kilis (present-day south-central Turkey)
DATE OF DEATH After 1733
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Aleppo

BIOGRAPHY

Makirdīj (from Armenian Mkrtič') al-Kassīḥ was born to Armenian parents in the little town of Kilis, north of Aleppo; the year of his birth is unknown. He belonged to the Armenian Catholic community, which he served as a deacon. At a young age he moved to Aleppo, where he received an education in philosophy and theology as well as in Arabic, the last from the Muslim scholar Sulaymān al-Naḥwī. Makirdīj was part of a circle of Christian, mainly Catholic, intellectuals who must be regarded as the forerunners of the *Nahḍa*, the literary renaissance that took place in the Arab lands in the 19th century. He was especially close to Jirmānūs Farḥāt and Niqūlā al-Ṣā'igh. His first known work dates from 1690 and the last from 1733, which sets the *terminus post quem* for his date of death.

Makirdīj was the first Armenian author to write exclusively in Arabic. He was celebrated among his contemporaries, and Paul Sbath hails him as a 'great scholar and writer'. His writings belong mainly to the spheres of ascetics, pastoral praxis and general education, and he also composed three treatises on Islam.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

M. Aouad and H. Fadlallah, 'Philosophes chrétiens de langue arabe aux XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles en Syrie at au Liban', *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009) 443-68, pp. 446-7, 451, 455-66, 468 (mainly on the intellectual milieu in Aleppo in the early 18th century, of which Makirdīj was part)

H. Kilpatrick, 'From *Literatur* to *adab*. The literary renaissance in Aleppo around 1700', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) 195-220, pp. 209-12 (short biography, and analysis of *Rayḥānat al-arwāḥ wa-sullam al-adab wa-l-ṣalāḥ* [The soul's flagrant flower and the scale of right conduct and culture], 'a collection of ascetical sayings in prose and poetry')

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 4, Vatican City, 1952, pp. 83-4
P. Sbath, *Al-fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes)*, Cairo, 1939, vol. 2, p. 86
L. Shaykhū, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿda l-Islām*, Beirut, 1924, 1991[4], pp. 494-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Aḥādīth al-ḥadīth, 'The stories of the Hadith'

DATE Between 1690 and 1733
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The only known copy of this work was found by Paul Sbath in the possession of the heirs of Rizqallāh Bāsīl in Aleppo. Divided into 24 chapters, it deals with the 'ridiculous legends of the Hadith' (Sbath, *Fihris*, p. 86). Nothing else is known, and the manuscript is presumed lost.

SIGNIFICANCE
Like the tract *Al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī l-Qurʾān*, also on abrogation, this work deals with contradictory statements to be found in the normative texts of Islam, this time the Hadith, the collections of the sayings and deeds of Muḥammad that form the basis for the Muslim *sunna*. This is the first known Christian Arabic text from early modern times written on the subject. Paul Sbath regards it as of 'great value'.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Aleppo, Collection Bāsīl (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1841; must be regarded as lost)

STUDIES
Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, p. 86 (no additional information to Sbath)
Sbath, *Al-fihris*, vol. 2, p. 86, no. 1841

Al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī l-Qurʾān, 'The abrogating and the abrogated in the Qur'an'

DATE Between 1690 and 1733
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

According to Paul Sbath, who found a single copy of this treatise in the possession of the heirs of the Greek Catholic merchant Rizqallāh Bāsīl in Aleppo, this work comprised two parts, each of ten chapters. Sbath summarises the contents briefly as 'the contradictions of the Qur'an and the wrong principle of the abrogating and the abrogated'. Nothing else is known about this work. The manuscript is presumed lost.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise deals with an important subject of controversy between Christianity and Islam, the principle of abrogation (*naskh*) applied by Muslim jurisprudents and theologians to explain the overt contradictions and inconsistencies to be found within the Qur'an, and between the Qur'an and the *sunna*. Makirdīj's tract is the first known Christian Arabic text from early modern times that is specifically devoted to this topic. Sbath regards it as 'a work of great value', a characterisation he also applies to the two other polemical treatises by Makirdīj. The fact that we only know of one copy indicates a limited circulation.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Aleppo, Collection Bāsīl (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1840; must be regarded as lost)

STUDIES

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, p. 86 (no additional information to Sbath)
Sbath, *Al-fihris*, vol. 2, p. 86, no. 1840

Ṣidq al-Injīl wa-kidhb al-Qur'ān, 'The veracity of the Gospels and the falseness of the Qur'an'

DATE Between 1690 and 1733
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This is a work by Makirdīj found by Paul Sbath in the possession of the heirs of Rizqallāh Bāsīl at Aleppo. Other than the title, nothing is known about it. The manuscript must be assumed to be lost.

SIGNIFICANCE

In speaking of the 'falseness' of the Qur'an, the author expresses his position in a tone unusual for a Christian living under Muslim rule in a

mainly Muslim environment. Possibly the work, of which only one copy is known, was not meant for general circulation but only for a limited circle of readers. As with the other works on Islam by Makirdīj, *Al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī l-Qur'ān* and *Aḥādīth al-ḥadīth*, based on its title, it was an offensive attack against Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Aleppo, Collection Bāsīl (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1842; must be regarded as lost)

STUDIES

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, p. 86 (no additional information to Sbath)
Sbath, *Al-fihris*, vol. 2, p. 86, no. 1842

Carsten Walbiner

Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṣiyām al-Damanhūrī

DATE OF BIRTH Possibly 1690
PLACE OF BIRTH Damanhur
DATE OF DEATH 1778
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Shaykh Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṣiyām al-Damanhūrī is famous primarily for having been the grand shaykh of al-Azhar and an encyclopaedic scholar of the 18th century. He was born in Damanhūr (the present-day capital of al-Buḥayra province in the northwest Nile Delta in Egypt), where he received his primary education and memorised the Qur'an. Orphaned and poor, al-Damanhūrī moved to Cairo to pursue his education at al-Azhar, where he studied various religious, linguistic and natural sciences.

In his autobiography, al-Damanhūrī cites more than 30 outstanding scholars in various fields of knowledge who taught him. Noted for his exceptional memory, he mastered the science of *fiqh* according to the four Sunnī schools of jurisprudence, surpassing jurists devoted to each one of these schools. His exceptional legal scholarly dexterity was so rare and extensive that he was granted an *ijāza* (teaching licence) by each of the schools, earning him the epithet of *al-madhhabī*, a title that indicates his full knowledge of these four schools. After graduation, he began teaching at al-Azhar Mosque and issuing legal fatwas according to the principles of the four schools. He wrote the fatwa *Iqāmat al-ḥujja l-bāhira ʿalā hadm kanā'is Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* in response to a legal question he was posed.

Scattered biographical references indicate that al-Damanhūrī had a high level of self-esteem and a prestigiously influential personality. He would recount autobiographical episodes during his night-time religion classes given during Ramaḍān at the mosque of al-Ḥusayn, Cairo, and would raise difficult questions as a challenge for other scholars. On one occasion, his house in Būlāq offered a secure refuge to an emir seeking protection after a heated fight had broken out between him and other emirs, and no one dared to attack the house. However, he remained so

modest and humble in using titles that he nicknamed himself the 'humblest of mankind' in the introductions to his own works.

As a reformist, he adopted a strict approach to 'enjoining the right' and 'forbidding the wrong', without any fear of the views of the ruling emirs, who treated him with honour and appreciation. According to biographical sources, his candour was evident to everybody, as he never minced his words or modified his proscriptions. While al-Damanhūrī was known to be a gracious host, who would entertain guests with generosity and gift people with benevolence, he did not enjoy sharing his knowledge with others, whether students or scholars, and preferred seclusion. Only visitors and foreigners who were passing by had the good fortune to be granted it freely. When al-Damanhūrī rose to fame and became the grand shaykh of Al-Azhar, he enjoyed great influence both within and outside Egypt, and even kings used to visit him and send him gifts. In 1764, he joined an Egyptian caravan on the *ḥajj* for Mecca, where chiefs and scholars gave him a warm welcome. During the *ḥajj*, he lectured extensively on theology, impressing attending scholars, especially non-Arabs, such as the famous Malay-Indonesian scholar ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. 1789), who wrote a book, *Zuhrat al-murīd fi bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd*, with the purpose of better understanding the theological lectures given by al-Damanhūrī in Mecca.

In addition to the rich and broad education he received at al-Azhar, al-Damanhūrī's self-made personality and love of seclusion are likely to have helped him master and write prolifically on a range of different disciples and sciences. Besides his knowledge of jurisprudence, exegesis, ethics and rhetoric, he was famed for his unique erudition and scholarship in chemistry, astronomy, logic, geology, philosophy, anatomy and medicine. He wrote works in a number of fields, which earned him high esteem.

Al-Damanhūrī left an encyclopaedic heritage and dozens of works. After a long and fruitful life, he died at his home in Būlāq in 1778. Huge numbers of mourners followed his funeral procession to al-Azhar mosque. He was buried in al-Bustān cemetery in southern Cairo.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Cairo, Al-Azhar Library – 585/41640 (1305 AH; al-Damanhūrī, *Al-laṭā'if al-nurāniyya fī l-minaḥ al-Damanhūriyya*)

Muḥammad Khalīl ibn ʿAlī al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Cairo, 1874
Ismāʿīl Pasha ibn Muḥammad Amīn al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn fī l-dhayl ʿalā Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Beirut: Dar Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, s.d.
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥasan al-Jabartī, *ʿAjā'ib al-athār fī l-tarājim wa-l-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Cairo, 1998

Secondary

M. Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman rule, 1517-1798*, London, 1992
E.C. van Dyck, *Iktifā' al-qanūʿ bi-mā huwa maṭbūʿ. Ashhar al-taʾālīf al-ʿarabiyya fī l-maṭābiʿ al-sharqiyya wa-l-gharbiyya*, Egypt, 1896

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Iqāmat al-ḥujja al-bāhira ʿalā hadm kanā'is Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira, 'Presenting the incontrovertible argument on [the obligation] of demolishing churches in the ancient capital [of al-Fusṭāṭ] and Cairo'

DATE December 1738/January 1739
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Damanhūrī wrote this treatise in response to a question raised by some Muslims about the legal ruling on Christians building new churches or maintaining and renovating old ones in the old capital of Egypt (of al-Fusṭāṭ) or Cairo. In it, he cites the traditional legal sources of the four schools, influenced by the spirit of medieval times, with a focus on past treatises written on the same question, such as the work of the Mālikī jurist Badr al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 1599) and the Ḥanafī jurist Ḥasan ibn ʿAmmār al-Shurunbulālī (1659). It covers 30 folios in the Cairo manuscript (November 1739) that is preserved at the Egyptian National Library and Archives.

The treatise consists of an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion. The introduction provides a brief historical and theoretical account of the Arab conquest of Egypt and the three opinions common among jurists regarding the nature of how the Muslims took control of of the country: by force, through a peace-treaty, or part force/part peace-treaty. Al-Damanhūrī ultimately prefers the opinion that they took Egypt by

force after a fierce and long bloody fight, and then signed the peace treaty. Cairo was then built in the fourth century after the conquest. This premise paves the way for prohibiting the building of new churches in Egypt, and even destroying those built under Muslim rule. He then explores the meanings of *kanīsa* (synagogue) and *bīʿa* (church).

The four chapters present the juridical views of the four schools of jurisprudence on building, maintaining and renovating churches in various territories under Muslim control. In his conclusion, al-Damanhūrī cites the legal evidence usually quoted in this context, but it is important to stress that the treatise does not present a single qur'anic verse or authentic tradition attributed to the Prophet to prove the restrictive juristic stance that he endorses.

This treatise is a manifest testimony to the pitiable state of relations between Muslims and Christians after a long and bloody history of conflicts, mutual fear, and attempts by each to dominate the other. The period when it was written followed the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League of Christian powers. Reading the treatise outside its historical context may lead to accusing Muslim legalists of intolerance and disregarding the concept of freedom of worship. However, when the context and the treatise itself are closely considered, it can be seen that there was strong juristic support for the construction of non-Muslim places of worship in Muslim lands, especially in cities with a non-Muslim majority population. Even so, al-Damanhūrī was determined to criticise this trend insomuch as he rejected the tolerant views of Ibn al-Humām al-Ḥanafī (d. 1457) that allowed the existence of churches in central Cairo and other Muslim territories outside Arabia. He also rejected the views of Qaḍī Khān (d. 1196) and other Ḥanafī authorities, which permitted the rebuilding of derelict churches. In opposition to these views, he cites a presumed juristic consensus clumsily claimed by the Shāfiʿī legalist al-Subkī (d. 1370). This states that, according to the dominant Mālikī view, the right decision in this matter is made conditional upon agreement between Muslims and non-Muslims, following the interests of the Muslim community.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ultimately, this treatise illustrates the extent to which the inherited norms of tradition and politics can affect the process of juristic reasoning and legal decisions. Muslims who resist modernist thinking still cite it as evidence for restricting freedom of worship.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library and Archives – 38124, 30 fols (November 1739)

MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library and Archives – 29656, 28 fols (November 1780)

MS Cairo, Al-Azhar Library – 326194, 26 fols (undated)

M. Perlmann (ed. and trans.), *Shaykh Damanhūri on the churches of Cairo, 1739*, Berkeley CA, 1975 (English trans.)

Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Damanhūrī, *Iqāmat al-ḥujja l-bāhira ʿalā hadm kanāʾis Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. Muḥammad S. al-Najdī, al-Manṣūra: Dār al-Farūq, 2012

STUDIES

ʿAmr Ismaʿīl Muḥammad, *Shuyūkh al-Azhar fi Miṣr*, Cairo, 2018

Muhammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafājī and ʿAlī ʿAlī Ṣubḥ, *Al-Azhar fī alf ʿām*, Cairo, 2012

A. Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in South East Asia. Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ʿulamāʾ in the seventeenth and eighteenth century*, Leiden, 2004

al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-athār fī l-tarājim wa-l-akhbār*

ʿUmar Riḍa Kaḥḥala, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn. Tarājim muʾallifī l-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, Damascus, 1993

Sulaymān Raṣd al-Ḥanafī, *Kanz al-jawhar fī tārīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo, [1902]

al-Baghdādī, *Iḍāḥ al-maknūn fī al-dhayl ʿalā Kashf al-ẓunūn*

al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 1, p. 117

Muhammad Fawzy Abdelhay

The martyrdom of Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl

The martyrdom of Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl (1742) as reflected in contemporary Christian Arabic writings

DATE 1742
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Neo-martyrs, i.e. persons who died for their religion in recent times, do not feature prominently in Christian-Arabic literature during the early modern period. Descriptions of the fate of these witnesses to Christ did not develop as a (sub-)genre with specific treatises (neo-martyrologies) dedicated to their lives, as was the case among the Greek-speaking and Balkan Orthodox communities. Possible reasons for this might lie in the relatively small number of reported cases and the specific situation in the Arab lands. While parts of Asia Minor and south-eastern Europe were exposed to the mass conversion of Orthodox Christians to Islam after the Ottoman conquests, in the Arab provinces the religious demographics remained more or less stable. The lives of martyrs were therefore not of such great importance in strengthening the various Christian denominations in their beliefs and identities.

The best-documented and most widely noted 18th-century case is that of Ibrāhīm ibn Dīmitrī ibn Yaʿqūb, surnamed al-Dallāl, a Melkite (Greek Catholic) from Aleppo. Following an argument with his father, Ibrāhīm converted to Islam, a decision he quickly revoked in public. Following this, he was taken into custody by the Ottoman authorities, interrogated and tortured. As he refused to recant his apostasy, he was beheaded on 7 February 1742. Ibrāhīm was not the first Aleppan neo-martyr; there had been at least two cases during the 17th century, Dāwud (1660) and Yūsuf (1686).

While we do not know of any Arabic report of the earlier incidents, the fate of Ibrāhīm became the subject of a number of letters written by locals to Rome, as well as being lamented in two poems by contemporary writers. Damyānūs Shabārikh has published the documents found in the archives of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome. These reports, realistic and detailed in parts, allow for a good reconstruction of the events.

In an undated letter to the Propaganda Fide, the victim's father informs them that, among other things, he was only able to get permission to bury his son in the Christian cemetery after paying a considerable sum to the authorities. However, the bishop denied his dead son a proper Christian burial with the usual rites, having decided to wait on orders from Rome. The father pleads for his son to be received into the ranks of the martyrs, and says he has a letter of support from the bishop.

This letter of support, likewise undated, and written by Maximus Ḥakīm, the Greek-Catholic archbishop of Aleppo, describes Ibrāhīm as a man God chose to become a witness for his faith and who for that was exposed to 'beatings, humiliation, imprisonment, chaining with iron collars and leg irons, threats and promises and was finally beheaded by the sword'. Maximus refers to a letter written to his procurator in Rome in which he had already reported the events. He requests that Ibrāhīm should be declared a martyr, as this would also be 'a strong fortification of the weak in the true belief, especially for those who have only embraced it recently', alluding here to the Uniate movement, which had been especially successful in Aleppo in the early decades of the 18th century, winning over the majority of the Greek Orthodox there to the Catholic Church.

In a statement dated 27 August 1742, Maximus gives a detailed report of Ibrāhīm's personality and case. Misled by evil thoughts and fancies, the young man had developed the idea that his father was intending to poison him. He went to the *qāḍī* and, in the presence of the ruler, abandoned his Christian faith. This happened on 3 February 1742. The ruler accepted Ibrāhīm's conversion, put a white turban – the correct headdress for Muslims – on his head and sent him back to his father's house, where he was refused entry, so he had to spend the night with Muslims.

The next morning, when the Muslims tried to take Ibrāhīm to the mosque to pray he refused to enter, asserting that he was a Christian. Beaten and cursed, he was dragged to the *qāḍī*, who put him in jail for two days. He was then summoned to the governor, who ordered him to be subjected to stricter prison conditions and corporal punishment. After two days without food, and subjected to extensive physical abuse, he was again brought before the governor, who had gathered a council (*majlis*) to decide on a punishment for him. When asked about his religion, Ibrāhīm replied, 'I am a Christian.' The council deliberated on his case and sentenced him to death 'according to their [religious] law'.

On 7 February 1742, at around noon, Ibrāhīm was publicly beheaded. His body was left lying at the place of execution for 31 hours, until the family was able to obtain permission from the governor to bury him in the Christian cemetery in a new grave. There soon appeared signs of holiness: a fragrant smell emanated from the body, and the dead man's hands could easily be folded together over his chest.

Attached to this statement is a letter that Maximus sent on 10 March 1742 to his procurator in Rome. Maximus writes that he had denied Ibrāhīm a formal burial, and had thus far refrained from the usual lamentations for the dead and from honouring him as a martyr, as he was waiting for a decision from the Propaganda Fide. People had already started venerating the grave, and 'Many took [some] of the blood of the martyr and from the earth that had been soaked by his blood and also from the spattered pebbles and his clothing. These relics have cured many diseases, in such a way that the name of the zealot (*mujāhid*) spread quickly amongst low and high as a victorious martyr (*ka-shahīd ẓāfir*).' Maximus requested that his report should be submitted in Italian translation to the Propaganda Fide.

The editor of these letters added two documents issued by the Roman authorities in Italian and translated into Arabic. In a statement presented to the assembly of the Propaganda Fide on 10 October 1742, the promoter of the faith (*promotor fidei*) asks the Propaganda Fide not to interfere in the matter of beatification, as prescribed by the regulations. Rather, Bishop Maximus should begin by opening a canonical process, for which the promoter had produced some instructions explaining the necessary procedure. This process would also decide on the veneration of the dead.

On 24 November 1742, the Propaganda Fide finally sent a response to Bishop Maximus's letter of 10 March. It expresses respect for Ibrāhīm who had suffered a 'happy and pious death … at the hands of the unbelievers'. Maximus is praised for his reservations concerning the veneration of the dead, and is asked to continue holding off until he receives further instructions, which would explain the procedure for determining the correctness of the claims (that Ibrāhīm was a martyr) in accordance with the legal regulations. Nothing is known of the final outcome of this process.

These letters were sent to addressees in Europe. The two poems, meanwhile, reflect how Ibrāhīm's fate was perceived by the local Christian population. Niqūlā al-Ṣā'igh (1692-1756), certainly the most prominent Christian Arab poet of his time, dedicated a *qaṣīda* to Ibrāhīm, which he recited on the day that his body was brought to the cemetery.

The poem contains no explicit attack on Islam or the Islamic law that prescribed Ibrāhīm's execution. However, when stating that 'no promise and no scoundrel' could induce the martyr to give up his faith, it is clear to whom the author was referring. Al-Ṣā'igh repeatedly alludes to the physical abuse suffered by Ibrāhīm, and his steadfastness vis-à-vis the torturer and executioner, who both exemplify the evil ruling system. Ibrāhīm is hailed as a true martyr who preferred 'punishment and death' to a 'comfortable life'.

In addition, Anṭūn Bīṭār, a contemporary Aleppan poet, composed a long *qaṣīda* lamenting Ibrāhīm's death. Bīṭār's verses focus on depicting him as a saint who died because of his great love for God. He writes of the enormous sadness that overcame the Christians and the veneration they offered to the deceased, whose blood had blessed Aleppo. There is only a single allusion to those who carried out the execution, referring to them as 'the stupid ones'.

Ni'ma ibn Tūmā (c. 1700-c. 1770), another contemporary Melkite writer, composed a two-line chronogram marking the date of Ibrāhīm's martyrdom. All this gives proof that the fate of Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl moved the Greek Catholic community deeply.

SIGNIFICANCE

To understand how unusual Ibrāhīm's case is, it should be compared with earlier and later cases of neo-martyrdom in Aleppo. While there is no mention of either of the two known cases from the 17th century in Arabic written material, Ibrāhīm's fate was described in a number of letters sent to Rome and lamented in at least two poems. The correspondence with the Vatican reveals an important change in the Christian communities of Syria. All the churches had established a Catholic branch that maintained formal relations with Rome and owed obedience to the pope. It is clear that the Vatican applied long legal procedures in an attempt to control emotions and avoid any open confrontation with the Ottoman authorities.

The several poems, as well as the letters, show the great readiness of the local population to venerate neo-martyrs. However, it seems that this reverence was short-lived and did not become deeply rooted in the collective memory. Later depictions of 19th-century (group) martyrdoms and massacres, which themselves became subjects of lasting memory, do not commemorate these earlier cases of martyrdom. This could be due to the fact that the fate of Ibrāhīm and his predecessors was never consolidated in hagiographical texts.

PUBLICATIONS

L. Cheikho (Shaikhū), *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿda l-Islām*, Beirut, 1991[4], pp. 485-6 (excerpts from Bīṭār's poem), p. 504 (Ibn Tūmā's chronogram)

D. Shabārikh, 'Wathāʾiq tārīkhiyya ʿan istishhād Ibrāhīm ibn Dīmitrī ibn Yaʿqūb al-mukannā bi-l-Dallāl wa-huwa min abnāʾ al-ṭāʾifa l-Rūmiyya l-Malikiyya l-Kāthūlīkiyya', *Al-Masarra* 8 (1932) 216-30 (letter from Ibrāhīm's father to the Propaganda Fide, pp. 217-18; letter from Bishop Maximus to the Propaganda Fide, pp. 218-20; statement by Bishop Maximus presented to the Propaganda Fide, pp. 220-3; letter from Bishop Maximus to his procurator in Rome, pp. 223-5; statement by the *promotor fidei* for the Propaganda Fide, pp. 225-6; letter from the Propaganda Fide to Bishop Maximus, pp. 226-7; al-Ṣāʾigh's poem, pp. 227-30)

STUDIES

J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du V[e] au XX[e] siècle*, Louvain, 1989, vol. 4/2, p. 58

J.M. Fiey, 'Martyrs sous les Ottomans', *Analecta Bolandiana* 101 (1983) 387-406, pp. 392-3

N. Idlibī, *Asāqifat al-Rūm al-Malikiyyīn bi-Ḥalab fī l-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth*, Aleppo, 1983, pp. 165-6

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1949, p. 189

Carsten Walbiner

Buṭrus al-Lādhiqī

Buṭrus al-Mārūnī al-Lādhiqī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; active in 1742
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The only information about this author derives from Paul Sbath's entry in his catalogue of Arabic manuscripts and most probably comes from the manuscript itself, namely that the Maronite priest (*qass*) Buṭrus al-Lādhiqī lived in Aleppo in 1742. The surname indicates that he or his family came originally from the city of Latakia (*al-Lādhiqiyya*) on the Syrian coast. Georg Graf mentions 1742 as the year of the author's death but this is most likely a mistake, as Sbath's catalogue was Graf's only source of knowledge.

Nothing further is known about Buṭrus; he is not mentioned in Nasser Gemayel's comprehensive work on the Maronite copyists, or in the list of graduates of the Maronite College in Rome.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

N. al-Jumayyil, *Nussākh al-mawārina wa-mansūkhātuhum*, 5 vols, Beirut, 1997-2004 (no mention of Buṭrus as a copyist of manuscripts)

N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de ʿAyn Warqa (1789)*, Beirut, 1984, vol. 1, pp. 95-144 (no mention of Buṭrus amongst the graduates of the Maronite College)

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1951, p. 439 (no additional information to Sbath)

P. Sbath, *Al-fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes)*, Cairo, 1939, vol. 2, p. 78, no. 1769

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm, 'The book of the straight way'

DATE Possibly 1742
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
According to Paul Sbath, the work contains a 'demonstration of Christianity and refutation of Islam', and consists of two parts. Sbath found the only known copy of the work in the possession of the heirs of the Greek Catholic merchant Rizqallāh Bāsīl in Aleppo. The manuscript must now be regarded as lost.

SIGNIFICANCE
The title alone does not allow any evaluation, except that the reference to Q 1:8, *ihdinā l-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* ('show us the straight path'), announces its definitely polemical tone. This verse is traditionally understood as a prayer made by Muslims, but here it appears to refer to Christianity as the true faith.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Aleppo, Collection Bāsīl (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1769; must be regarded as lost)

STUDIES
Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 439 (no information in addition to Sbath)
Sbath, *Fihris*, vol. 2, p. 78, no. 1769

Carsten Walbiner

Isṭifānūs Akīllī

Stephanus Achilli; Stephanus Achilles

DATE OF BIRTH About 1723
PLACE OF BIRTH Karpasia (Cyprus)
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably late 18th century

BIOGRAPHY

Isṭifānūs Akīllī, known in Western literature as Achilli or Achille(s), was a native of Karpasia, a village located in the north-west of Cyprus (abandoned by the Maronite population in 1974, when it came under Turkish control). He was a Maronite, and first joined the ʿAynṭūrā seminary in Kisruwān, Mount Lebanon, which had been re-established by Jesuits in 1730. His studies there were facilitated by the presence of another Cypriot Maronite at the head of the mission and the seminary, the priest Anṭūniyūs Nakkī (Antonio Maria Nacchi, d. 1746). Akīllī would also have benefited from the grant assigned to the seminary at the end of 1735 by the Cypriot Maronite priest Indrāwūs Iskandar (Andrea Scandar, d. 1748), which was meant to pay the tuition fees of a seminarian from Cyprus. After a brief stay at the seminary, Akīllī left Mount Lebanon in 1736, at the age of 13, to continue his studies at the Maronite College in Rome.

In 1746, Akīllī, still a student at the Maronite College but now a deacon, finished his treatise *Al-miṣbāḥ al-muḍī li-man yashā' an yastaḍī* ('The lamp of enlightenment for him who desires to be enlightened'), encouraged by his teacher, the Jesuit priest Simʿān Khuḍayr (Simone Verdi, still living in 1765), head of studies, and approved by Indrāwūs Iskandar, professor of Oriental languages at the college.

After finishing his studies but before returning home, Akīllī sent a letter to the cardinals of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide requesting a number of works that would be useful for his missionary activities: liturgical books, the New Testament, Syriac and Arabic grammars, and finally an Arabic book on the 'Concordance of the Greek Church with the Roman Church'. Bishop Isṭifānūs ʿAwwād al-Simʿānī (Stephano Evodio Assemani, d. 1782) also wrote to his uncle (14 April 1746), the patriarch Simʿān ʿAwwād (d. 1756), to find a job for the young

academic. All we know is that many years later, in 1763, Akīllī was a Maronite parish priest in Acre, at the time known as St John of Acre.

Apart from this, nothing is certain regarding Akīllī's life after his return to his homeland, and the place and date of his death are unknown.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Rome, Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide (ASPF) – Collegi Vari, vol. 45, fols 417r, 440r (no date given)

MS Vat – Syr 410, fol 287v (17th-18th century; collection of documents)

Secondary

N. Gemayel, *Bibliographie des auteurs maronites*, Beirut, 2011, vol. 1, pp. 11-12

V. Hachem, *Antoura, de 1657 à nos jours. Une histoire du Liban*, Antoura, 2003, pp. 44-9

N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de 'Ayn Warqa (1789)*, Beirut, 1984, vol. 1, pp. 128, 201

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 438-9

I. Ḥarfūsh, 'Dhayl fī talāmidhat al-madrasa al-rūmāniyya l-mārūniyya l-qadīma', *Al-Manāra* 7 (1936) 108-17, 184-7, 258-73, 424-32, 543-50, p. 430

[Anonymous], 'Madrasat 'Aynṭūrā. Nabdha tārīkhiyya fī aṣlihā li-aḥad afāḍil al-ābā' al-'āzariyyīn', *Al-Mashriq* 3 (1900) 481-6, 545-53, 637-47, pp. 483-4, n. 3

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-miṣbāḥ al-muḍī li-man yashā' an yastaḍī, 'The lamp of enlightenment for him who desires to be enlightened'

DATE 1746

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Akīllī finished this work at the Maronite College in Rome in 1746, and donated the manuscript containing it, MS Vat – Syr 430, to the college shortly before returning to the East as a missionary. The title is given in the preface: *Al-miṣbāḥ al-muḍī li-man yashā' an yastaḍī*. (This dialect form of spelling omits the final *hamza* in the words *muḍī'* and *yastaḍī'*.)

Akīllī is identified as the author in the manuscript, though uncertainty is caused by the existence of another treatise with exactly the same title written by another student of the Maronite College, Yūḥannā Baṭishtā Badhinjāna of Aleppo (d. end of the 18th century), but Badhinjāna's treatise (a copy of which can be found in MS Kaslik – OLM 247) deals with a different subject and is not related to Islam and Eastern Christianity.

Akīllī explains at the beginning of his treatise what made him write it: 'Being aware that many Christians in eastern countries reject several laws of the religion, be that because of ignorance or stubbornness, and in order to fulfil the obligations of my vow to become a missionary, I have decided to write a book whose contents comprise teachings of skilled priests and leading scholars gifted with virtue and holiness.' The eastern Christians targeted in the book are the followers of Nestorius, Dioscorus and Photios, i.e. the Nestorians, the Monophysites and the Greek Orthodox. At the end of the manuscript, Akīllī refers to the works of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine as one of his sources, though without being more precise. A search of the writings of Bellarmine, particularly his *Disputationum … de controversis Christianæ fidei adversus huius temporis hæreticos* (4 vols, Ingolstadt, 1601), reveals that Akīllī appears to have been inspired by his teachings concerning the power of the Roman pontiff and the singularity and Trinity of God. It is probable that Akīllī did not consult Bellarmine's works themselves, but used sources that contained his teachings.

The book is divided into *maqālāt* (treatises), *abwāb* (sections), *fuṣūl* (chapters) and *ajzā'* (sub-chapters). It comprises eight treatises: the first presents the essence of the true faith; the second rebuts the teachings of the pagans, Jews and Muslims; the third defends the pre-eminence of the pope; and the rest refute teachings and observances of various Christian sects. References to Islam occur mainly in the first two treatises.

In the first treatise, first section, Akīllī often refers to elements of Islam in order to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity. In ch. 3, he argues that the excellence of Christianity is shown through the eternal reward it offers its followers that other religions cannot match. Among them, Islam offers its followers 'things of a lower-level, not worthy of an intelligent man. Muslims say that extreme happiness on the other side will be found in food, drink and fornication with houris', which is no more than a 'bestial pleasure'. In ch. 5, he proves the excellence of Christianity through the holiness of the commandments that encourage love of neighbour, while Jews and Muslims justify hatred of enemies and

deceiving followers of a different faith. In ch. 6, he shows the superiority of Christianity through its teaching of monogamy, while Muslims permit homosexuality, polygamy and divorce. In ch. 10, Akīllī argues that Christians have not changed the Gospel or the Torah as Muslims allege. Indeed, several verses of the Qur'an indicate that Muḥammad praised the holiness and divine inspiration of the Gospel, and Muslims only accused Christians of changing the Gospel after his time, when they found the Gospel was different from the Qur'an.

In the second treatise, Akīllī devotes the second section to exposing the falseness of Muslim teachings. In ch. 1, he argues that the Bible is authoritative because Christians have never falsified it. Hence, Muḥammad's teaching that Christ was a created being sent by God is wrong because it contradicts the Bible. In ch. 2, he sets Jesus's life alongside Muḥammad's and finds the former superior because of his Incarnation, miracles and resurrection. In addition, whereas those who followed Jesus were pious and lived in holiness, Muḥammad's followers were 'thieves and bandits tarnished by all sorts of bestial pleasure'. Ch. 3 argues that Christianity expanded through miracles and martyrdom, whereas Islam expanded through the sword, weapons and warfare, and ch. 4 affirms that Jesus's teachings are superior to those of Muḥammad, for, while Jesus ordered his disciples to be patient in adversity and to love their enemies, and preached marriage with only one woman without the possibility of divorce, as well as spiritual circumcision, which requires humans to be happy with the bare necessities of life, Muḥammad commanded vengeance, polygamy, divorce and physical circumcision, and in addition luxury and all types of sensory pleasure. In this chapter, Akīllī also derides a number of Islamic legends. In ch. 5, he argues that Islam forbids debate and enquiry in religion for fear that its followers will discover it is not a religion of honesty and righteousness, but of ignorance.

SIGNIFICANCE

As Akīllī explains, the aim of his book was to provide missionaries in the Levant with a manual for their work among Muslims and non-Catholic Christians. Hence his demonstration of the supremacy of Christian doctrines over those of Islam, and his comparison with the doctrines and practices of non-Catholic Christians.

The fact that the work was never published, and that only a few copies were made, suggests it was not used widely and had little influence on Christian approaches to Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vat – Syr 430 (1746, autograph; Garshūnī)

MS Bkirkī (Bkerké), Maronite Patriarchate – première série 187 (copied in 1747 by Irimiyyā Nujaym Kāmil, a study colleague of Akīllī at the Maronite College)

MS Bkirkī (Bkerké), Maronite Patriarchate – deuxième série 90 (1772, more or less identical with MS Bkirkī 187; previously belonging to the Monastery of Mār ʿAbdā Harharayyā [MS 39]; Nasrallah, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 139-40, wrongly attributes it to Yūḥannā Badhinjāna)

MS Kaslik, Holy Spirit University of Kaslik – OLM 621 (no date or copyist given; in Nasrallah's *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 182-3, it is listed as MS Jbayl, Dayr Sayyidat al-Maʿūnāt – 27)

STUDIES

F. Baissari, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la résidence patriarcale maronite. Deuxième série, Fonds Bkerké*, Beirut, 1999, pp. 165-7

A. Khalifé and F. Baissari, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la résidence patriarcale maronite. Première série, Fonds Bkerké*, Beirut, 1973, pp. 159-60

J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, vol. 2. *Bibliothèque des missionnaires libanais de Dair al-Kreim; Bibliothèque de Dair Mar ʿAbda Harharayya; Bibliothèque des moines libanais de Dair al-Banat*, Harissa, 1963, pp. 139-40, 182-3

A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectione Vaticanis codicibus edita*, Rome, 1831, vol. 5, pp. 70-1

Joseph Moukarzel

Niqūlāwus al-Ṣā'igh

Niqūlā al-Ṣā'igh, al-Khūrī Niqūlāwus al-Ṣā'igh
al-Ḥalabī l-Rūmī

DATE OF BIRTH 1692
PLACE OF BIRTH Aleppo
DATE OF DEATH 17 December 1756
PLACE OF DEATH Zūq Mīkhā'īl, Mount Lebanon

BIOGRAPHY

Niqūlāwus al-Ṣā'igh was born into a Greek Orthodox family of goldsmiths at a period when Roman Catholic missionaries in the Levant were working to bring Christians of the Eastern Churches to recognise papal authority. Precise information about his education is lacking. Cheikho (Shaykhū) and Ḥājj list him among the students of Jirmānūs Farḥāt's teacher Shaykh Sulaymān al-Naḥwī, but whether there is evidence for this or whether they merely assume this from his association with Farḥāt is not clear. At all events, familiarity with Arabic literary culture is attested among some members of the Greek Orthodox community in Aleppo from the early 17th century on. Niqūlāwus felt drawn to monastic life at an early age. In 1716, he moved to Lebanon and joined the small community of the newly-founded Dayr Mār Yuḥannā at al-Shuwayr, which sought to combine Byzantine worship and spirituality with the form of organisation of a Catholic congregation. Ordained priest in 1719, he became superior of the monastery in 1723. He also spent some time in other Shuwayrite monasteries. In 1727, he became Superior General of the Shuwayrite Basilian Order, as it came to be known, a position he retained, except for a short break, until his death. He was an extremely capable administrator, a pastor and a man of conciliatory disposition.

Niqūlāwus al-Ṣā'igh's life spans the turbulent period in which, as a result of Catholic missionary activity, the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch was split: some of the faithful recognised papal supremacy and claims to universal jurisdiction while others remained loyal to the Orthodox patriarch and tradition. When Patriarch Athanāsiyūs Dabbās died in 1724, bishops, clergy and notables in Damascus elected Kīrillus Ṭānās, an advocate of union with Rome, to succeed him, an election confirmed

by Rome in 1730. Meanwhile, Athanāsiyūs Dabbās's own candidate, Silfistrus, was elected by the synod in Constantinople. In Syria, Silfistrus enlisted the Ottoman authorities' help against the Catholics of Antioch (Melkites, as they became known), with beatings, imprisonment, banishment and confiscation of property for those who did not recognise Orthodox beliefs. Consequently, many took refuge in what is now Lebanon, though they were not always safe from the Orthodox and Ottoman authorities there. Moreover, as was their custom, non-Christian governors exploited conflicts among Christians to their own advantage, promising support to first one side and then the other in return for money.

As the superior of a monastery and later of an order, Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh had direct dealings with local notables on whose goodwill and protection his community depended. Dayr Mār Yuḥannā at al-Shuwayr, the first foundation, and two other monasteries lay in the territory of the Druze Abī l-Lamʿ family of *muqāṭaʿjī*s (tax farmers). Zūq Mīkhāʾīl, the women's monastery, was in the territory of the Maronite tax-farming Khāzin family. The overlords of these *muqāṭaʿjī*s were emirs of the Sunnī Shihāb family. Dayr al-Sayyida at Raʾs Baʿlabakk fell under the authority of the Shīʿī Ismāʿīl Ḥarfūsh, whose overlord was the governor of Damascus.

Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh left a considerable œuvre in prose: sermons, devotional works, letters and rules for his Order. But he is best known for his *Dīwān* (collected poems), and is the most important Christian poet in Arabic in the early 18th century. He composed in the main genres of Arabic poetry, employing the conventions, style and language of the élite tradition, generally to explore specifically Christian subjects. Towards the end of his life, he collected his poems, often including an indication of the occasions that gave rise to them.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

G. 'Aṭā', *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh ṭāʾifat al-rūm al-malakīyyīn al-kathūlīkīyyīn* [Concise history of the Catholic Melkite Byzantine Church], ed. Sh. al-Batlūnī, Beirut, 1884, pp. 49-53

L. Shaykhū, 'Tarjamat al-ṭayyib al-athar al-khūrī Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh' [Biography of the priest Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh of virtuous memory], *Al-Mashriq* 6 (1903) 97-111

P. Bacel, 'Nicolas Saïgh, religieux chouérite 1692-1756', *Échos d'Orient* 11 (1908) 71-6, 154-61

L. Shaykhū, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām. Al-qism al-rābiʿ: Al-qurūn al-mutaʾakhkhira* [Christian poets after the coming of Islam. Part four: The later centuries] [1927], repr. Beirut, 1967, pp. 464-73

Secondary

J.I. Kaḥḥāla, *Nīqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh wa-ashʿāruhu fī madḥ Maryam al-ʿAdhrāʾ* [Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh and his poems in praise of the Virgin Mary], Aleppo, 2008, pp. 23-39

J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du movement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, vol. 4. *Époque ottomane 1516-1900*, part 2. *1724-1800*, Louvain, 1989, pp. 268-70

A. Ḥājj, *Al-rahbāniyya l-bāsīliyya l-shuwayriyya (al-ḥalabiyya – al-baladiyya) fī tārīkh al-kanīsa wa-l-bilād*, vol. 1. *1710-1823* [The Basilian Choueirite Order (Aleppine and local) in the history of the Church and the country], Jounieh, 1973, pp. 112-18, 133-4, 140-3, 179-83, 195-208, 212, 219-24, 226-31, 233, 237, 244-6, 260-4, 273-80, 282-4, 292-302, 304-8, 318-19, 323-8, 352-5, 360-8, 375, 382-4, 391, 392, 396-7, 401-6, 414-17, 444-7, 487-8, 511-12, 557, 584-91

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 201-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-badīʿiyya, 'Poem in praise of Christ and his disciples'

DATE 1724

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *badīʿiyya* (*Dīwān*, pp. 80-4) is a poem of 156 verses. The themes are as follows: address to the poet's travelling companions and praise of them; attacks on critics and complaints about the unfaithfulness of former patrons; repentance and turning to Christ; praise of the Son and the Father; praise of the Apostles and saints as missionaries, preachers, healers and intercessors; affirmation of the primacy of Peter among the Apostles; reference to the Old Testament's foretelling of Christ's coming; further praise of the Apostles served by this poem, and affirmation of the poet's trust in their intercession.

This poem belongs to the tradition of classical Arabic panegyrics. The *badīʿiyya* is a specific genre going back to Ṣafī l-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. c. 1349), who composed a poem in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad according to

the established thematic structure of the *qaṣīda*, and in addition incorporating at least one rhetorical (*badīʿ*) figure in each line. Other features were intertextuality and allusions to Islamic history. Subsequent poets who composed *badīʿiyyāt* demonstrated their extraordinary philological knowledge together with their deep veneration for and love of the Prophet.

SIGNIFICANCE

In composing his *badīʿiyya*, Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh was using an élite literary genre until then associated with Muslim piety to express Christian themes. He replaces the Prophet and the Companions with Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and saints. In the tropes exploiting intertextuality, he draws mainly on the New Testament, although there are also some echoes of the Qurʾan. He also introduces Christian theological concepts, such as the belief that Jesus is both God and man.

By appropriating the *badīʿiyya* form, Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh was affirming that some Christians felt they could compete with their Muslim fellow Arabic-speakers in the cultural domain most closely associated with Islam, the Arabic language, and in a genre that conveyed profound religious feeling. This was a sign of a new, or renewed, cultural self-confidence.

Two other poets are known to have composed Christian *badīʿiyya*s, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥunākī l-Ḥakīm (d. c. 1782) and Arsāniyūs Fākhūrī (d. 1883). Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (d. 1871), one of the major Christian writers of the 19th century, was the author of an 'oecumenical' (see Bauer, 'Die *badīʿiya* des Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī') or rather inter-religious *badīʿiyya*.

PUBLICATIONS

For the well over 100 manuscripts of Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh's *Dīwān*, see Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 204, and Nasrallah, *Histoire*, vol. 4/2, p. 269, to which others could be added.

Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh, *Dīwān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, Beirut 1859
Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh, *Dīwān*, Beirut, 1874 (repr. 1881, 1883, 1890, 1910)
Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh, 'Al-badīʿiyya', in *Dīwān*, Beirut, 1890, pp. 80-4
There is no critical edition.

STUDIES

T. Bauer, 'Die *badīʿiya* des Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī und das Problem der spätosmanischen arabischen Literatur', in A. Neuwirth and A.C. Islebe (eds), *Reflections on reflections. Near Eastern writers reading literature*, Wiesbaden, 2006, 49-60

H. Kilpatrick, 'From *Literatur* to *adab*. The literary renaissance in Aleppo around 1700', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) 214-18

ʿA. Abū Zayd, *Al-badīʿiyyāt fī l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut, 1983, pp. 136-7

Ten poems for non-Christian notables

DATE 1725-56
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
Eight of these ten poems are addressed to emirs of the Sunnī Muslim Shihāb family and the Druze Banū l-Lamʿ family; two of the eight were commissioned from Niqūlāwus by notables. Niqūlāwus celebrates the addressee's noble origin, intelligence, perspicacity, generosity and bravery according to the conventions of Arabic poetry in praise of rulers and the elaborate rhetorical style of the time. He places particular emphasis on justice, understandably since his contacts with notables often arose from his need to secure just treatment for his monasteries. In one poem, he strongly recommends reconciliation between quarrelling Banū l-Lamʿ brothers. Explicit references to Islam and qur'anic phrases are found in the poems addressed to the Shihābs; Niqūlāwus even claims that Ḥaydar Shihāb's deeds and appearance would cause Zoroastrians and Hindus to convert to Islam (*Dīwān*, p. 121). The poems for the Banū l-Lamʿ have nothing comparable.

Poem 9 addresses the Sunnī judge of the Druze country who recorded agreements to return to Niqūlāwus's religious order a monastery that had been wrongfully occupied by Orthodox Christians. Incorporating terms from Islamic law, it praises his honesty, skill in argument, refusal to take bribes and protection of the poor. Here, as in the panegyrics of the notables, the praise of the addressee's virtues is also a reminder to him to practise them.

Poem 10 thanks a Shīʿī shaykh with whom Niqūlāwus was evidently on friendly terms for a poem of his. It contrasts the poet's monastic state and worthlessness with the shaykh's high position, intelligence and virtue, and concludes with a reference to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib as the founder of Shīʿism and, playing on the name's meaning, the source of his friend's high rank.

Chronograms were a popular form of short poem on an event in which the numerical values of the letters in the final half-verse add up to the date of the event. Niqūlāwus's chronograms giving Hijrī dates celebrate the completion of a Shīʿī emir's palace, the Shihābs' building of a caravanserai, market and fountain in Beirut, and Ẓāhir Āl ʿUmar al-Zaydānī's building the city walls of Acre. Unlike his chronograms for Christians, dated according to the Christian era, they do not refer to family events, births and deaths.

SIGNIFICANCE

Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh was the first Christian in the Ottoman period to compose a significant number of secular poems in the élite manner. As a monk, he focussed on furthering the interests of his community, but he showed the way for subsequent (mostly Melkite) Christian poets who were active on the élite literary scene in Greater Syria throughout the 18th and into the 19th century. They were secretaries, participating with their Muslim colleagues in the conventional poetic elegies for patrons and friends, attacks on rivals, descriptions of beautiful scenes, exchanges with friends and relatives on various subjects. They may refer to religious differences as Niqūlāwus did, but only as a fact of life.

PUBLICATIONS

Poems 1-8: *Dīwān Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh*, Beirut, 1890, pp. 84-8, 88-9, 119-21, 173-5, 175-6, 260-1, 264-5, 317-19; poem 9: pp. 160-3; poem 10: pp. 285-7; chronograms: pp. 301-3, 305

STUDIES

H. Kilpatrick, 'The inter-communal poetry of Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh (1692-1756)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 64 (2011) 60-79

T. Bauer, 'Vom Sinn der Zeit. Aus der Geschichte des arabischen Chronogramms', *Arabica* 50 (2003) 505-25

U. ʿĀnūtī, *Al-haraka l-adabiyya fī bilād al-Shām khilāl al-qarn al-thāmin ʿashar* [The literary movement in Greater Syria during the eighteenth century], Beirut, 1970, pp. 79-80, 82

Two poems on Christians killed by Muslims

DATE 1. 1742; 2. 1749

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

For a discussion of *Qaṣīda fī naql Ibrāhīm al-shahīd ibn Dīmītrī ibn Yaʿqūb al-mukannā bi-l-Dallāl min millat al-Rūm bi-Ḥalab sanat 1742 masīḥiyya* ('Poem on the demise of Ibrāhīm the martyr, son of Dīmītrī son of Yaʿqūb, called al-Dallāl, of the Greek community in Aleppo in 1742 of the Christian era'), see the entry on 'The martyrdom of Ibrahīm al-Dallāl (1742) as reflected in contemporary Christian Arabic writings' in this volume.

Rithāʾ aḥad al-ābāʾ min al-ruhbān al-kāthūlīkiyyīn wa-qad irtaḍā bi-l-mawt min al-umam wa-lam yarḍa bi-jaḥd īmānih al-muqaddas sanat 1749 ('Elegy for a Catholic monk who accepted death at the hands of the gentiles, refusing to deny his sacred faith in the year 1749') is an elegy of 22 lines in praise of a Catholic monk's steadfast faith and courage, and his preferring rewards in heaven to those on earth. Apart from the reference to his corpse lying unburied for a time, there is no description of the event itself, nor is there an indication of why the monk was confronted with the choice between conversion and death. Muslims are referred to as *kuffār* ('unbelievers') and oppressors. The monk is not designated a martyr.

Athanāsiyūs Ḥājj, quoting the historian Rufāʾīl Karāma, names the monk as Buṭrus Numayr and the incident as occurring at the monastery of Our Lady at Raʾs Baʿlabakk, which was under the protection of the Shīʿī emir Ḥusayn al-Ḥarfūsh. Emir Ḥaydar al-Ḥarfūsh attacked the monastery as part of his campaign to destroy his brother Ḥusayn's possessions, and his Shīʿī fighters killed Buṭrus when he refused to convert (Ḥājj, *Al-rahbāniyya l-bāsīliyya l-shuwayriyya*, p. 557).

SIGNIFICANCE

These two poems, intended only for a Christian audience, both reflect the harshest aspect of relations between Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman empire. But whereas Ibrāhīm's fate evokes the poet's highly emotional response and vivid depiction of the course of events, the elegy for the monk is more controlled and reflective, except for its outspoken condemnation of Muslim oppression. This may be connected with the fact that Niqūlāwus did not want to criticise a member of the al-Ḥarfūsh family too harshly and thus alienate Ḥusayn al-Ḥarfūsh.

PUBLICATIONS

Dīwān Nīqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh, rev. Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, Beirut, 1890, pp. 80-3, 259-60

STUDIES

H. Kilpatrick, 'Arabic poetry among Christians in the early Ottoman period', in A. Pellitteri et al. (eds), *Re-defining a space of encounter. Islam and Mediterranean: Identity, alterity and interactions. Proceedings of the 28th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants. Palermo (Italy), 12-16 September 2016*, Leuven (forthcoming)

Hilary Kilpatrick

Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī

Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Ṣalāḥ ibn Muḥammad
al-Ḥasanī l-Kaḥlānī l-Ṣanʿānī

DATE OF BIRTH 1688
PLACE OF BIRTH Kaḥlān
DATE OF DEATH 1769
PLACE OF DEATH Ṣanʿāʾ

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī was born in Kaḥlān, Yemen, where his father introduced him to the Zaydī tradition. In 1695-6, he moved to Ṣanʿāʾ to learn from major scholars, including Ṣalāḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Akhfash and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī l-Wazīr, two eminent scholars who respond to him in his work *Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb min al-Yaman*, which is discussed below. He travelled to Mecca four times (in 1710, 1720, 1722, and 1727), on pilgrimage and for study. On each trip, he studied under leading scholars from outside the Zaydī school, who had a great impact on him. Ibn al-Amīr was from a line of Zaydī scholars who especially tolerated the Sunnīs. The line starts with Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 1436), includes al-Maqbalī (d. 1696), and culminates with al-Shawkānī (d. 1834). However, the majority were scholars who enjoyed the support of the ruler, who confined themselves to Zaydism and followed the Ḥādawī law.

As a major imam, al-Ṣanʿānī, as al-Shawkānī describes him, was an absolute *mujtahid,* and a reviver of the religion. He had a masterful command of religious sciences and was respected in Ṣanʿāʾ for his unparalleled scholarship. He adhered strictly to scriptural evidence, which meant that he abstained from blind imitation (*taqlīd*) of legal schools. An advocate of Sunnī orthodoxy, he endured hardships to the point of having attempts made on his life by his contemporaries.

Al-Ṣanʿānī's scholarship and activism were steeped in canonical Sunnī traditionalism, underpinning his opposition to intellectual stagnation, political tyranny and misguided public piety. He had a favourable view of the founder of Wahhābism, but later changed his opinion on theological and other grounds.

Yemen under the Zaydī imams was torn apart by 'internal squabbling' (Smith, 'Ṣanʿāʾ', p. 463). A witness to this situation, al-Ṣanʿānī denounced

in a 1733 poem the splitting up of the country into fiefdoms, which caused it to languish under injustice and terror. From his exile in the fortress of Shuhāra, he sent this poem to his student Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad in the town of Ḥūth, asking him to claim it as his own, since he was aware of the potential threat to the life of his elderly father in Ṣanʿā' from the Imam al-Manṣūr (r. 1727-48) (see al-Ṣanʿānī, *Diwān*, pp. 395-8). His other poetry provides valuable historical information about the political, social and religious problems of his time and his response to them.

Under the Imam al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsīm (r. 1718-27), al-Ṣanʿānī was offered the position of governor of Mocha and later that of chief judge of the imamate, offers that he declined (Haykel, *Revival and reform*, p. 111). This is a typical display of *zuhd* (spiritual renunciation), which has been touched on by some biographers. It also shows the extent to which the political authorities of his time were keen to enlist his support or neutralise his voice of opposition.

In 1738-9, during the reign of al-Manṣūr, al-Ṣanʿānī was appointed as a preacher in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿā'. He left this position in 1753, after shortening his Friday sermon by not praying for the founder of the Qāsimī *daʿwa*, an omission that turned the crowd against him and led to a two-month imprisonment. During his detention, he was constantly disturbed by the sound of the hammers of the Jews working in the nearby mint, except on Saturdays.

Al-Ṣanʿānī was a prolific author, writing over 250 works (see al-Ḥabshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr*, for a comprehensive list). He is best known for his work *Subul al-salām*, which deals with legal Prophetic traditions, and he also wrote on legal theory and Islamic theology. His monograph *Taṭhīr al-iʿtiqād ʿan adrān al-ilḥād* ('Purifying belief from the dirt of atheism') condemns the cult of tomb visitation and other violations of faith in Muslim countries.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī l-Shawkānī, *Al-badr al-ṭālīʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿda l-qarn al-sābiʿ*, Cairo, 1929, vol. 2, pp. 133-9

Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī, *Dīwān al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī*, Cairo, 1964

Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, *Abjad al-ʿulūm*, Beirut, 2002, p. 678

Secondary

B. Haykel, art. 'al-Amīr, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl', in *EI3*

ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-Islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Abu Dhabi, 2004, pp. 724-60
B. Haykel, *Revival and reform in Islam. The legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkānī*, Cambridge, 2003
Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-aʿlām*, Beirut, 2002, vol. 6, p. 38
G.R. Smith, 'Ṣanʿā'', in *EI2*
Aḥmad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥī, *Al-Zaydiyya*, Cairo, 1984, pp. 501-38
Qāsim Ghālib et al., *Ibn al-Amīr wa-ʿaṣruh*, Ṣanʿā', 1983

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb min al-Yaman, 'A response to the question on expelling the People of the Book from Yemen'
Ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb, 'Expelling the People of the Book'

DATE most probably 1725; copied 13 May 1899
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work includes a reply to a question on expelling the People of the Book from Yemen, together with two later responses. It does not have a title, and one doubts that it is part of the collection of manuscripts which has the proposed title in the table of contents. It consists of 11 folios, with three main sections. Although it addresses the position of Jews in the Yemen of al-Ṣanʿānī's time, its treatment of the question of the People of the Book is still relevant to the wider scope of Muslim legal relations with both Jews and Christians.

The first section (fols 1r-5r) includes a question on whether the ruling imams should expel the People of the Book and others from Yemen or keep them for the public good (*tarjīḥan li-l-maṣlaḥa*). The unidentified questioner, who seems to be a scholar, looks for evidential answers from traditionist scholars.

The question is followed up with an answer by al-Ṣanʿānī in which he calls for a strict application of the Prophet's command to expel the Jews and other infidels from Yemen, citing a number of Prophetic traditions. His argument is that Yemen is part of the Arabian Peninsula that is mentioned in most versions of the traditions that he cites (hereafter the general tradition). The implication of this argument is that Ḥijāz, which is mentioned in some traditions (hereafter the specific tradition), does

not constitute the Peninsula of the Arabs, since, like Yemen, it is part of it. He defends his argument with details from legal theory and rejects some pertinent arguments.

Among these, he disagrees with an unidentified author who, writing on the Prophetic tradition that orders the expulsion of Jews, said that the general tradition is restricted by a tradition in which the Prophet asked Muʿādh, his emissary to Yemen, to collect one dinar from each non-Muslim adult. Clearly, the collecting of poll-tax involves keeping the Jews and other non-Muslims in Yemen rather than expelling them. However, commenting on Hadith no. 43/1222 in his *Subul al-salām* (vol. 7, pp. 248-53), Ibn al-Amīr says that the Muʿādh situation had occurred before the Prophet on his deathbed ordered the expulsion of Jews from Arabia. So, for him, the expulsion should be enforced.

Al-Ṣanʿānī further says that the specific tradition corroborates rather than abrogates the general tradition, because Ḥijāz is singled out in the Peninsula as the site of the two holy mosques. The historical implication of this explanation is that Caliph ʿUmar (r. 634-44) expelled the Jews from Ḥijāz, whereas Caliph Abū Bakr (r. 632-34) had not been able to do so because he was busy fighting the Wars of Apostasy. The ʿUmar expulsion, however, does not make Ḥijāz the only place in Arabia from which the Jews should be expelled. Al-Ṣanʿānī also rejects an argument that the Prophet's will was not executed (with the result that the Jews were kept in Arabia) because of a silent consensus (*ijmāʿ sukūtī*) among the Companions, Imams, etc., to keep them.

Moreover, al-Ṣanʿānī rejects the idea that there is advantage in keeping the Jews in Yemen. For him, the only benefit occurs when the Prophet's command is observed unimpeded by any other considerations. He also criticises the Zaydī imams for keeping the Jews in Yemen, citing the commendable attitude of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, who expelled the Jews to the coast but died before dispatching them to India. He follows up with a quotation from the like-minded predecessor Ṣāliḥ ibn Mahdī al-Maqbalī (d. 1696), whose argument about Ḥijāz he essentially reproduces. Al-Maqbilī reports that he supported al-Mahdī's expulsion decision, unlike the jurists of his time, who opposed it. The full quotation is translated and discussed in Bernard Haykel's *Revival and reform* (pp. 120-1; cf. al-Maqbalī, *Al-manār*, vol. 2, pp. 503-4).

Finally, al-Ṣanʿānī rejects the claim that a mistaken pardon is better than a mistaken punishment, saying that the Prophet's command should not be suspended for such a consideration, or else the legal punishments

for adultery, theft, etc. should likewise be overlooked – which is unfeasible. Overall, these discussions underpin al-Ṣanʿānī's view of the necessity to expel the Jews from Yemen, which is part of Arabia.

The second section (fols 5v-6v) includes a response by al-Ṣanʿānī's teacher Ṣalāḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Akhfash al-Ḥādawī (d. 1730). He agrees with his student on the general guidance of the Prophetic traditions cited and that Ḥijāz is not the only place from which the Jews should be expelled. However, he says that the rightly-guided caliphs did not expel the Jews from Arabia for a purpose. They had conquered the distant lands of the Byzantines, so the expulsion of the People of the Book from Arabia would have been an easier task for them. Their keeping (*tark*) of the Jews makes the expulsion applicable only to those in Ḥijāz. Al-Ṣanʿānī, however, comments on the margins of this response that the Companions were not instructed to keep the Jews, so their inaction does not amount to a consensus.

Commenting on al-Maqbalī's words, al-Akhfash wonders: 'Which country would accommodate them [i.e., the Jews] now? And which leader would accept them entering his country although he knows of their corruption?' He adds that because of the imams' leniency toward the Jews, they misbehaved in many ways. It would be better, he suggests, to keep them in a state of subservience in Yemen than to expel them to a place where they would not feel their lives and property were safe.

The third section (fols 7r-10r) includes a response by another of al-Ṣanʿānī's teachers, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī al-Wazīr (d. 1735). He strips the term 'Peninsula of the Arabs' of its general meaning, reducing it to 'Ḥijāz' (he adopts the same view in his history, *Ṭubuq al-ḥalwā*, pp. 352-3). Then he cites a historical situation in which the fourth caliph, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (r. 656-61), forbade the people of *dhimma* to ring their bells in Muslim territories, implying that ʿAlī did not expel them from the Arabian Peninsula. Al-Wazīr believes that this observation is a strong one and cannot be dismissed by those who believe in ʿAlī's infallibility (*ʿiṣma*) or independent reasoning (*ijtihād*).

Al-Wazīr follows up with a quotation from ʿAlī that a mistaken pardon is better than a mistaken punishment, an axiom that should prevail, unless superseded by a qur'anic text or a categorical Prophetic tradition. The predecessors, he argues, on the basis of a scholarly source, expelled the Jews from Ḥijāz to Taymā', but no similar action was taken in later times. So both their action and inaction amount to a ruling that cannot be dismissed except by categorical evidence, which does not exist. He also

comments on the Imam al-Mahdī ibn al-Ḥasan's expulsion of the Jews to Mawzaʿ, a decision that was then agreed upon by religious authorities. The building of new churches and synagogues does go against the Pact of ʿUmar, but then its terms were not observed fully as regards clothing, selling alcohol, etc.

He suggests educating the Jews about the Pact of ʿUmar, which should be read to them in a congregation. He says: '[The Pact] is presented to my son [i.e., al-Ṣanʿānī], the eminent scholar and the glory of the household. May God protect him! If he has a different opinion, his will be the correct one, and all of us will hold our tongues and the door [of discussion] will be closed.' The Pact of ʿUmar is quoted in fols 10v-11v.

The question and the different responses imply a conflict of interests at the social, political and scholarly levels concerning the People of the Book, mostly Jews, who remained in Yemen during the period when al-Ṣanʿānī and his teachers al-Akhfash and al-Wazīr lived.

The Yemeni historian Muḥammad Zabāra states that ʿAbd Allāh al-Kibsī (d. 1759-60), a traditionist scholar, tried to persuade Imam al-Mahdī l-ʿAbbās (r. 1748-75) to expel the Jews and the Bāniyān from the Arabian Peninsula. He wrote a question on this issue, to which some scholars, including Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī, responded. Al-Ṣanʿānī's response, if Zabāra's point is accepted, must be later than the response we have in the present document. The Jews were not expelled, most probably for economic and logistical reasons, and because of the imam's understanding that the expulsion would only satisfy traditionist scholars in Ṣanʿā' (Haykel, *Revival and reform*, pp. 123-4). Al-Mahdī was the last imam under whom al-Ṣanʿānī lived. He was a former student of al-Kibsī and, when the imamate devolved to him, he was well-disposed towards traditionist teachings and scholars.

Despite the identification of the Zaydī imams 'from al-Mahdī al-ʿAbbās onward (i.e., from c. 1748) with traditionist Sunnism, they did not expel the Jews (Haykel, *Revival and reform*, pp. 115-16). The Jews belonged to the Banū l-Khums, a lower social class that was crucial to the professional development of the country. Previously, in 1667, however, the Jews of Yemen, who were in contact with the Jews of Jerusalem, made messianic claims and sold their properties for the lowest prices. With unexpected arrogance, Rabbi Sulaymān Jamāl (known as al-Aqṭaʿ) urged al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl (r. 1644-76) to give up his position, because he believed that the time was due for the Jews to assume power in Yemen. Al-Aqṭaʿ was executed and the Jews were punished. Although he

removed the sanctions, al-Mutawakkil had it written in his will that the Jews should be expelled.

His successor, al-Mahdī Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan (r. 1676-81), for unknown reasons in September 1677 ordered the expulsion of the Jews and the destruction of their synagogues. This ran against the teachings of the Hādawī school to which he belonged. The Jews, however, could not make it to India for logistical reasons. Many of them died in exile in Mawzaʿ, while others were later allowed to return to Ṣanʿāʾ. This is the incident to which al-Maqbilī and others refer in the present manuscript.

After their return from Mawzaʿ, the Jews led a better life under al-Mahdī Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib (r. 1687-1718), who was ironically known for his brutality and inequity to the Yemenis. They built more synagogues without permission and were integrated into the state system by overseeing the mint and the treasury. Haykel observes, 'These developments, however, conflicted with the rising influence of the Traditionist scholars in Ṣanʿāʾ and elsewhere' (p. 122), which partially explains the unstated reasons behind al-Ṣanʿānī's response here.

In 1725, during the reign of al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim (r. 1718-27), an expulsion of the Jews was instigated by traditionist scholars. The reason for this is that a Muslim man got intoxicated and tried to molest a boy in the lavatory of a mosque in Ṣanʿāʾ. His inebriation was blamed on a religious opinion that is said to have been issued by al-Ṣanʿānī to allow the Jews to sell alcohol. On facing Sālim al-Irāqī, the leader of the Jews, al-Ṣanʿānī proved that al-Irāqī was lying and advised al-Mutawakkil to expel the Jews or destroy the synagogues that had been built without permission. Nothing of this was carried out, however, for the Jews appeased al-Mutawakkil with a bribe. This incident must have induced traditionist scholars to work out a legal justification for expelling the Jews from Yemen on grounds of their violation of Islamic law, and would appear to be the most appropriate instigation for the composition of the responses in the present manuscript.

The Jews' misdeeds and growing influence in Yemen is attested by al-Akhfash who says: 'There is no doubt that the Jews in the land of the Arabs have exceeded all bounds, transgressed, overreached to things undue to them, and committed injustice because the imams of the time did not oblige them to adhere to the terms on which they were made peace with and disregarded their misdeeds which they should not have committed' (Jawāb al-suʾāl, fol. 6v). Even so, al-Akhfash and al-Wazīr were in favour of another solution than the expulsion that al-Ṣanʿānī called for.

SIGNIFICANCE

This scholarly exchange on the expulsion of Jews from Yemen indicates conservatism versus pragmatism at work on a sensitive issue. The pro-expulsion party (al-Ṣanʿānī and al-Maqbilī) includes traditionist scholars, who probably discerned that growing Jewish dominance and transgressions jeopardised the laws of Islam and their own traditionist authority as custodians of such laws. Meanwhile, the anti-expulsion party (al-Akhfash and al-Wazīr) were aware of such perils but suggested keeping the Jews while educating them about their obligations. In this respect, they apparently aligned with the authorities, who wanted to keep the Jews for economic and other reasons.

Despite the complicated political subtext, the thought of the three scholars does not lack originality in both theoretical and historical reflection, including important testimonies about the imams' attitude towards the Jews. Al-Wazīr's argument looks so compelling that al-Ṣanʿānī does not object to it on the margins of the manuscript as he does to al-Akhfash's. Also, despite the circumstances that might have justified the expulsion of the Jews from Yemen, al-Ṣanʿānī's opinion was not taken into consideration.

The scholarly exchange on this case requires a sort of theoretical profoundness, but it remains a very a subtle point of independent reasoning, as al-Wazīr says in his history. The anti-expulsion dialectics are victorious, for they are politically supported, while the influential pro-expulsion voice remains marginal.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Bağdatlı Vehbi 575, 11 fols (May 1899; copied from a copy by al-Qāsim ibn Ḥusayn ibn Qāsim ibn Aḥmad from al-Ṣanʿānī's autograph copy)

Ṣāliḥ ibn Mahdī al-Maqbalī, *Al-manār fī l-mukhtār min jawāhir al-baḥr al-zakhkhār*, Beirut and Sana'a, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 503-4

Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-salām al-mūṣila ilā bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣubḥī Ḥasan Ḥallāq, 8 vols, Riyadh, 2000

Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī, *Minḥat al-Ghaffār ʿalā ḍaw' al-nahār*, Sana'a, (n.d.), vol. 4, p. 2574

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī al-Wazīr, *Tārīkh ṭubuq al-ḥalwā wa-ṣiḥāf al-mann wa-l-salwā*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Jāzim, 2nd edition, Sana'a, 2007-8, pp. 222-3, 352-3

STUDIES

A. Dallal, 'On Muslim curiosity and the historiography of the Jews of Yemen', in J.V. Montville (ed.), *History as prelude. Muslims and Jews in the medieval Mediterranean*, Lanham MD, 2011, 71-108, pp. 71-80 and n. 53

Haykel, *Revival and reform*, pp. 115-24

Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, *Al-Imām al-Shawkānī rāʾid ʿaṣrih*, Beirut, 1990, pp. 315-22

Mohamed A. Moustafa

Būlus Yūyāqīm

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; active in 1778

BIOGRAPHY

The only information we have on the person of the author is what Paul Sbath states in his brief description of the manuscript: Būlus was a Melkite (*malikī*) priest (*khūrī*) who was living in Aleppo in 1778. In the context of the late 18th century, 'Melkite' has most likely to be understood as Greek Catholic.

Besides the two polemical works mentioned here, Būlus authored an edifying text on the miracles and festivities that took place in Aleppo at the Feast of the Assumption.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 6 parts in 3 vols, Louvain, 1979-89; Damascus, 1996, 4/2, p. 239 (no other information than in Sbath and Graf)

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1951, p. 149 (no other information than in Sbath)

P. Sbath, *Al-fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes)*, Cairo, 1939, vol. 2, p. 94, no. 1906

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-ʿArab aʿdāʾ kull madaniyya, 'The Arabs, enemies of all civilisation'

DATE 1774
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Like his other work, *Al-Yahūdiyya wa-l-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām*, the heirs of Rizqallāh Bāsīl in Aleppo owned the autograph of this treatise, which

was inspected by Paul Sbath as part of his preparations for his catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in private collections in Aleppo and Cairo. The work was written in 1774 and has to be regarded as lost.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not possible to ascertain from the title who is meant by 'the Arabs'. This designation was used for Bedouins but could also have a socio-linguistic or even religious meaning, referring either to speakers of Arabic or the Muslims of the Arab lands. It should be noted that, from the 17th century onwards, many Arabic-speaking Christians understood themselves to be Arabs (*awlād al-ʿarab*), making it likely that the work referred to the Bedouins.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Aleppo, Collection Bāsīl (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1907; has to be regarded as lost)

STUDIES

Nasrallah, *Histoire,* 4/2, p. 239 (contains no further information than in Sbath and Graf)

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 149 (contains no further information than in Sbath)

Sbath, *Al-fihris*, vol. 2, p. 94, no. 1907

Al-Yahūdiyya wa-l-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām, 'Judaism, Christianity and Islam'

DATE 1778

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

According to Paul Sbath, the original copy, now considered lost, was written in 1778 and was found in the possession of the heirs of the Greek Catholic merchant Rizqallāh Bāsīl in Aleppo. It contained a 'demonstration of Christianity and refutation of Judaism and Islam'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The joint treatment of Judaism and Islam is not unknown in Christian polemical and apologetic writings, but is fairly rare in early modern times, when the focus tended to be on Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Aleppo, Collection Bāsīl (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1906; has to be regarded as lost)

STUDIES

Nasrallah, *Histoire*, 4/2, p. 239 (contains no further information than in Sbath and Graf)

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 149 (contains no further information than in Sbath)

Sbath, *Al-fihris*, vol. 2, p. 94, no. 1906

Carsten Walbiner

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿUmarī l-Ṭarābulusī l-Ḥanafī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Tripoli
DATE OF DEATH After 1772
PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Contemporary biographies from the 17th and 18th centuries provide only scant information about the life of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿUmarī l-Ṭarābulusī al-Ḥanafī. His date of birth is unknown, though it was probably towards the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th, as his work *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār* was authored in the second half of the 18th century. He was born in Tripoli, where he spent his early childhood. He later travelled to Egypt with his father, who was a respected jurist. He then left for Damascus, where he would remain studying for two years.

His journey to Damascus was the first in a tour driven by a quest of knowledge, as was customary in his times. In 1735, he moved to Aleppo, where he would remain for two-and-a-half years, and then returned to Damascus. At some point he departed for Jerusalem to visit Shaykh Muṣṭafā l-Siddīq, returning to Damascus a few months later. The date of his death is uncertain. Two references give 1739 and 1741, though these cannot be right as the two extant MSS of *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār*, from 1772 and 1784, suggest a significantly later date. The earlier date of 1772 conforms with that given by one biographer, who based it on a copy of the manuscript of the book.

The sources report al-ʿUmarī as being a Ḥanafī-trained jurist. This legal training influenced the sources he drew on in his work, notably Mukhtār al-Zāhidī al-Ḥanafī's treatise *Al-risāla l-nāṣirīyya*. He was also an Ashʿarī theologian, which had an impact on his approach and the methodology he adopted in his works.

Two of al-ʿUmarī's biographers confirm that he authored a book entitled *Al-kalima l-waḥīda fī ḥukm al-firaq al-mulāḥida*, while three biographers unanimously agree that he was the author of *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār*. Both these works are dedicated to refutations of non-Islamic groups, with the former directed against atheist groups and the latter against Christians.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

I.B. al-Bābānī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn fī l-dhayl ʿalā Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul, 1945

I.B. al-Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn, asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, Istanbul, 1951

U.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus, 1957

M.K. al-Ḥusaynī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1988 (the only full biography, though to be used with care)

Secondary

M. Badawī, 'Manhaj al-Ashāʿira fī dirāsāt al-nuṣūṣ al-kitābiyya ḥattā nihāyat al-qarn al-thāmin al-hijrī maʿa taḥqīq kitāb *Qabaṣ al-anwār* li-ʿAbd Allāh l-ʿUmarī l-Ṭarābulusī 1156 H', Cairo, 2015 (MA Diss. Cairo University)

M. Farīd, *Tārīkh al-dawla l-ʿaliyya l-ʿUthmāniyya*, Beirut, 1981

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār, 'Flashes of light in refuting the wicked Christians'

DATE Between 1740 and 1780

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is only extant in two manuscripts with slightly different titles: *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā* ('Flashes of light in refuting the Christians') and *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār* ('Flashes of light in refuting the wicked Christians'). The original manuscript is dated 1772 and is composed of 28 folios, while the second appears to be a copy made in 1784 composed of 25 folios.

Al-ʿUmarī divides his work into three neat chapters. The first explores the history of the four Gospels, arguing that none of their authors had been a contemporary of Jesus, let alone met him and learned the Gospels from him. In this historical account he includes a discussion of the internal contradictions between the Gospels, leading to the conclusion that they could not possibly be the divine revelation received by Jesus. For example, in the Gospel of Matthew the account of the resurrection specifies that Jesus spent three days and nights in the grave. However, in agreement with the other Gospels, Matthew says that Jesus died on Friday, was buried on Saturday night and then rose from death on Sunday morning, meaning that he spent a total of two nights and one day in his grave.

The second chapter is a critique of four key tenets of Christianity: baptism, the Trinity, confession and the Incarnation. al-ʿUmarī's argument here centres mainly on the premise that human interference was involved in the development of these beliefs, introducing deceptions such as the myth of the blessed water in baptism. Concepts such as the Trinity and the Incarnation are illogical and violate the very essence of the Divine, and could not have been proclaimed by Jesus, as he was a human blessed with the mission of prophethood and nothing more. For example, the Son cannot be divine because it is plainly illogical to attribute to him the act of creation before he was born. Similarly, al-ʿUmarī argues that there are numerous accounts in the Gospels that attribute certain experiences and emotions to God and the prophets, such as sadness, existence in human flesh, prior existence of the Son, that logically do not befit them.

The third chapter explores the reservations Christians have vis-à-vis Islam, such as marriage being permissible for righteous people as opposed to the celibacy of priests in Christianity. He quotes from various Christian sources to prove that the requirement for celibacy is unnecessary and void.

Al-ʿUmarī maintains that throughout his work he has based his refutation of Christianity entirely on quotations from the Gospels and the Old Testament. In this way, he has aimed to make his argument impossible to counter. He also draws on *Al-fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-niḥal* by Ibn Ḥazm, as well as quoting from a book authored by a fellow Ḥanafī scholar whom he refers to as al-Zāhidī, entitled *Al-naṣriyya*. This would be *Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya* by Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Rajā Mukhtār ibn Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī l-Ghazmīnī (d. 1260), a Central Asian Ḥanafī jurist.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work was written at a time when Christians under Muslim rule enjoyed relative freedom of religious practice. However, the Ottoman Empire had already begun the gradual decline that would eventually lead to its demise, and Christian powers were intent on invading the weakened empire, whether by force of arms or by cultural influence. This prompted some Muslim scholars to defend the Islamic state against Western aggression by writing books that exposed the true reality of the Christian faith. It is worth noting that at the time this work was written there was a relative absence of books by Muslims addressing issues relating to comparative religion. This work would have been one of only a few that encouraged Muslims to challenge their enemy.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library – 2289 (1772; entitled *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*)

MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library – [shelf number not known] (1784; entitled *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār*)

STUDIES

Badawī, 'Manhaj al-Ashāʿira fī dirāsāt al-nuṣūṣ al-kitābiyya'

Abdullah Omran

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb

DATE OF BIRTH 1703
PLACE OF BIRTH Al-ʿUyayna, Najd
DATE OF DEATH 22 June 1792
PLACE OF DEATH Al-Dirʿiyya, Najd

BIOGRAPHY

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb is best known as an Islamic reformer who founded Wahhābism and partnered with Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd to establish the first Saʿūdī state. Although the term 'Wahhabi' has now found wide acceptance, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb used 'Unitarian' (*muwaḥḥid*) in reference to his core doctrine of divine oneness (*tawḥīd*).

Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was born in 1703 into the Āl Musharraf (later renamed Āl al-Shaykh in his honour), a family of Ḥanbalī jurists, at the Najdī outpost settlement of al-ʿUyayna. As was common, Muḥammad studied under his father, the local *qāḍī*, and is said to have memorised the Qur'an by the age of ten. In a time and place where childhood was altogether brief, Muḥammad's father decided that, by the age of 12, he was ready not only to lead the congregational prayer as imam, but also to get married. Soon afterwards, he devoted himself to studying the Traditions of the Prophet. This study of the Hadith would become a lifelong pursuit, and would bring him into conflict with others, even from within his own *madhhab.*

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was certainly a Ḥanbalī, but he was not averse to jettisoning traditional allegiances when he felt they came into conflict with his study of the Prophet's life, especially as it concerned the doctrine of *tawḥīd*. He once stated, 'I am not calling people to Sufism, nor to a particular *fiqh* or *madhhab*. Nor am I calling them to any of the imams I respect, such as Ibn Qayyim [et al.] … Instead, I am calling people to God alone, who has no partners, and to the Sunna of the Messenger of God.' Thus, while he at times relied heavily on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and his Damascene mentor, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb refused simply to repeat the doctrines of his Ḥanbalī forebears, especially when he felt they conflicted with his reading of the Sunna and Hadith.

Travels in young adulthood brought him to Mecca, Medina and eventually Basra, and into contact with the city's large Shīʿa population – and

potentially also with the substantial Christian minority there. Soon afterwards, his life message of the tower of *tawḥīd*, built upon the scaffolding of the Hadith and Qur'an, began to take shape. After returning to Najd from Iraq, the young shaykh composed his first and best-known treatise, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*. His primary muse for the work was the Shīʿism that he encountered in Basra. Indeed, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's biographers agree that he began to preach so vehemently against the doctrines of Shīʿism while in Iraq that he was essentially forced out. On his return to al-ʿUyayna, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb took the ruler's aunt, Jawhara, as a second wife. He was soon asked to leave, however, for ordering something for which he found a clear mandate in the Hadith – the stoning of an adulteress.

He found refuge in nearby al-Dirʿiyya, where he had already made several disciples, including the son of the ruler, Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd. The two leaders made a symbiotic pact in which the religious teachings of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb validated the rule of Ibn Saʿūd, and the military prowess of Ibn Saʿūd protected and even spread the doctrines of the shaykh.

In the years that followed, the shaykh campaigned passionately against various manifestations of polytheism and folk religion, which had so infiltrated Najd that it appeared to him as if the whole peninsula had returned to the pre-Islamic *jāhiliyya*. He advocated the spread of his doctrine through either solicitation (*daʿwa*) or the sword (*jihād*), but it is at this point that his own teachings must be separated from those of later generations of his followers. On the basis of both the Qur'an and Hadith, he never sanctioned violence against non-combatants, nor did he approve of suicide for any reason, even in battle. Jihad was obligatory because it was ingrained in the Sunna and commanded by the Prophet, but it was not indiscriminate nor was it without limitations.

Over several decades, Ibn Saʿūd expanded his territory, while Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb eventually withdrew from the public eye in order to focus on study, prayer and meditation. He died at home in al-Dirʿiyya at the age of 89.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

ʿUthmān ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-majd fī tārīkh Najd*, Beirut, (n.d.)

Ḥusayn ibn Ghunnām, *Tārīkh Najd al-musammā Rawḍat al-afkār wa-l-afhām li-murtādd ḥāl al-imām wa-taʿdād ghazawāt dhawī l-Islam*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1949

Secondary
M. Crawford, *Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab*, London, 2014
J. Zarabozo, *The life, teachings, and influence of Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhaab*, Riyadh, 2010
A. al-ʿUthaymīn, *Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. The man and his works*, London, 2009
N. DeLong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam. From revival and reform to global jihad*, Oxford, 2004
G. Rentz, *The birth of the Islamic reform movement in Saudi Arabia. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the beginnings of Unitarian empire in Arabia*, London, 2004

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Works

DATE c. 1740-c. 1790
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
In what might seem a curious omission, given his reputation for polemics, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb never composed a work that focused on Christianity alone. This is most probably due to the fact that, unlike some of his predecessors such as Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb lived in a much more geographically and demographically isolated context. In short, contemporary expressions of Christianity were nearly irrelevant to the shaykh, since they were found well outside the boundaries of his existence. While it is possible that he came into contact with some Christians during his brief stay in Basra early in his life, his biographers do not mention any such an occurrence. Having spent nearly the whole of his life in Najd, central Arabia, Christianity was for him more of a historical reality that he read about in the Qur'an and Hadith. It was not a modern, living faith in his own time and place. This, then, is the background onto which the shaykh's comments about the religion of ʿĪsā ibn Maryam must be properly projected.

It is useful first briefly to mention how Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb conceived of religious 'others'. He was clearly committed to what he deemed 'pure monotheism' to the extent that any religious practices that appeared to violate this sacred principle needed to be reformed or expunged. He reserved his harshest criticisms for those Muslims who should 'know better' but nevertheless persisted in their apostasy, namely the Shīʿa. As

for Sufis, at least they had a chance provided they did not engage in un-Islamic practices such as worshipping at the graves of bygone saints. Even fellow Sunnīs who did not strictly adhere to the doctrine of *tawḥīd* were in danger of falling into error.

If this was how Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb felt about those *inside* the house of Islam, they help understanding of his attitude towards those *outside* Islam. First, he was certain that those who were not considered part of *ahl al-kitāb* (People of the Book), such as Zoroastrians (*Majūs*), were excluded from the people of God and he did not devote much time or energy to discussing the issue. However, concerning the People of the Book, namely Jews and Christians, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb had much to say. Above all else, Jews and Christians served as a negative historical example for the faithful of the day. The former 'have been instructed but do not do what they have been taught', while the latter 'are those who act without proper knowledge' (*Mu'allafāt al-Shaykh*, vol. 5. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, pp. 17-18). The resounding message from Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to his listeners, then, was really a warning not to repeat the mistakes of the Jews and Christians, who were indeed believers in the one true God but who had somehow lost their way through either disobedience or lack of understanding.

Interestingly, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb never attacked the trustworthiness of the biblical text; he does not use the word *taḥrīf* even once in relation to the Bible. Rather, he claimed that 'the revelation upon [Muḥammad] nullifies the *doctrine* of the Christians' (*Mu'allafāt al-Shaykh*, vol. 5. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p. 240, emphasis added). Thus, we may infer that he believed Christians had wrongly interpreted the text – not that the text itself was corrupted. In his eyes, the Prophet was given a message that both superseded what had come before *and* nullified that which was corrupted. The former was the Bible, while the latter was Christian doctrine.

In his manual on jihad, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ruled that it was fine for non-Muslims to fight alongside Muslims when they faced a common enemy, or whenever non-Muslims sympathised with the Muslims' cause (*Mu'allafāt al-Shaykh*, vol. 2. *Kitāb al-jihād*, p. 360). He considered that a 'trustworthy *mushrik*' was a perfectly legitimate battle ally 'even if he is known as a drinker of wine or practises usury', since 'his lifestyle is his own business'. What was important was that he 'has compassion on' and 'is protective of the Muslims'.

His best-known work, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, is primarily a rebuke against *shirk* within Islam. Yet while the overarching tone of the treatise is

precisely that – a rebuke of *shirk* – there are a few points that are connected with Christianity. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's reading of the Hadith, no one can enter heaven unless they couple the *shaḥāda* with the belief that God's *kalima* (word) and *rūḥ* (spirit) (Q 4:171) is none other than Jesus (*Muʾallafāt al-Shaykh*, vol. 2. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, p. 12). Further elevating the status of Jesus, he continues with an exhortation to his readers to give proper recognition to the 'collective nature of Jesus and Muḥammad' as two special servants and messengers of God (*Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, p. 14).

Related to Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's point about Jesus being the *kalima* of God is another interesting observation. For elsewhere in the treatise, he mentions a particular Hadith from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* to make a rather unusual point. Based on Muḥammad's own saying that 'whoever seeks refuge' in God's words will be protected from evil, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb declared that seeking refuge in the word is no different from seeking refuge in God himself because the word is uncreated (*ghayr makhlūqa*), just as God is uncreated (*Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, p. 41). It is most probably the case that Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb had the Qur'an in mind here. But even this does not diminish the possibilities for Christian-Muslim dialogue that arise from his designations of Jesus as God's word, and his stating that God's word is uncreated and worthy to be sought for refuge, just as God himself is.

The above conciliatory examples notwithstanding, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb routinely characterised Christians and Christianity as being in a state of unbelief that threatened their eternal destiny. The reason for their *kufr* was that they failed to grasp the doctrine of *tawḥīd* as it was revealed in the Qur'an and recorded in the Hadith. Christians were true *muʾminūn*, but they had fallen into a state of *kufr* because doctrines such as the triunity of God had made them guilty of the unpardonable sin of *shirk* (*Muʾallafāt al-Shaykh*, vol. 1. *Faḍl al-Islām*, p. 206; *Muʾallafāt al-Shaykh*, vol. 1. *Kashshāf al-shubuhāt*, vol. 1, p. 167). Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb felt that, by associating Jesus with the divine, Christians had unduly raised Jesus to the level of Allāh without warrant. What he apparently failed to grasp, however, was just how close his own thinking drew to this very conclusion by virtue of the logical extension of his own musings on Jesus, the uncreated word, and God.

SIGNIFICANCE

When it comes to Christians and Christianity, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb does not demonstrate any remarkable departure from the



Illustration 8. Page from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Thalāth rasā'il. Kalimāt fī bayān al-shahāda; Maʿnā lā ilā illā Allāh; Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*, copied by Muḥammad al-Kurdī in al-Dirʿiyya, where Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb lived, only a decade after his death

consensus of Sunnī thought over the centuries. Indeed, he is very much within the mainstream in his treatment of the subject. Even the link between Jesus being God's word and God's word being uncreated is not unique to him – Christians and Muslims have been discussing this curious point since their earliest theological encounters. What is perhaps unique, though, is that this link has not yet been investigated in the writings of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, a thinker who is best known for his vehement opposition to *shirk*. His pronouncement that seeking refuge in God's word is no different from seeking refuge in God himself, and is therefore *not shirk*, is worthy of further analysis.

A final consideration of possible modern significance concerns his hierarchical ethic of sorts regarding battle alliances. This logic, built upon the precedent of Islamic history when non-Muslims sometimes aided Muslims in battle, opens up interesting possibilities for discussion in the present day. In allowing Muslims to accept the help of non-Muslims, including *mushrikūn* such as (presumably) Christians, it could be argued that Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's thought is not incongruent with modern military alliances such as that between Saudi Arabia and the United States

during the First Gulf War in 1991, when American forces were invited to assist the Saudis in repelling the Iraqi invasion led by Saddam Hussein.

PUBLICATIONS

There is a plethora of manuscript copies of the works of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb housed in various locations around the world. These include the King Fahd Library, King Fayṣal Library, King Salmān Library, Medina Islamic University, Imam University, and various private collections in Saudi Arabia, as well as the British Museum and Cambridge University in the United Kingdom.

For a detailed listing of all known manuscripts and their present locations, see Khālid bin Zayd bin Saʿūd al-Mānaʿ, *Al-āthār al-makhṭūṭa li-ʿulamāʾ Najd*, Riyadh, 2006, 21-46

Khuṭab al-Imām Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb wa-baʿḍ aḥfādihi raḥamahum Allāh taʿālā, Mecca, 1940

Muʾallafāt al-Shaykh al-Imām Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 15 vols, Riyadh, 1978 (*Faḍl al-Islām, Kashshāf al-shubuhāt* and *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* are included in vol. 1; *Kitāb al-jihād* is in vol. 2; *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān* is in vol. 5)

Khuṭab al-Imām Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Riyadh, 1999

STUDIES

R.A. Leo, 'The reverend and the shaykh. Jonathan Edwards, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the encounter of eighteenth-century conservatism in New England and Najd', Birmingham, 2018 (PhD Diss. University of Birmingham)

D. Commins, *The Wahhabi mission and Saudi Arabia*, London, 2009

A. al-Bisām, *Al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya fi wasaṭ al-Jazīra l-ʿArabiyya fi l-qarnayn al-ḥādī ʿashr wa-l-thānī ʿashr al-hijriyyayn wa-āthār daʿwat al-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb fihā*, Riyadh, 2005

A. ibn Ḥajr Āl Abū Ṭāhī, *Al-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. ʿAqīdatuhu l-salafiyya wa-daʿwatuhu l-iṣlāḥiyya wa-thanāʾ al-ʿulamāʾ ʿalayhi*, Riyadh, 1999

A. al-Ruwayshid, *Al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb fi l-tārīkh (1115-1206 AH /AD 1703-1792)*, Cairo, 1984

R.A. Leo

Patriarch Yu'annis XVIII

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH al-Fayyūm, Egypt
DATE OF DEATH June 1798
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Not much is known about the life of Patriarch Yu'annis, other than that he came from the town of al-Fayyūm, and his baptismal name was Yūsif. At an unknown date, he entered the monastery of St Anthony in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, an important intellectual and religious centre of Coptic Christianity in Ottoman times. Using the monastery's large library, and through exchanges with others in the monastery, Yu'annis became an educated man. In October 1769, he 'left the monastery and proceeded to lead the community as patriarch for a lengthy and tumultuous period of Egyptian history' (Armanios, *Coptic Christianity*, p. 130). He died in June 1798 and was buried in the necropolis of the Coptic patriarchs in Cairo.

Yu'annis saw the greatest challenge facing the Coptic Church during his times as the growing activities of Catholic missionaries. To fight their influence, he resorted to a new genre in Coptic literature of the Ottoman period, 'that of the *Adrāj* ("decrees" or "letters"). [...] The *Adrāj* were intended to guide the Coptic community in proper behaviour, but also to clarify a practical and accessible theology. Addressed from a father to his children, the sermons cover a wide range of topics' (Armanios, *Coptic Christianity*, p. 131). Beside the sermons, only one other work by Yu'annis is known, an apologetic treatise defending Christianity against Muslim criticism.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

M. Lūqā, *Al-Aqbāṭ, al-nashā'a wa-l-ṣirāʿ min al-qarn al-awwal ilā l-qarn al-ʿishrīn*, Cairo, 2001, pp. 536-7

F. Armanios, *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt*, Oxford, 2011, p. 130 (biography), pp. 132-45 (*Kitāb al-adrāj*; comparison with the sermons of Yusāb, a younger contemporary of Yu'annis)

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 4, Vatican City, 1951, pp. 135-6 (*Kitāb al-adrāj*)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

[An apologetic response to questions by a Muslim shaykh]

DATE Between 1769 and 1798
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
This work is only preserved in a single manuscript (MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – 396), which is not currently available for inspection. According to Georg Graf, it consists of a dozen folios containing an apologetic answer to the questions of an unnamed Muslim shaykh, in which Yu'annis defends Christianity against accusations from Islam, including by using the Qur'an.

SIGNIFICANCE
The information available does not allow an evaluation of the work, which is one of the few known Coptic apologies towards Islam from early modern times. That the Qur'an was used to support arguments in defence of Christianity speaks of a certain familiarity of the educated Coptic clergy of the 18th century with the holy book of Islam, and perhaps even with Muslim theology.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – 396, fols 153v-164v (19th century, according to Graf, *Geschichte*, p. 136)
(Graf, *Geschichte*, p. 136, regards it as 'likely' that the treatise is also contained in MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – 417/1 [1788])

STUDIES
Graf, *Geschichte*, p. 136

Carsten Walbiner

Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1748/9
PLACE OF BIRTH Kandiye (Heraklion), Crete
DATE OF DEATH 29 October 1798
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

Ali Aziz was born around 1748/9 in Kandiye, Crete, to a wealthy Ottoman family. After the death of his father, Tahmisçi Mehmed Efendi, the *defterdar* (chief finance officer) of Crete, Ali Aziz moved to Istanbul and entered the Ottoman bureaucracy. In 1792, he rose to the position of *muhassil* (tax collector) of Chios and later to that of an official responsible for selling property in Belgrade, which had recently been recaptured from the Habsburg Empire. After two years in Belgrade, Ali Aziz returned to Istanbul and joined the ranks of the *hâcegân* (high officials). In 1796, Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1808) appointed him as the first permanent ambassador to Prussia, where he arrived in June 1797.

Ali Aziz is said to have known Persian, Greek and even some French and German. He was a man of letters, and wrote several poems in Ottoman Turkish and Persian, and a mystical treatise entitled *Vâridat* ('Inspiration'). One year before his appointment to Berlin, he composed *Muhayyelât-ı ledünn-i ilâhî* ('Fantasies of divine consciousness'), which was based on popular narratives from Istanbul and tales from *Les mille et un jours* ('The thousand and one days') by François Pétis de la Croix, as well as *Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes traduits en français* ('The thousand and one nights, Arab stories translated into French') by Antoine Galland.

While in Berlin, Ali Aziz continued to pursue his interest in philosophy and science. He had a rich correspondence with Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751-1817), an Orientalist and former Prussian envoy to Istanbul. He also composed an embassy report (*sefâretnâme*), mainly about his journey and the early part of his mission to Berlin. On 29 October 1798, the mission was cut short by his sudden death, less than a year after his arrival in the Prussian capital. He was buried in Prussia's first Muslim cemetery, specially purchased by King Frederick William III (r. 1797-1840) for the Ottoman ambassador.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Istanbul, 1853, pp. 253-4

Secondary

P. de Bruijn, 'Aziz Ali Efendi', in *EI3*

A.H. Schmiede, *Osmanlı ve Prusya kaynaklarına göre Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi'nin Berlin sefareti*, Istanbul, 1990

A.H. Schmiede, 'Vor 190 Jahren ... Tod des türkischen Botschafters Ali Aziz Efendi', in A.H. Schmiede (ed.), *120 Jahre türkischer Friedhof zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1987

U. Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften der Bibliothek Diez*, Leipzig, 1984, no. 499

İ.E. Kuran, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı ikamet elçiliklerinin kuruluşu ve ilk elçilerin siyâsî faaliyetleri, 1793-1821*, Ankara, 1968

İ.E. Kuran, 'Osmanli daimi elçisi Ali Aziz Efendinin alman sarkiyatcisi Friedrich von Dietz ile Berlinde ilmi ve felsefi muhaberati, 1797', *Belleten* 27/45 (1963) 45-58

A. Tietze, "Azīz Efendis Muhayyelat', *Oriens* 1 (1948) 248-329

E.J. Wilkinson, 'Preface', in Ali Aziz Efendi the Cretan, *The story of Jewad. A romance*, translated from the Turkish by E.J. Wilkinson Gibb, Glasgow, 1884, vii-xii

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Prusya sefâretnâmesi
Sefâretnâme
'Report of the embassy to Prussia'

DATE 1797-8

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Ali Aziz wrote the *Prusya sefâretnâmesi* during his mission to Berlin in 1797-8. A *sefâretnâme* was an embassy report in which an Ottoman ambassador would summarise his observations during sojourns in foreign countries. Some reports covered issues concerning society, the economy, administration and culture, while others had strategic value, describing fortresses and other military outposts on the envoy's route. After the completion of the mission, the reports were usually submitted to the sultan and other high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrats. Covering

only five pages, Ali Aziz's report is very brief, almost certainly due to his sudden death while still in office in Berlin. The manuscript focuses on his journey to Berlin, a misunderstanding regarding his diplomatic rank, and his reception at the Prussian court. However, unlike earlier diplomatic reports by ad hoc Ottoman diplomats to Prussia, Ali Aziz's does not reflect any cultural and social observations made by the ambassador.

Although Ali Aziz's *sefâretnâme* does not deal directly with questions of religion, his correspondence with the Prussian diplomat and Orientalist Heinrich Friedrich von Diez provides an insight into his ideas on spiritual and philosophical matters. Some of these letters and essays originated from the same period as the *sefâretnâme*, and were probably intended to be part of Ali Aziz's report on Prussia. Written entirely in Ottoman Turkish, the correspondence includes several letters containing questions from von Diez and answers by Ali Aziz on matters such as language and science. It also includes two of Ali Aziz's essays, which deal with the difference between eloquence and being well-spoken, showing that the occident perceives the former as an art form and the latter as a natural talent. Two additional essays by Ali Aziz debate the duality of things in nature and the existence of God, as well as the tradition of Muḥammad. The precise content of the correspondence, however, requires further investigation.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Ali Aziz's *sefâretnâme* for Christian-Muslim relations lies in its existence rather than in its contents. It was the continuation of a literary genre, used by the Ottomans during their ad hoc missions to Christian countries for gathering information. However, it is also the first report written by an Ottoman Muslim appointed as the first permanent ambassador to Prussia. The sultan's decision to introduce a permanent diplomatic mission to Christian countries suggests a shift in Ottoman perception of Christian-Muslim relations. Previous missions and the *sefâretnâme*s that came from them had assumed and defended the superiority of the Ottoman sultan over Christian rulers. Permanent Ottoman embassies, however, were an indication of a new-found awareness of equality accompanied by a continuation of traditional literary practices such as the writing of the *sefâretnâme*s.

PUBLICATIONS

For a list of Ali Aziz's MSS and their locations, see P. de Bruijn, 'Aziz Ali Efendi', in *EI3*

MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Department of manuscripts and rare books – Cod. H.O. 107A (transcription of the *Prusya sefâretnâmesi* is located in the *Tarih-i nuri*)

Schmiede, *Osmanlı ve Prusya kaynaklarına*, pp. 29-37 (modern Turkish copy of the report, prepared by A.H. Schmiede)

STUDIES

P. de Bruijn, 'Aziz Ali Efendi', in *EI3*

A. Tietze, 'Alı Azız, Giridlı', in *EI2*

Irena Fliter

Ottoman slave manumission documents

DATE 16th-18th centuries
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic and Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION
Slavery was widespread in Ottoman domains, but for many enslaved men and women it was of limited duration. Manumission (Arabic: *ʿitq* or *ʿitāq*; Ottoman Turkish: *itik, itak*) was extremely common and took several forms. Masters could unilaterally and unconditionally manumit slaves at any time (the declaration 'I free you' was legally binding and immediately effective) and might choose to do so as an act of piety. Masters could also arrange for slaves to be freed upon their death (Arabic: *tadbīr*, Ott. Turkish: *tedbir*), and enslaved women who had borne their master a child were automatically manumitted upon their master's death (Arabic: *umm walad*, Ott. Turkish: *ümm-i veled*). Finally, manumission could be contracted in advance between master and slave (Arabic: *mukātaba*, Ott. Turkish: *mükatebe*) with release promised upon the completion of a fixed term of service, the payment of a predetermined sum, or the production of a certain quantity of goods; *mükâtebe* contracts – arranged, witnessed and documented in the presence of legal professionals and recorded in court registers – were especially common for 'skilled' slaves (e.g. weavers, shipwrights), but were frequently agreed with unskilled or 'domestic' slaves as well. Masters could not legally sell enslaved women with whom they had had children, or slaves with valid manumission contracts (both *tedbir* and *mükâtebe*). Only non-Muslims from beyond Muslim-ruled domains (the Abode of War) could be enslaved; a slave's conversion to Islam did not guarantee freedom and could not be legally compelled but, on the whole, Muslim masters were more likely to free slaves (unconditionally or via *tedbir*) who had converted, providing, along with the promise of better treatment, a powerful incentive to convert. In contrast, skilled slaves with *mükâtebe* contracts appear to have converted at lower rates, as conversion would not hasten their release and, indeed, in the case of those who entertained hopes of ransom, could very well prevent it.

In most instances, the formal manumission of a slave would be concluded before a judge or deputy and witnesses, and a scribe would draw up a legal document (*hüccet*) called an *itiknâme* or *itaknâme*, literally a

'manumission letter', which would be issued to the emancipated slave in question and copied into the court's register (*sicil*). Likewise, captives who were held for ransom were formally manumitted by their owners and received an *itiknâme*, which would enable them to travel and return home. In the early modern Ottoman Empire, the form and content of the *itiknâme* were strongly influenced by pre-Ottoman Islamic legal practice. Until the 17th century, manumission documents were usually written in Arabic, even in the Turkish-speaking lands, and followed the patterns established in medieval Islamic legal formulary manuals (Arabic *shurūṭ*) of the Ḥanafī rite. Recipients of a 16th-century *itiknâme* sometimes also received brief safe-conduct documents or glosses written in Turkish that conveyed the content of the official Arabic document, namely the description of the bearer and the declaration that he or she was free and should not be prevented from travelling. Stamped with an official's seal, these documents functioned as an internal passport that protected the former slave from re-enslavement by the hunters of fugitive slaves and permitted him to travel within, or leave, Ottoman domains. Similar safe-conduct documents in Turkish continued to be issued to returning European captives through the 18th century.

Around the turn of the 17th century, Ottoman courts in the European and Anatolian provinces shifted to producing *itiknâme*, along with other formulaic legal documentation, in Ottoman Turkish (albeit a heavily Arabic-inflected form); courts in the Arabic-speaking lands continued to produce Arabic documents as they had before. Ensuring a degree of standardisation in language and form were Ottoman Turkish manuals of formularies and legal praxis, known as *sukuk* (sing. *sakk*), which proliferated in the 17th and 18th centuries. Prepared by judges and scribes for reference by others like them, all *sukuk* manuals had a section (often lengthy) dedicated to manumission, which included examples of every type of manumission document the courts might issue. These were broadly similar across types, and followed the same basic patterns whether written in Arabic or Ottoman Turkish. Aside from the language shift, official Ottoman manumission documents of the 17th and 18th centuries were largely unchanged from their 17th-century precursors. That said, the appearance (size and shape of paper, scripts used, etc.) of manumission documents produced in North Africa, not only in non-Ottoman Morocco, but also in the nominally Ottoman provinces, was rather different from those written in the core Ottoman lands, since North Africa was never fully integrated into the Ottoman legal system and the Mālikī legal tradition

remained dominant. Nevertheless, all the manumission documents were relatively similar in content.

Ottoman *itiknâme* would typically be written on rectangular pieces of paper, just like any other court-produced *hüccet*. Sizes varied, but they were often around 10-15 cm across and two to three times that in length. They were typically folded up vertically (at 3-5 cm intervals), forming a small, flat packet that could be easily carried on the person. The signature of the presiding judge or deputy (often the *kassam*, the official responsible for assessing estates and dividing inheritance) would be written near the top of the document; this signature included his name and title, the court to which he was attached, and an apologetic. His seal would be stamped in ink adjacent to this signature. The main body of the document followed, which began by identifying the slave owner and, if he or she was represented in court by a legal agent (*vekil*), as the wealthy and powerful often were, naming that person and their bona fides as well. Then the slave, 'the bearer of this document', would be identified by name and origin. Unconverted (i.e. non-Muslim) slaves' first names and patronymics were given (sometimes European family names were recorded as if they were patronymics) and their faith might be listed; slaves who had converted to Islam would be identified by their Muslim name with the traditional convert's patronymic 'ibn 'Abd Allāh' or 'bint 'Abd Allāh' (son or daughter of the slave of God). Slaves' origins were slotted into one of the political, regional or ethno-linguistic boxes then current, which might or might not accurately reflect their actual geographical origins. Slaves from Western Europe were often referred to simply as 'Frankish' (*ifrinjī al-aṣl*), whereas others might receive more specific, if still sometimes imprecise or misleading, markers (e.g. 'Hungarian', 'Maltese', 'Venetian', 'Georgian'). 'Russian' (*rûsî*) was used to describe an array of peoples hailing from lands that are now part of Poland, Ukraine, Belarus and southern Russia, among others. Name and origin were paired with a stylised physical description (*hilye*) which would touch on height and size; skin, hair and eye colour; eyebrow shape (i.e. unibrow or separate); and any scars, deformities, or other prominent distinguishing features. The reason or terms of the slave's manumission were specified, with unconditional manumissions often classified as *hasbeten lillâh*, or for religious reasons. Contracted manumissions would specify the terms that had been fulfilled, such as the receipt of a lump sum (which sometimes signified the payment of a ransom) or the completion of the fixed term of service. The declaration that the slave had

been released and was now 'free like others of free origin' followed. The *itiknâme* concluded with the date of composition and, at the bottom, the names and titles of the witnesses to the proceedings.

In addition to being issued to the manumitted slave, the main body of the *itiknâme* would be copied into the issuing court's registers. Much of an Ottoman court's business was notarial in nature, and entries relating to manumission form a significant portion of the surviving records of courts throughout the empire, though the proportion of manumission entries necessarily fluctuated according to the wealth of the jurisdiction's inhabitants, the types of economic activity that animated the area, and the vicissitudes of the Ottoman slave trade. It must be noted, however, that court records do not preserve any evidence of safe-conduct documents, or of other semi- and unofficial manumission documents that Ottoman military-administrative officials and slave owners granted to the slaves whom they freed or whose passage home they regulated. As evidenced by documents preserved in European archives, such papers often accompanied the official *itiknâme*, and at least some owners may have skipped the court process entirely and saved themselves, or their freed slaves, the court fees – a choice that may have been relatively safe for ransomed captives, who would swiftly embark on a ship home.

SIGNIFICANCE

In their collected form, as preserved in Ottoman court registers, manumission documents provide some of the most revealing evidence for the shape of Ottoman slavery, especially but not exclusively in its non-elite forms. Examining the copies of manumission documents and other slavery-related entries in the court registers can give some indication of the size and origins of a particular jurisdiction's slave population and the terms of their employment, as well as rates of conversion to Islam and how they correlate with the various types of manumission. The value and the limits of this approach have already been exhaustively demonstrated for late 16th-century Galata (Sobers-Khan, *Slaves without shackles*). It is critical to note that manumission did not mark the end of the emancipated slave's relationship with his or her master, except for those few who entertained hopes of returning home. For most, manumission marked the beginning of a new stage in the relationship, in which master and slave became patron and client. Even though legally free, the former slave's master-cum-patron still retained rights of inheritance to a portion of their estate, meaning that the bond between them would persist even to death.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, comparatively few original, loose manumission documents are to be found in the archives of the former Ottoman lands. However, Ottoman and North African manumission documents for returned or ransomed Europeans survive in significant numbers in European archives, particularly those of Catholic powers and their religious institutions. They typically entered these archives in one of two ways. First, the structures of the Holy Office (i.e. the Inquisition) routinely investigated European slaves returning (or recaptured) from the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, since the opportunities for apostasy there were many; this investigation sometimes included an examination of their manumission documents, which held clues as to the reasons for their release and their religious status when freed. Second, state and religious authorities (including the Catholic Mercedarian and Trinitarian Orders) often arranged for the redemption of their countrymen or correligionists – either through ransom payments or slave exchanges – and retained the receipts, which included the manumission documents.

Still more documents were generated in the 18th century due to a nascent prisoner-of-war system: Austrian and Russian subjects taken in war and sold as slaves were increasingly subject to collection, manumission, and return at the end of periods of conflict in accordance with the terms of the peace treaties. Finally, manumission documents were generated after treaty-protected subjects were illegally enslaved – usually captured in cross-border raids or pirate attacks – and were subsequently identified and freed through the formal manumission process (since Muslim witnesses would usually be required to prove free origin in the courts) before being returned home.

Whether returned through ransom, negotiated release or exchange, and whether arranged for pietistic, political or military reasons, former European slaves carried back with them manumission documents which were deposited in European archives and which together constitute the largest share of extant Ottoman manumission documents. It bears repeating, however, that the outstanding majority of manumitted Ottoman slaves stayed where they were, settling into the communities to which they had been brought, carrying with them always the documents that demonstrated that they were free, like all others of free origin.

PUBLICATIONS

Original slave manumission documents from the early modern period can be found in varying quantities in many European archives, including, to name just a few, the Archivo General de Simancas near Valladolid, the

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, and the Archives of the Inquisition of Malta in Mdina. In Turkey, loose documents can also be found in the archives of the Catholic church of SS Peter and Paul in Galata (Istanbul).

Facsimiles and translations of 18th-century *itiknâme* and other manumission documents resulting from the ransom and return of Austrian war captives can be found in Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702-1776)*.

Thousands of original Ottoman court registers (*kadı sicilleri*) are preserved in the successor states of the Ottoman Empire. Many of those surviving from Turkey, Syria and Cyprus have been digitised and can be accessed at the İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM) in Istanbul. Dozens of volumes from Istanbul-area courts have been published, with transliterations and Modern Turkish summaries, by İSAM and can be accessed at www.kadisicilleri.org.

Sukuk manuscripts, from both the 18th century and earlier, can be found in large numbers at the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, as well as in many other major Turkish and European manuscript libraries.

STUDIES

W. Smiley, *From slaves to prisoners of war. The Ottoman Empire, Russia, and the making of international law*, Oxford, 2018

Y. Spyropoulos, 'Slaves and freedmen in 17th- and early 18th-century Ottoman Crete', *Turcica* 46 (2015) 177-204

N. Sobers-Khan, *Slaves without shackles. Forced labour and manumission in the Galata court registers, 1560-1572*, Berlin, 2014

M. Zilfi, *Women and slavery in the late Ottoman Empire. The design of difference*, Cambridge, 2010

B. İpşirli-Argıt, 'Manumitted female slaves of the Ottoman imperial harem (Sarayîs) in eighteenth-century Istanbul', Istanbul, 2009 (PhD Diss. Boğaziçi University)

G. Dávid, 'Manumitted male slaves at Galata and Istanbul around 1700', in G. Dávid and P. Fodor (eds), *Ransom slavery along the Ottoman borders*, Leiden, 2007, 183-92

S. Kaya, 'Mahkeme kayıtlarının kılavuzu. Sakk mecmuaları', *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3 (2005) 379-416

R. D'Amora, 'Some documents concerning the manumission of slaves by the Pio Monte della Misericordia in Naples (1681-1682)', *Eurasian Studies* 1 (2002) 37-76

G. Dávid, 'Manumitted female slaves at Galata and Istanbul around 1700', in S. Prätor and C. Neumann (eds), *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im osmanischen Reich*, Istanbul, 2002, 229-36

S. Faroqhi, 'Quis custodiet custodes. Controlling slave identities and slave traders in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Istanbul', in S. Faroqhi (ed.), *Stories of Ottoman men and women*, Istanbul, 2002, 245-63

F. Ciappara, *Society and the Inquisition in early modern Malta*, Malta, 2001

R. Shaham, 'Masters, their freed slaves, and the *waqf* in Egypt (eighteenth-twentieth centuries)', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43 (2000) 162-88

B. Bennassar and L. Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles*, Paris, 1989

Ed., art. "İtḳname', in *EI2*

H. Sahillioğlu, 'Slaves in the social and economic life of Bursa in the late 15th and early 16th centuries', *Turcica* 17 (1985) 43-112

A. Fisher, 'Studies in Ottoman slavery and the slave trade, II: Manumission', *Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1980) 49-56

J.A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law. The chapters on sales from Ṭaḥāwī's* Kitāb al-shurūṭ al-kabīr, Albany NY, 1972

K. Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702-1776)*, Naples, 1963

Joshua M. White

Islam and Muslims in the works of Christian Arab historians of the 18th and early 19th centuries

DATE 18th and early 19th centuries
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Christians in the early modern Middle East under Ottoman rule have been variously described by scholars as a persecuted minority, active commercial agents, 'the people of the *dhimma*', or protégés of foreign powers. From the time of the Ottoman conquest of Syria, Palestine and Egypt in 1516-17, Christians in Arab lands managed to maintain the rich spiritual and intellectual life they had developed over the centuries. Their engagement in various cultural, literary, theological and philosophical activities often went beyond sectarian boundaries, and Syria in particular became the stage for these developments and interactions. However, despite communal and intellectual exchanges between Christian denominations and with followers of Islam, Christians under Muslim rule were regarded by Muslims as *ahl al-dhimma*, 'client communities', who were subject to social restrictions under Islamic law, even though they enjoyed a certain freedom in their religious affairs. It was this reality in particular that was reflected in the historical writings of Christian authors in 18th- and early 19th-century Bilād al-Shām. Christian historians generally tended to concentrate on societal and political interactions, focusing mainly on the status of Christians in the Islamic state and their role as advisors and people of learning in a predominantly Muslim society. It is through this indirect means that Christian historians' views on Muslims and Islam are conveyed.

Six historians will be examined with regard to this concern: the Greek Orthodox Mīkhāʾīl Brayk, ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh and ʿAbdallāh ibn Ṭrād, and the Greek Catholics Rūfāʾīl Karāma l-Ḥimṣī, Ḥanāniyā l-Munayyir and Niqūlā al-Turk.

The Damascus-born Mīkhāʾīl Brayk (his dates of birth and death are unknown) was an ordained priest. In 1768, he became superior of the Monastery of Ṣaydnāyā, north of Damascus, but he retired from this post after only one year because of the lack of discipline he saw among the

monks. He died after 1782, the year in which his book *Tārīkh al-Shām* ends. It covers the most important events of the years from 1720, giving special attention to Christians under Ottoman rule. Brayk's description of the conditions in which Christians lived and the contention between Catholics and Greek Orthodox, together with his interest in narrating events outside the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in Europe, his emphasis on Arab identity and his concern to interpret, ponder and draw lessons from various events – these all give his writings a unique quality, and distinguish him as a chronicler in 18th-century Bilād al-Shām and as a precursor of the more elaborate analyses that came later.

The second historian is ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh (date of birth unknown), a Lebanese who lived in Egypt and was killed in Cairo in 1799. His book *Al-rawḍ al-zāhir fī tārīkh Ḍāhir* is a biography of Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar (c. 1690-1775), the semi-independent ruler of the Galilee and adjacent parts of Palestine in the mid-18th century. While other historians were mainly concerned with apologetics, the Patriarchate of Antioch and other ecclesiastical matters, as well as with the social conditions of the Christian communities, ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh's biography stands out as a purely secular and political history dedicated to the achievements of a Muslim ruler and his struggle for political power. After casting light on the events of the period, he uses history to support his convictions about two of Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar's associates, the Christian Ibrāhīm al-Ṣabbāgh, whose integrity is praised, and the Muslim al-Dinkizlī, the *bête noire*, whose treachery is denounced as the main cause of Ḍāhir's downfall.

The third historian is ʿAbdallāh ibn Ṭrād of Beirut (dates of birth and death unknown), whose father was a copyist. ʿAbdallāh had access to various historical and theological writings, and was an eye witness to the events that took place in Beirut at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. He died after 1798. He understood his work as a summary of the history of the Antiochian patriarchs from 1532 to his own time, his purpose being to highlight the role of the Roman Catholics in the schism that occurred in the Eastern Church. He warned Orthodox Christians against any dealings with Greek Catholics in case there should be further separation from the Orthodox Church. He saw his book as a repudiation of the Catholic heresy.

The fourth historian is Rūfāʾīl Karāma (1730-1800) from Homs. He joined the Greek Catholic Shuwayrite congregation and was ordained priest in 1750. In *Ḥawādith Lubnān wa-Sūriya*, he relates political and religious events from 1745 to 1800, focusing mainly on Lebanon and its

relations with neighbouring regions and European powers. His book is also a kind of autobiography, in which he talks about himself, his religious order and the persecution he and other priests had to endure. Karāma was an eye witness of the events he related, and he was in a position to choose and verify his sources. His writing is a mixture of the old and the new, in that he produces what is a traditional chronicle but selects what seems to him important, and describes, analyses and draws lessons from the events he records.

The fifth historian, Ḥanāniyā al-Munayyir (1756-1823), was a physician and priest of the Shuwayrite congregation. In *Al-durr al-marṣūf fī tārīkh al-Shūf*, he projects his own time as being of great significance. In the introduction to his history, he states his intention to record the sequence of events in al-Shūf, a part of Mount Lebanon where the emirs lived. Thus, even when he writes about other areas, he still focuses on al-Shūf, which for him is supremely important because it is the home of the leaders of Lebanese society, around whom everything revolves. His history takes the form of a chronicle. He is aware that the period he is examining is formative in the history of Lebanon and is worth extensive consideration.

Last is the historian Niqūlā al-Turk (1763-1828) whose family was Greek in origin. Al-Turk's father came from Istanbul to Lebanon and worked for the Emir Bashīr II (r. 1789-1840). Niqūlā too entered the ruler's service, and was sent by him to Egypt to report on Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion in 1798. Al-Turk's book, which has been entitled by its French editor *Chronique d'Egypte*, covers events from 1798 to 1804. It begins with an introduction to the French Revolution, describes the execution of King Louis XVI (r. 1774-91), and summarises subsequent developments in both France and the rest of Europe. The history of the French expedition is followed by a lengthy account of the arrival of the Ottomans, their wars with the Mamlūks and the beginning of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule in Egypt.

Writing from Damascus, a major Muslim town with a considerable Christian population, Mīkhāʾīl Brayk describes relations between the Christian and Muslim communities and reveals his doubtful attitude towards the Islamic faith. He tells the story of a priest from Adana who converted to Islam and claimed that a Muslim woman had agreed to marry him, but she denied this completely and he worked as a gatekeeper till he died. Another priest from Aleppo who converted to Islam was considered by Brayk to have 'sold' his religion. As Brayk saw it, both these men brought shame on Christianity.

Brayk describes the religious shifts that occurred in Arab urban centres, as intermixing made it possible to convert and reconvert, sometimes more than once. This mixing and intermixing took place on the political as well as the religious level. Brayk recounts that Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓm, governor of Damascus from 1725 to 1730, took from Homs two brothers, Niʿmat and Yūsuf, as *yāzijiyyāt* (secretaries), and later their descendants became known as al-Yāzijī; the family produced a number of protagonists of the *Nahḍa* movement in the 19th century. Christians were interwoven into the system of government, and some served as advisors to pashas, treasury officials and clerks. As an example, al-Munayyir refers to the activities of Saʿd al-Khūrī, Emir Milḥim's powerful Christian overseer (*mudabbir*).

One can see in these histories that, in spite of the Christians' skills and their value as administrators, teachers and men of letters, they were treated as second-class citizens, tolerated in Muslim society but not regarded as equals. A sense of otherness inevitably developed, which made Christians bitter and as a consequence led them to look on Islam as a fanatical, arrogant, aggressive and oppressive religion. Al-Munayyir relates that the consuls of Russia and Austria were not allowed to enter Damascus in 1785: they were informed that Damascus was the door to the Kaʿba and did not accept consuls, so they had to return whence they came.

This condescending attitude towards foreigners was accompanied by restrictions on the local Christian population. In 1581, the sultan commanded that Christians and Jews should be prohibited from wearing turbans, but made to wear distinctive headgear instead. Christians were considered inferior and, as Mīkhāʾīl Brayk recounts, whenever their belief was mentioned it was followed by the remark *ʿalā zaʿmihim al-fāsid* ('according to their null and depraved contention'). They were also limited in their freedom to build new places of worship. Brayk relates that in 1757 Patriarch Sylvestros of Antioch took advantage when Damascus was without a governor to rebuild the church door and renovate the whole building. Al-Munayyir also says they built a convent near Baʿaqlīn in the Shūf district in a forest where shepherds used to feed their flocks. Being too powerless to construct the convent openly, they used to gather at night with their families to build the convent stage by stage by moonlight. This is how it came to be known as Dayr al-Qamar, 'the monastery of the moon'.

These restrictions on Christians were sometimes lifted. Brayk mentions that in 1762 Christians were no longer required to welcome the

governor on his entry to Damascus. This practice had either started or been reintroduced in 1707, when both Christians and Jews were ordered to carry candles and walk before the emir of the *ḥajj* on his entry to Damascus, or when a new governor arrived from Istanbul. These humiliating impositions were enforced without warning at the whim of rulers and governors.

Brayk enumerates the conditions imposed on Christians, whether in clothing or in their daily lives, to emphasise the Muslims' fanaticism and their belief in the uniqueness of their faith and their sense of grandeur. He puts the blame on Christian women who transgressed all limits when these restrictions were lifted under Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (r. 1743-57): the women 'have eaten sour grapes, but it is their husbands' teeth that have been set on edge as a result of their actions …' Brayk alludes to God's punishment and retribution, when the Christians were brought back to their humiliating status in 1757 under the governor ʿAbdallāh al-Shatjī and others.

Christian historians generally viewed Muslims as tyrannical and oppressive. They relate that Christians were sometimes used as scapegoats. In 1758, al-Munayyir says that Maltese pirates assaulted a ship belonging to the people of Beirut, and in retaliation the Muslims attacked the Europeans in Beirut, entered the monastery of al-Badiriyya near Tripoli, seized the monks, destroyed what was in the church and stole what could be of use to them. Brayk likewise relates that in 1777 al-Jazzār, the Muslim governor of Acre (r. 1776-1804), desecrated convents and brought women and children to be sold in Damascus. He writes that it is heartbreaking to see them roaming the streets begging for food; women, boys and girls were bought by the soldiers and freed for the glory of God.

While the Christian historians refer clearly to the persecution, exploitation and inconveniences that Christians had to endure from Muslim authorities, they were also aware of times when these atrocities were replaced by toleration and benevolence. Thus, Ibn Ṭrād relates in his history that Ottoman officials protected Christians in 1519. And when an Ottoman killed a Christian, the governor of Damascus ordered his execution. Muslims' mixed feelings towards the Christians are best expressed by ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh in his biography of Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar, where he describes the governor's open-mindedness in his dealings with the French and other European merchants. He relates an incident that occurred in 1761 during a feud between Uthmān Pasha, the governor of Damascus, and the Muslim Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar, who was late in paying taxes. The Ottoman sultan asked for reconciliation and held a council

in Acre at which Masʿūd Bey, the sultan's representative, was enraged by the fact that Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar was defended by the Christian Ibrāhīm al-Ṣabbāgh and expelled him because a Christian could not be present in a Muslim law court. Ḍāhir immediately declared Ibrāhīm his representative in front of the assembly and, addressing Masʿūd Bey, he said: 'You are Uthmān Pasha's representative and Ibrāhīm al-Sabbāgh is my representative. You are all here in the council witnesses to this …' Here ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh portrays a Muslim ruler as benevolent, just and open-minded, relying on a Christian advisor and demonstrating that Muslims and Christians could share together.

Lastly, in Niqūlā al-Turk's writing, Christian attitudes towards Muslims are manifested in a different way. As has been mentioned, al-Turk was sent by Emir Bashīr II of Lebanon to report on Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798. He witnessed the array of the Muslim combatants before the European might, and drew a picture of two civilisations, one developed and advanced and open to new ideas, and the other a closed society, suspicious of Westerners, of religions other than their own and of innovations. While he acknowledges and even accepts the differences between the two cultures, al-Turk is not reluctant to portray his views as a Christian historian on Islam, a society that is unable to free itself from traditions, which, if no remedies are applied, will in the long run hamper its development and growth. Al-Turk sees Islamic society as conservative and in thrall to ossified beliefs.

SIGNIFICANCE

These six Arab Christian historians make clear that, as in earlier centuries, the status of Christians in 18th-century Islamic society was determined by Islamic legal provisions derived ultimately from the Pact of ʿUmar. The provisions it contained were applied more or less rigorously according to the whim of the ruler, leaving Christians (and other non-Muslims) uncertain and insecure. This no doubt led to the sense of alienation and victimhood that is seen in the writings of these historians, which give indirect but clear indications of the status of Christians in wider Ottoman society. They regard Islam as intolerant, violent, fanatical, menacing and dogmatic, upholding a law that imposed humiliating restrictions that non-Muslims were obliged to follow. Christians under Islamic rule were constantly under threat with regard to their property, freedom, dignity and integrity.

They tell us little that is new about relations between Muslims and their Christian subjects. Christians a thousand years earlier could have

related the same experiences about the constant threat to their livelihoods, living conditions and sometimes their lives. But the value of these histories lies precisely in this: they show that Muslim society had not changed under the stimulus of any new thinking from within or without, but remained firmly tied to the religious precepts of a bygone age.

PUBLICATIONS

Mīkhā'īl Brayk, *Tārīkh al-Shām*, Harissa, 1930

Mīkhā'īl Brayk, *Tārīkh al-Shām*, Damascus, 1982

ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh, *Al-rawḍ al-zāhir fī tārīkh Ḍāhir*, ed. M. Muḥāfiẓa and ʿI. Hazāyima, Irbid, Amman, 1999

ʿAbdallāh ibn Ṭrād al-Bayrūtī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-asāqifa alladhīna raqqū martabat riʾāsat al-kahanūt al-jalīla fī madīnat Bayrūt*, ed. Nā'ila Qā'idbayh, Beirut, 2002

Rūfā'īl Karāma, *Ḥawādith Lubnān wa-Sūriya min sanat 1745 ilā sanat 1800*, ed. B. Qaṭṭān, Beirut, 1929

Rūfā'īl Karāma, *Ḥawādith Lubnān wa-Sūriya min sanat 1745 ilā sanat 1800*, ed. B. Qaṭṭān, [Tripoli, Lebanon], [1983]

Ḥanāniyā al-Munayyir, *Al-durr al-marṣūf fī tārīkh al-Shūf*, ed. Ighnāṭiyūs Sarkīs, Beirut, 1984

F.G. Weir (ed.), *Mudhakkarāt Niqūlā al-Turk*, Cairo, 1950

Niqūlā al-Turk, *Chronique d'Égypte, 1798-1804*, ed. and trans. F.G. Weit, Cairo, 1950 (French trans.)

Niqūlā al-Turk, *Ḥamlat Būnābart ilā l-sharq*, ed. A. Bashshūr, Tripoli, Lebanon, 1993

STUDIES

H. el Eid Bualuan, 'Christians and Moslems under Ottoman rule in the writings of Mikhail Breik (d. 1782) and Constantin François Chasseboeuf, Volney (1757-1820)', in S. Daccache et al. (eds), *Cohabitation et conflits dans le Bilâd al-Châm à l'époque ottomane. Musulmans et chrétiens à travers les écrits des chroniqueurs et des voyageurs*, Beirut, 2014, 221-31

N. Kaidbey, 'Abdullah ibn Mikha'il Trad al-Bayruti. A chronicler's contribution to Orthodox historiography', in *Musāhamat al-muʾarrikīn al-urthūduks fī l-taʾrīkh. Aʿmāl al-muʾtamar al-munʿaqid fī Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand al-baṭriyarkī 12-14 Ādār 2007 / Le rôle des historiens orthodoxes dans l'historiographie. Actes du colloque 11-14 Mars 2007*, Balamand, Lebanon, [2010], 99-107 (Latin pagination)

H. el-Eid Bualuan, 'The image of the European in Niqūlā al-Turk's *Mudhakkarāt* (Chronique d'Egypt 1798-1904)', in B. Heyberger and C. Walbiner (eds), *Les Européens vus par les Libanais à l'époque ottomane*, Beirut, 2002, 67-80

H. el Eid Bualuan, ''Abbūd al-Ṣabbāgh and his biography of Ḍāher al-'Umar', *Parole de l'Orient* 24 (1999) 339-56

I. al-Qaṭṭār, *Mu'arrikhūn min Lubnān*, vol. 1, 'Amshīt, Lebanon, 1998, pp. 39-47 (Ḥanāniyā al-Munayyir)

A. Bashshūr, 'Al-muqaddima' [introduction], al-Turk, *Ḥamlat Būnābart*, 5-58

J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, Louvain, 1989, vol. 4/2, pp. 312-14 (Karāma), 314-16 (Brayk), 316-19 (al-Munayyir), 319 (al-Ṣabbāgh)

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1953, pp. 239 (Karāma), 152-3 (Brayk), 242-4 (al-Munayyir), 245-6 (al-Ṣabbāgh), 165 (Ibn Ṭrād), 251-4 (al-Turk)

Hayat el Eid Bualuan

Persia

Mīrzā Ẓahīrā Tafrishī

Zahir al-Din Tafreshi; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tafrishī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Tafresh, Iran
DATE OF DEATH Before 1702
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Mīrzā Ẓahīrā Tafrishī was a theologian and poet during the reigns of Shah ʿAbbās II (r. 1632-66), Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94) and Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722). Born in Tafresh, south-east of Tehran, he was the son of Mullā Murād Tafrishī (1557/8-1641/2), who was likewise a notable scholar. Tafrishī studied in Isfahan under the most renowned philosopher of the time, Āqā Ḥusayn Khʷānsārī (d. 1686), to whom he refers in his writings as his master. During the reign of ʿAbbās II, and around the mid-17th century, Tafrishī was appointed as the prayer leader of the province of Georgia. He was sent to the region together with the new provincial ruler (*wālī*), Shah Naẓar Khān. While in Georgia, he had several interreligious debates with Roman Catholic and Arab Orthodox (Melkite) representatives and church leaders.

Apart from Persian and Arabic, Tafrishī knew Azeri Turkish, presumably as his mother tongue. It is said that he conducted some of his debates in Azeri, and Shah Naẓar Khān mediated between him and his Georgian opponents as a translator. Some of these debates have been recorded in Tafrishī's *Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq*/*Nūṣrat al-ḥaqq*.

In later life, Tafrishī returned to Isfahan, where he taught rational theology. Ḥazīn Lāhījī (d. 1766), a distinguished Iranian scholar who migrated to India late in his life, named Tafrishī among his teachers (Lāhījī, *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn*, pp. 25-6). During this period, Tafrishī had an intellectual debate with a certain Muḥammad Muḥsin Qāḍī on an issue related to methodology of law. This debate, which is recorded by Tafrishī in his *Mubāhitha*, must have taken place sometime before 1689.

Tafrishī wrote in both Arabic and Persian. He is known for his literary works in prose and poetry, and for several treatises on astronomy, Qur'an interpretation, methodology of Islamic law, rational theology and

philosophy. The *terminus ante quem* of Tafrishī's death can be established from the colophon of a copy of his *Maṭāliʿ u maghārib*, completed in 1702, where the scribe commemorates him in the invocation 'May God glorify his pure soul' (Jaʿfariyān, *Ṣafaviyyah*, vol. 3, p. 981).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādi*, ed. Vahīd Dastjirdī, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Furūghī, 1946

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazin Lāhījī, *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn*, ed. Maʿṣūma Sālik, Tehran, 1996

Muḥammad ʿAlī Kashmīrī Lakhnawī, *Nujūm al-samāʾ fī tarājum al-ʿulamāʾ. Sharḥ-i ḥāl-iʿulamā-yi Shīʿa-yi qarn-i yāzdahum, dawāzdahum wa sīzdahum-i hijrī*, ed. Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran, 2003

Sirāj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Ārizū, *Tadhkira-yi majmaʿ al-nafāʾis*, ed. Ziyb al-nisāʾ ʿAlī Khān, Islamabad: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī Īrān u Pākistān, 2004

Secondary

D. Halft, 'The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia. Arabic printing of the Gospels, Catholic missionaries, and the rise of Shīʿī anti-Christian polemics', Berlin, 2016 (PhD Diss. Freie Universität Berlin)

Gūdarz Rashtiyānī, 'Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq. Atharī az Ẓahīr al-Dīn ibn Mullā Murād Tafrishī', *Payām-i Bahāristān* 4/14 (2011) 1224-379

Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dastnivishthā-yi Īrān (Dinā)*, Tehran, 2010, vol. 9, p. 726

Manūchihr Akbarī and Ḥasan Ḥaydarī, 'Ẓahīrā-yi Tafrishī va āthār-i ū', *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt va ʿUlūm-i Insānī* 46 (2001) 85-104

Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, *Ṣafaviyya dar ʿarsa-yi dīn, farhang u siyāsat*, vol. 3, Tehran, 2000

Abdul-Hadi Hairi, 'Reflections on the Shiʿi responses to missionary thought and activities in the Safavid period', in J. Calmard (ed.), *Études safavides*, Paris, 1993, 151-64

F. Richard, 'Trois conférences de controverse islamo-chrétienne en Géorgie vers 1665-1666', *Bedi Kartlisa* 40 (1982) 253-9

F. Richard, 'Catholicisme et islam chiite au "grand siècle". Autour de quelques documents concernant les missions catholiques au XVII[ème] siècle', *Euntes Docete* 33 (1980) 339-403

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq / Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq, 'Enlightening the truth' / 'Victory of the truth'

DATE Arabic original, 1663-4; Persian translation, sometime between 1666 and 1694

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In modern scholarship, Tafrishī is known as the author of a work written in Arabic on Christian-Muslim polemics, which he then translated into Persian. *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* ('Victory of the truth') has generally been considered as the title of both the Arabic and the Persian versions, though this appears to be inaccurate. While *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* is the title of the Persian translation, in his introduction to this version Tafrishī indicates that the work originally had a different title. Therefore, *Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq*, which is mentioned as an alternative in the critical apparatus, is more likely to be the title of the Arabic treatise.

According to Tafrishī, *Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq* found resonance among many of the Tabriz elite and was received with appreciation. During Tafrishī's meeting with Shah Sulaymān in Qazvin, the shah recommended that it should be translated from Arabic into Persian. The Arabic version is shorter, Chapter 4 not including the section 'In refuting their historical reasons for [divine] unity and [the] divinity of Christ'. Given that a few years had elapsed between the composition of the original text and the translation, it might be that the author himself added the additional material to the Persian version.

Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq ('Enlightening the truth') was written as a rebuttal of the arguments put forward by Gabriel de Chinon (1610-68). Tafrishī wrote it during his four-year sojourn in Gurjistan in response to de Chinon's treatise on Christianity, investigating it on the basis of rational principles. Tafrishī refrains from naming de Chinon's work, but says that it was written in Arabic and claims that it contains numerous language errors.

The work consists of five sections. The first narrates events from Tafrishī's life in Georgia, 'teaching religious classes and conducting structures for government ammunition', and recounts the details of his religious position at the court of Shah 'Abbās. The second section contains three debates between Tafrishī and Christian clerics. In the first,

with Makāryūs III Zaʿīm (d. 1647), Patriarch of Antakya, Tafrishī emphasises the inherent contradictions in the four Gospels. The second debate is held with a certain Roman Catholic missionary in Lilo, Georgia, in the presence of the ruler Shah Naẓar Khān. In theme it is similar to the first debate, and concludes with a discussion of Muslim and Christian compliance with biblical sayings about wine, as found, for example, in Exodus 29:40, Leviticus 23:12-13, and Ephesians 5:18. The third debate takes place between Tafrishī and Gabriel 'Francie' (de Chinon). Tafrishī considers himself to be the winner of all three debates.

The third section introduces Tafrishī's views on the corruption of the Christian faith, and suggests some tools that could help fellow Muslims in future debates with Christians. He rejects the authenticity of the historical transmission of the four Gospels, noting that in Christian scriptures Jesus is not the only Son of God and how in the psalms ascribed to the prophet David the title 'Son of God' is attributed to others than Christ. The fourth section consists of two parts, the first dealing with the Trinity, written in the form of six commentaries, where Tafrishī defines knowledge, varieties of existence, eternity, divinity, mortality, infinity, the nature of the divine, and resurrection; on the basis of this, he is able to respond to Christian beliefs with evidence. The second part is entitled 'Uniting of the eternal Son with Jesus Son of Mary' and contains five chapters, explaining Christian beliefs about the three Trinitarian hypostases and the uniting of the Divine with the son of Mary, as well as the divinity of Jesus. The fifth section discusses what Tafrishī considers the contradictions between the four Gospels, following a single theme. He argues that these contradictions and misconceptions are caused by false understandings and incomplete quotations by their narrators. One of these contradictions can be seen in the description in John 1 of how the Jews ask Yahya, son of Zachariah the prophet, about the three signs of prophets to come, and which of these he himself was, and how he responds, 'not any one of them'.

In addition to the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, Tafrishī refers to Arabic liturgical works used by the indigenous Christian communities, in particular a Byzantine version of the Divine Office. This contained the Arabic version of the Septuagint Psalms and Odes attributed to the 11th-century scholar Ibn al-Faḍl (see D. Halft, 'The Arabic Vulgate', p. 13).

SIGNIFICANCE

Tafrishī's work provides insight into the contemporary situation and sectarian history of Georgia in the Safavid era, and provides an example of a Muslim response to the writings of the Franciscan Capuchin Gabriel de Chinon. It is striking for its direct reference to Christian works, and for its comparison of Gospel texts to show discrepancies between them (here Tafrishī follows an established Muslim polemical procedure, and further research will show whether he was making use of any particular earlier authors).

Abdul Hādi Hāiri considers *Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq* / *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* to be the first Iranian attempt to counter Western civilisation.

PUBLICATIONS

Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq (Arabic version):

MS St Petersburg, National Library of Russia – Dorn 244/1, fols 1v-16r (1663-4; presumably incomplete)

MS Tehran, Dānishgāh – 3282/2, pp. 73-128 (16 June 1702; dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān, copied by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ḥusaynī)

Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq (Persian version):

MS Tehran, Majlis – 10147/19, pp. 371-433 (1692-3)

MS Tehran, Majlis – 1232, 94 fols (undated; dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān)

MS Tehran, Majlis – 10598, 68 fols (31 March 1882)

MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 258 [Hekmat 258], fols 86v-166r (undated)

MS Tehran, Madrasa-yi Muṭahharī (Sipahsālār) – 7494/5, fols 25v-28v (undated)

Gūdarz Rashtiyānī, 'Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq; Atharī az Ẓahīr al-Dīn ibn Mullā Murād Tafrishī', *Payām-i Bahāristān* 4/14 (2011) 1224-379

STUDIES

There are no available studies of the Arabic version.

Halft, 'Arabic Vulgate'

Gūdarz Rashtiyānī, 'Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq'

Ṭāhira ʿAẓīmzāda, 'Nakhustīn vākunish-i ʿulamāy-i musalmān dar barābar-i gharb', *Fiqh u Tārīkh-i Tamaddun* 20 (2009) 89-106

Ṭāhira ʿAẓīmzāda, 'Darāmadī bar raddiya-nivīsī-i dīnī dar ʿaṣr-i Ṣafaviyya u dawrān-i nakhustīn-i Qājār', *Maqālāt u Barrisīhā* 61 (1997) 173-98

Richard, 'Catholicisme et islam chiite'

Mohammed Alsulami

Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī

Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī

DATE OF BIRTH 1660
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH 1715
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī, son of Mīr Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, was born in 1660 (Khātūnābādī and Khūtānābādī, *Waqāʾiʿ al-sanīn*, p. 521). He was educated by his father, as well as other teachers. The most reliable source of information on him is *Waqāʾiʿ al-sanīn wa-l-aʿwām*, which draws on information provided by his paternal uncle ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Khātūnābādī and his son Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn (Khātūnābādī's cousin). This account mentions that Khātūnābādī had close relations with Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722). In 1703/4, Khātūnābādī declined the shah's nomination as Shaykh al-Islām (*Waqāʾiʿ al-sanīn*, pp. 554-5), and not long afterwards the shah appointed him to a teaching position at the Madrasa-yi Chahārbāgh. Officially, however, he only started teaching there from 1710 onward, as is testified by the legal document in ratification of his nomination (University Microfilms 233/1).

In 1707, Khātūnābādī, in whom the shah had started to confide, accompanied him to Mashhad. It is reported that the shah would seek the advice of 'his excellency the learned professor, while the conduct of His Highness vis-à-vis this learned professor and of the latter vis-à-vis the former was that of a teacher and his student and a student and his teacher' (*Waqāʾiʿ al-sanīn*, pp. 556-7). 1712 saw the introduction of the rank of *Mullābāshī*, a position of higher authority than Shaykh al-Islām; Khātūnābādī was the first to be appointed to this position. From then onwards, he was referred to as *Mullābāshī* and *'Allāmat al-ʿulamāʾ*, as well as *Mujtahid al-zamān*.

In 1715, there was a popular uprising in Isfahan about the price of wheat and flour, which did not leave Khātūnābādī untouched. His house was set on fire, leaving him so upset (*Waqāʾiʿ al-sanīn*, pp. 567-9) that he died that very same year, on 12 March. He was buried in the Takht-i

Fūlād cemetery in Isfahan, where many of his relatives were also laid to rest (Nāṣir Karīmpūr, *Dānishnāma*, pp. 132-7).

Unlike his father, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, a prominent philosopher in his time, Khātūnābādī was not very interested in philosophy. Instead, his works are mostly to do with tradition and religious narrative lore. He was also concerned with modern subjects, an interest that he shared with a number of his contemporaries, and wrote about them on the order of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. His translations of Arabic texts into Persian constitute another important aspect of his professional activity, which should be viewed within the context of the Persian translation movement at the time. His translation of the four Gospels is different from others produced during that period. Khātūnābādī had a particular understanding of what constitutes a good translation, and thus completed this particular translation in an expert way.

Apart from *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa* ('Translation of the four Gospels'), notable works by Khātūnābādī include: an annotated translation of *Majmaʿ al-bayān; Ādāb-i duʿā'*; a work on verses cited in the *Farā'iḍ; Taʿqībāt-i namāz; Kā'ināt al-jaww*; translation of the *Makārim al-akhlāq; Āb-i naysān u qamar dar ʿAqrab; Nawrūznāma*; translation of *Al-mashkūl*; translation of *ʿUyūn al-ḥisāb*; translation of *Al-balad al-amīn*; translation of the *ʿAhdnāma-yi Mālik-i Ashtar*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn-i Khātūnābādī and Muḥammad Ḥusayn-i Khātūnābādī, *Waqā'iʿ al-sanīn wa-l-aʿwām*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Bahbūdī, Tehran, 1973

ʿAbd al-Nabī-i Qazvīnī, *Tatmīm amal al-āmil*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Ashkūrī, Qom, 1986

Sayyid ʿAbdallāh Mūsawī Jazā'irī, *Al-ijāza al-kabīra*, ed. Muḥammad Samāmī, Qom, 1988

Āqā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa. Al-kawākib al-muntashira*, ed. ʿAlī Naqī Munzawī, Tehran, 1993

Muḥammad Zamān-i Tabrīzī, *Farā'id al-fawā'id*, ed. Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1995

Mīr Muḥammad-i Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, ed. Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, Tehran, 1996

Secondary

Nāṣir Karīmpūr, *Dānishnāma-yi Takht-i Fūlād-i Iṣfahān*, Isfahan, 2011

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa, 'Translation of the four Gospels'

DATE 1697
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION
The *Kitāb-i Anājīl-i arbaʿa* is a translation of the four canonical Gospels by Khātūnābādī, completed on 12 May 1697. By this time, several Arabic translations of the Gospels printed in Aleppo had found their way to Iran, probably via Christian missionaries. Three manuscript copies are known to be extant: one held in the personal collection of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī (d. 1389 HSh), one in the Marʿashī Library in Qom, and one in the Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār in Tehran. Of these, the first two are identical in all respects and date from Safavid times; the other copy dates from the Qajar era. The text covers 309 pages in the 1996 edition.

Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn wanted Khātūnābādī to translate the Gospels in order for Muslim scholars to be able to refer to specific passages in them to prove the kind of distortions to which, according to them, it had been subjected.

In the introduction, Khātūnābādī states that his translation was prepared from an Arabic *Vorlage*, and had been commissioned by the shah in person. This means that Khātūnābādī was simply executing an order, without any deeper, personal motives. The translation is important against the backdrop of the ongoing Christian-Muslim dialogue at the time, inasmuch as it provided Muslim scholars with the necessary material from which to quote.

In his introduction, Khātūnābādī criticises the Arabic translation on the basis that, 'owing to the fact that the Christian who translated the Gospels into Arabic had little affinity with matters of style and composition in the Arabic language [read: 'did not know Arabic'], his vocabulary in places being exotic or even foreign, using strange and ungrammatical constructions'. Khātūnābādī set out to rectify this situation, using a range of relevant works available in Isfahan at the time: 'It was impossible to understand [the Arabic] without having recourse to the original Gospels, which are not in Arabic; also, finding one's way in the text is in many cases premised on one's previous knowledge of certain stories or terminology which can only be obtained from other sources [. This is why] we had recourse to some of the [Christians'] standard books and treatises

available in these parts which we then consulted, in addition to conversations with a number of people familiar with the Gospels in their original language', all in an effort to produce a more reliable translation. To this end, he also explains that, in relation to the one-on-one correspondence between words and meaning, 'everything that is straightforward in meaning is included in the text [alone]', while everything requiring some additional explanation will also be mentioned in the notes to the text: 'Everything based on narrative lore or terminological usage, and every tangled, abstruse phrase will be clarified in the annotations and not in the text itself.' All of this was done with the purpose of ensuring that his translation 'will be in accordance with the standards in place'.

Khātūnābādī's annotations to the translation can be divided into two classes: clarifications of the text, prepared with the help of other sources, and comments criticising Christianity. In the annotations containing clarifications, he refers to differences between the copies available to him, and how he has chosen from them the option that is clearest in meaning. Whether he is referring here to the differences between printed versions of the Arabic Gospels, or differences between the printed Arabic text and other texts that he had access to in Isfahan, remains unclear. For instance, at one point he refers to 'the Arabic Gospels consulted by this miserable translator'. Elsewhere, he declares that he wrote his translation in consultation with Christian missionaries living in Isfahan, and even used the Latin and Hebrew versions (note 10 to *Anjīl-i Lūqā*).

In one instance, he comments on the variant readings of the term '*ūṣnā*' or '*ūsnā*' in the copies of the text used by him, stating that '… the Fathers say that this is not an Arabic term and that it means: "who is this great person who all the people in town have come out of their houses to see?"', adding that '… they say that in some of the editions of the Gospels in their own language this expression is not found at all'. This illustrates the level of the scholarship he applied.

Khātūnābādī's use of written sources in giving explanations is referred to in the Introduction as well as in his annotations to the text. In some instances these works are mentioned by name, while elsewhere he merely states that '… in some Christian works it is claimed that …', without specifying which. One of the works he refers to is *Tarjamat al-asmā'*, which was probably a dictionary of biblical names. And one person who is referred to by name is Gabriel de Chinon (1610-88), from whose work he quotes, and who is the very person against whom Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tafrishī wrote his *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*. Certain elements used to explain some expressions, as when he states that 'The Christians say that *nāridīn*

is the Arabic form of *nārītān* which was used in Hebrew to refer to a kind of perfume, common in those days', may well derive from one of these secondary sources. In explanation of some expressions, he also refers to other passages from the Gospels, such as when he states that 'the meaning of *asfanjah* is explained Chapter 97 of the Gospel of Matthew'.

Khātūnābādī's critical comments, which appear in the margins, are, in his own words, passages that '... lay bare the false and contradictory claims of the Christians, providing Muslims with useful insights', which could then be used to criticise them. One purpose of his critical comments is '... to draw up a list of testimonies from the actual wording of the Christian narrative, in proof of the falseness of the beliefs of that despicable race'. This is in essence a critical appraisal of the content of the Gospels.

Most frequently, the criticism focuses on the contradictions between the four Gospels, or the distortion found in one of them in light of these contradictions; aspects that have a long history in Muslim literature critical of the Gospels. Throughout, he demonstrates the mastery of the Gospels he has made his own. An example of this is found in his annotation no. 22 to the Gospel of John, where he states: 'John's claim that Jesus was carrying the torture pole is in contradiction with the statement in Matthew, Chapter 96, in Mark, Chapter 52, and Luke, Chapter 84, saying that the cross was laid on the shoulders of a man named Simeon.'

A further theme in Khātūnābādī's criticism relates to how Christians regard the Messiah as the Son of God. Listing passages in which the phrase 'Father of all the believers' is used or those in which all believers are called 'children of God', he argues that the application of these expressions to the Messiah should not be taken to mean that he is divine. His knowledge of philosophy also led him to make critical remarks of a philosophical nature (see note 138 to the Gospel of Matthew, note 49 to the Gospel of Mark, and note 1 to the Gospel of John). The overall impression is that Khātūnābādī strove to keep his comments to the point, and to follow a logic in his writing.

There are 156 notes on the Gospel of Matthew, 55 on the Gospel of Mark, 56 on the Gospel of Luke, and 27 on the Gospel of John. Unsurprisingly, the most detailed annotation is the one on the term *fāraqlīṭ* (i.e. Paraclete) in note 18 on the Gospel of John (*Tarjama-yi Anājīl*, pp. 277-9). In note 25 on the Gospel of John, he offers a detailed critique of what Muslims regard as the mistaken claim that Jesus was put on the cross (*Tarjama-yi Anājīl*, p. 280).

The text of the Gospels in the copy or copies used by Khātūnābādī was divided into 'sections' (*faṣl*), unlike the 'chapters' (*bāb*) of present-day editions. For instance, the Gospel of Matthew in his translation has 100 sections, many more than the 28 chapters in standard editions.

It is not known what kind of reception this translation received from the scholars of Isfahan.

SIGNIFICANCE

This Persian translation of the Gospels was probably inspired by current debates between Christians and Muslims, which picked up momentum in the late Safavid period. In those days, hundreds of foreigners would come to Isfahan every year, most of them on official business with the Safavid state. At the time, most foreign delegations included one or more missionaries. It is quite likely that the Arabic translations of the Gospels mentioned above were brought to Isfahan by these missionaries to be distributed among local scholars. Khātūnābādī's Persian translation points to his doubts about the accuracy of these translations. It seems that the main purpose of his translation was to produce a more suitable text to refer to in interreligious debates with Christian counterparts.

PUBLICATIONS

MS in the personal collection of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī, d. 1389 HSh (Safavid period; identical with no. 3364 below)

MS Qom, Marʿashī Library – 3364 (Safavid period; identical with the Rawḍātī MS above)

MS Tehran, Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār – 2191 (Qajar period)

Mīr Muḥammad Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, ed. Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, Tehran, 1996

STUDIES

Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*

Rasūl Jaʿfariyān

Abgar ʿAlī Akbar Armanī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; mid-17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably New Julfa, Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH After 27 January 1708
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

The identity of the renegade Armenian merchant known after his conversion to Islam as ʿAlī Akbar Armanī remains a historical enigma. Some anecdotal cues in his memoir have led Sebouh Aslanian to infer that he may have been a member of the prominent Velijanian (or Veligianian) merchant family of Venice (I am thankful to Prof. Sebouh Aslanian of UCLA for sharing this information with me). A considerably less likely possibility is that he was a member of the Shehrimanian family, many of whose notable members joined the Catholic Church (I am indebted to Francis Richard for this hypothesis). All that is known about him is gleaned from his memoir, the *Iʿtirāf-nāma* ('Confession book'). Abgar, as he was called before his conversion, converted to Islam in about 1673, persuaded by visions, dreams and scriptural evidence. At the time, he was in contact with Khʷāja Pīrī, a famous Armenian local administrator (*kalāntar*) in Isfahan during the reign of Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94). After his conversion and subsequent alienation from his family, he embarked on a trip to Venice, where he was arrested and imprisoned in retaliation for allegations of mistreatment of Christians in Iran. After being liberated through his brother's intercession, he proceeded on his journey through Istanbul, Belgrade, Yerevan and Tabriz, and then back to Isfahan and Mashhad.

He married a number of wives and had children from his various marriages. His first wife was the daughter of a judge from Istanbul, where he spent a significant part of his journey and where he was persecuted for his assumed Shīʿī allegiance as an Iranian. However, Armanī did not initially embrace any sectarian loyalties. Rather, his Shīʿī identity developed gradually during his journey. The sectarian tone of his narrative is expressed mainly through references to miraculous dreams about ʿAlī, Imam Riḍā, the People of the House of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), and through symbols that subtly allude to the Twelve Imams.

Little is known about the depth of Armanī's religious literacy in Islam after his conversion. Aside from a brief reference to the Paraclete in John's Gospel, his memoir does not contain Islamic scriptural quotations, but it does display familiarity with practices of popular piety such as chanting and *dhikr*, and it refers to the members of the *ahl al-bayt*. Having surrounded himself with members of the *ʿulamāʾ* and married into their families, it is possible that he may have had at least some rudiments of scriptural training, but it is unlikely that he pursued a curriculum in any systematic fashion. During the later stages of his life (or at least of his travel account), his relations with the Armenian community deteriorated to the point that he was persecuted by them. At the end of his memoir, he claims to have engaged in a quasi-ritual cursing of Armenian priests, leading to the death of the latter.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

M. Ṣifatgul (ed.), 'Iʿtirāf-nāmah', in *Iʿtirāf-nāmah. Diary of Abgar (ʿAlī Akbar) Armanī, one of new converts to Islam of Shāh Sulaymān & Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn Ṣafavī's era, along with Risāla-yi ShināKht, in Gurji script on affirming Shi'ism by a Georgian new convert to Islam of Shāh ʿAbbās' time*, Tehran, 2010, 56-141

Secondary

A. Tiburcio, 'Some aspects of conversion narratives in late Safavid Iran and their circulation. The case of 'Alī Akbar Armanī', *Eurasian Studies* 15 (2017) 350-72

A. Tiburcio, 'Convert literature, interreligious polemics, and the "Signs of Prophethood" genre in late Safavid Iran (1694-1722). The work of ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām (d. circa 1722)', Montreal, 2014 (PhD Diss. McGill University)

M. Sefatgol (Ṣifatgul), 'Introduction', in *Iʿtirāf-nāmah. Diary of Abgar (ʿAlī Akbar) Armanī*, 9-54

S. Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. The global trade networks of Armenian merchants from New Julfa*, Berkeley CA, 2011

S. Aslanian, 'Social capital, trust, and the role of networks in Julfan trade. Informal and semi-formal institutions at work', *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006) 383-402

R. Matthee, 'Christians in Safavid Iran. Hospitality and harrassment', *Studies on Persianate Societies* 3 (2005) 3-43

R. Matthee, *The politics of trade in Safavid Iran. Silk for silver, 1600-1730*, Cambridge, 1999

V. Ghougassian, *The emergence of the Armenian diocese of New Julfa in the seventeenth century*, Atlanta GA, 1998

E. Herzig, 'The deportation of the Armenians in 1604-1605 and Europe's myth of Shah 'Abbas I', in C. Melville (ed.), *Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P.W. Avery*, Cambridge, 1990, 59-71

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Iʿtirāf-nāma, 'Confession book'

DATE 27 January 1708
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

The *Iʿtirāf-nāma* ('Confession book') by 'Alī Akbar Armanī is a unique example of a conversion narrative from the Safavid period. The only surviving manuscript, consisting of 73 folios, is held at the University of Tehran (Sefatgol, 'Introduction', p. 49). Although the work was probably conceived for missionary purposes and for circulation among Armenian Christians as far as the surviving evidence suggests, it was written in Persian.

Armanī's prose is simple, although the story is rich in symbolism. It narrates the conversion of the protagonist and his subsequent journey through Venice and the Ottoman Empire, and back to Iran. Great emphasis is placed on the symbolic elements, which infuse Armanī's account with quasi-prophetic undertones. In accordance with the classic formulae of the conversion narrative genre, the *Iʿtirāf-nāma* makes use of oneiric elements to describe the author's spiritual journey into Islam. This suggests that he had access to conversion narratives from other milieus. It also incorporates the standard biblical reference to the Paraclete in John's Gospel as a sign of the truth of Islam (Ṣifatgul, 'Iʿtirāf-nāmah', pp. 62-3), which indicates a certain degree of familiarity with the *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (signs of prophethood) tradition, a sub-genre of interreligious polemics in one aspect of which authors extract 'proofs' for Islam from the Bible.

SIGNIFICANCE

While Persian court chronicles, European travelogues and missionary correspondence mention many instances of conversion from Christianity to Islam during the Safavid period, these sources only portray cases of forced conversions and conversions of convenience without providing any insights into the views of the converts themselves. Here, the

Iʿtirāf-nāma fills an important gap as a rare example of a testimony narrated from the perspective of a convert and portraying a voluntary conversion.

Since the historicity of most of the events portrayed in this memoir is hard to verify, its value resides more in its depiction of cultural practices of popular piety and dream interpretation (*taʿbīr*) and its contextual hints at the socialisation of converts into their new cultural milieu. Armanī's narrative is also intriguing from the point of view of the literary history of conversion narratives, given its combination of common tropes of the genre with more specifically Shīʿī and Iranian elements. The fact that the *Iʿtirāf-nāma* arose in a context of relative isolation from other examples of conversion narratives raises questions regarding the circulation of these kinds of works for missionary purposes in the wider Islamic and Iranian contexts.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tehran, Central Library, University of Tehran – 6487, 73 fols (1708; microfilm 4585)

Ṣifatgul (ed.), 'Iʿtirāf-nāmah'

STUDIES

Tiburcio, 'Some aspects of conversion narratives'

Tiburcio, 'Convert literature'

Sefatgol (Ṣifatgul), 'Introduction'

Alberto Tiburcio

Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz J̌ułayecʻi

Yovhannēs Mrkʻuz J̌ułayecʻi, Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz Jughayetsʻi, Jean Mrkʻuz Nor Julayeci, Hovhannēs vardapet, Hovannàs khalifeh, Avānūs khalīfa, Avānus khalīfa, Vānīs khalīfa, Khalīfa Āvānūs

DATE OF BIRTH 1643
PLACE OF BIRTH New Julfa
DATE OF DEATH 1715
PLACE OF DEATH New Julfa

BIOGRAPHY

Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz J̌ułayecʻi (1643-1715) was a prominent Armenian theologian and philosopher from New Julfa, a suburb of the Safavid capital of Isfahan where several hundreds of Armenian families were forcibly resettled by Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1587-1629) in the early 17th century. As a priest of the Armenian Apostolic Church, he received the rank of *vardapet* ('doctor of theology') in 1669. Persian sources referred to Hovhannēs *vardapet* as 'Avānūs *khalīfa*', 'Avānus *khalīfa*', 'Vānīs *khalīfa*' or '*Khalīfa* Āvānūs'.

Hovhannēs engaged in several disputations with European missionaries as well as Shīʿī Muslim scholars. Among his students was Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī (1692-1766), who studied the Gospels with him. Ḥazīn Lāhījī reported that his teacher was well versed in both Arabic and Persian, and was well-read in Muslim thought (Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *Life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, 1830, pp. 62-3; *Life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, 1831, pp. 57-8). In fact, when Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722) visited All Saviour's Monastery in New Julfa, Hovhannēs was among the monks with whom the Shah had religious-theological discussions (Ghougassian, *Emergence of the Armenian diocese*, p. 160).

Although Hovhannēs composed numerous theological and philosophical works in Armenian, Persian and possibly Arabic (Xačatur J̌ułayecʻi, *Patmutʻiwn Parsitsʻ*, pp. 204-6; Nersessian, *Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts*, vol. 2, p. 813), his Persian and Arabic writings have rarely been studied. While these writings are extant in bilingual manuscripts with Armenian on the recto folios and Persian or Arabic on the verso folios, namely *Kitāb-i Avānūs khalīfa-yi masīḥī* ('The book of the Christian

Hovhannēs *khalīfa*'), others such as Hovhannēs's *Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān* ('The principles of the Christian faith and its practical aspects'), appear to have circulated only in monolingual Persian manuscripts. These two works are described below.

Whether in original works or translations, the Persian writings attributed to Hovhannēs are of particular interest for the history of Christian-Muslim controversies in early modern Iran, since some of them provoked Twelver Shīʿī responses. Despite the social pressure religious minorities experienced in Muslim majority society, the oeuvre of our Armenian scholar suggests that indigenous Christians did not abstain from engaging in interreligious debates.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *The life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, trans. F.C. Belfour, London, 1830, pp. 62-3

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *The life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, ed. F.C. Belfour, London, 1831, pp. 57-8

Xačatur J̌ułayecʻi (Khachʻatur Jughayetsʻi), *Patmutʻiwn Parsitsʻ* ('History of Persia'), Vałarshapat, 1905, pp. 204-6

Secondary

V.N. Nersessian, *A catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the year 1913 and of collections in other libraries in the United Kingdom*, London, 2012, vol. 2, pp. 812-16

G.K. Mirzoyan, *Hovhannes Mrkʻuz Jughayetsʻi*, Yerevan, 2001

V.S. Ghougassian, *The emergence of the Armenian diocese of New Julfa in the seventeenth century*, Atlanta GA, 1998, p. 160

Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz J̌ułayecʻi, *Ěghdzali Kʻristosi ōrenkʻě*, ed. G.M. Nalbandyan, Yerevan, 1998

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb-i Avānūs khalīfa-yi masīḥī, 'The book of the Christian Hovhannēs khalīfa'

DATE Between 1688 and 1691

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian; Persian

DESCRIPTION

This untitled work, which has occasionally circulated under the title *Kitāb-i Avānūs khalīfa-yi masīḥī* ('The book of the Christian Hovhannēs *khalīfa*') in several monolingual Persian manuscripts and a bilingual Armenian-Persian manuscript, is a vindication of Christian doctrines, especially regarding the compatibility of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation with divine unity and simplicity. At the end of the work, Hovhannēs gives the date of composition as 1688, 1690 or 1691, depending on the manuscript concerned. A facsimile edition of the only known bilingual manuscript (187 fols; Armenian on the recto folios, Persian on the verso folios; date unknown), held by an unknown private collector in Armenia, was printed in 1998 under the editor's title *Ěghdzali K'ristosi ōrenk'ě* ('The desirable law of Christ'; references that follow are to this edition, the verso folios only).

The Persian text of Hovhannēs's book is structured in three parts (*juz'*) with a varying number of chapters (*faṣl*). Following the introduction (fols 1v-5v), the headings of the three parts are as follows: *Az adilla u az qaḍāyā u natīja ki yaqīnī bāshad* ('On the proofs, the propositions and the conclusion which are certain', fols 5v-26v); *Dar bayān-i shinākhtan-i vājib al-vujūd bi-vāsiṭa-yi mumkināt* ('In explanation of knowing the Necessary Existent through contingents', fols 26v-97v); and *Dar bayān-i mu'jaza-yi Ḥaqq* ('In explanation of God's miracle', fols 97v-186v). While Parts 1 and 2 focus on the apprehension of God (*ma'rifat-i Khudā*) by means of philosophy, Part 3 is dedicated to the biblical 'testimonies' to the coming of Christ and his divine nature.

In Part 3, fols 123v-155v, Hovhannēs references, given here in order of appearance, the Psalms, Isaiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Micah, Habakkuk, Malachi, Deuteronomy, Amos, Zechariah and the Wisdom of Solomon in an Arabic translation of the Septuagint (the same translation is also included in the bilingual Armenian-Arabic MS London, BL – Or. 15894, 68 fols, which contains Hovhannēs's collection of Old Testament verses). These references are accompanied by an interlinear word-for-word translation in Persian. Based on the Old Testament verses, Hovhannēs argues that the advent of Jesus Christ was announced by the biblical prophets.

SIGNIFICANCE

To date, no Muslim refutation of Hovhannēs's vindication of Christianity has been identified.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vat – Pers. 52/4, fols 51r-125r (Persian; date unknown; the MS is part of a codex dated 1746; E. Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca vaticana*, Vatican City, 1948, p. 80)

MS London, BL – Add. 23583, 141 fols (Persian on the verso folios, the recto folios are blank; 31 July 1814; C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1879-83, vol. 1, p. 5, and vol. 3, p. 1077)

MS Cambridge, University Library – Or. 429 (8), 94 fols (Persian; 31 October 1818; directly copied from MS London, BL – Add. 23583; E.G. Browne, *A supplementary hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 231, no. 1388)

MS in an unknown private Armenian collection, 187 fols (Armenian on the recto folios, Persian on the verso folios; date unknown; Nalbandyan (ed.), *Ĕghdzali Kʻristosi ōrenkʻĕ*)

Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz J̌ułayecʻi, *Ĕghdzali Kʻristosi ōrenkʻĕ* ('The desirable law of Christ'), ed. G.M. Nalbandyan, Yerevan, 1998 (facsimile edition of the Armenian-Persian text)

Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān, 'The principles of the Christian faith and its practical aspects'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

In *Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān* ('The principles of the Christian faith and its practical aspects'), Hovhannēs illustrates fundamental doctrines of Christianity, based on the 'Word of God' (*qawl-i Khudā*) and the words of the biblical prophets (*naql-i anbiyā'*). The author draws extensively on the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments, from which he quotes in Persian to substantiate his argument. Although there is no direct indication of whom the work is addressed to, the author's emphasis on the oneness of God (*vāḥid dar khudā'ī*) and His simple, uncomposed nature (*vāḥid dar ṭabīʿat bi-dūn tarkīb u murakkab*) suggests a Muslim scholarly audience. His philosophical reflection is grounded on the Muslim frame of reference.

The only known copy of *Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān* is the monolingual Persian MS Tehran, Malik – 2620 (references that follow are to this MS), even though the work may have originally been composed in Armenian and later translated into Persian. This manuscript covers 60 folios (paginated) and is structured in two parts, each divided into 14 chapters (*qism* or *faṣl*). Following the author's introduction (pp. 1-3), Part 1 (pp. 3-66) focuses on the principles of faith (*uṣūl-i dīn*). From Chapter 1.1 to 1.4, Hovhannēs discusses several divine attributes: God is existent (*mawjūd*) (*qism* 1.1, pp. 8-11); He is one (*vāḥid*), without any companion (*lā sharīk lahu*) (*qism* 1.2, pp. 11-19); He is omnipotent (*qādir*), knowing (*ʿālim*) and speaking (*mutakallim*) (*qism* 1.3, pp. 19-28); He is living (*ḥayy*) and just (*ʿādil*) (*qism* 1.4, pp. 28-30). Chapter 1.5 affirms a multiplicity of attributes within a single divine essence (*qism* 1.5, pp. 30-5). In Chapter 1.6 and 1.7, Hovhannēs reflects on a prophet as mediator (*vāsiṭa*) between God and his creatures (*qism* 1.6, pp. 35-7), as well as on the resurrection (*qiyāmat*) from the dead (*qism* 1.7, pp. 37-41). The remaining chapters are dedicated to the life and death of Jesus Christ, namely the Immaculate Conception (*qism* 1.8, pp. 41-5); the virgin birth of Jesus (*qism* 1.9, pp. 45-9); the passion of Christ (*qism* 1.10, pp. 49-57); his harrowing of hell (*qism* 1.11, pp. 57-9); his resurrection on the third day (*qism* 1.12, pp. 59-62); his ascension into heaven (*qism* 1.13, pp. 62-3); and the Day of Judgement (*qism* 1.14, pp. 63-6).

In Part 2 (pp. 66-120), Hovhannēs elaborates on the practical aspects of the Christian faith (*furūʿ-i dīn*). His argument is based on the ethical principles of the Beatitudes in Matthew 5:3-12 (*faṣl* 2.1-9, pp. 68-100) and portions of the Decalogue in Exodus 20:13-17/Deuteronomy 5:17-21 (*faṣl* 2.10-14, pp. 100-20). The explanatory character of his comments supports the assumption that *Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān* was composed as an introduction to Christianity for a Persian-reading non-Christian audience.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hovhannēs's philosophical reflection in Part 1 of his work may have been known to the Twelver Shīʿī author Muḥammad Khalīl ibn Muḥammad Ashraf Qā'inī Iṣfahānī (d. 1723-4), as is suggested by the similarities in the argument that appears in his untitled refutation of Christianity (Richard, 'Catholicisme et islam chiite', pp. 398-9; 'L'apport des missionnaires européens', pp. 261-2).

Perhaps more significantly, an untitled Persian response to *Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān* by an unnamed 18th-century Twelver Shīʿī author

has been identified in MS Tehran, Majlis – 129, 37 fols, where the author of this work incorporates the beginning of Hovhannēs's work into his first chapter, though without indicating his source (compare MS Tehran, Malik – 2620, pp. 3:4-8:7, with MS Tehran, Majlis – 129, fols 17v:5-20v:3). He then exploits the doctrinal differences between the Armenian Apostolic and Roman Catholic Churches, such as their disagreement over the *filioque*, and employs them as an argument for the irrationality of Christian teachings and the superiority of Islam.

This example demonstrates that Twelver Shīʿī scholars in Early Modern Iran were well aware of confessional disagreements between the Eastern and Western churches.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tehran, Malik – 2620, 120 pages (paginated; date unknown; 18th century; Īraj Afshār and Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik*, Tehran, 1973-96, vol. 2, p. 31)

STUDIES

F. Richard, 'L'apport des missionnaires européens à la connaissance de l'Iran en Europe et de l'Europe en Iran', in J. Calmard (ed.), *Études safavides*, Paris, 1993, 251-66, pp. 261-2

F. Richard, 'Catholicisme et islam chiite au "grand siècle". Autour de quelques documents concernant les missions catholiques au XVIIème siècle', *Euntes Docete* 33 (1980) 339-403, pp. 397-402

Dennis Halft

ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, António de Jesus

DATE OF BIRTH Second half of the 17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Portugal
DATE OF DEATH Around 1722
PLACE OF DEATH Unconfirmed; probably Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

Most documentary evidence suggests that ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām was the post-conversion name of the Portuguese Augustinian missionary António de Jesus, who converted to Islam in Iran towards the end of the 17th century. After his conversion, he went on to become a major polemicist against Christianity and Sufism.

Little is known about the details of Alī Qulī's life. His exact date of birth is unknown, but is likely to be around 1722, the appoximation given by Francis Richard ('Un augustin portugais'). He arrived in Isfahan in 1691 at the latest, where he served in the retinue of Gaspar dos Reis. He played an important role as a liaison between Portuguese diplomats and the shah at a time of an attempted Portuguese-Iranian alliance against the sultans of Oman in the Persian Gulf (Pereira, in Aubin, *L'Ambassade de Gregório Pereira*, pp. 52/53, 62/53). Accounts regarding the date of his conversion are contradictory, but it certainly took place between 1694 and 1697 (Tiburcio, 'Muslim-Christian polemics', pp. 248-9; Pourjavady and Schmidtke, 'Muslim polemics'; Richard, 'Un augustin portugais', p. 74; Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, p. 273).

The exact circumstances of his conversion are hard to establish, but it is known that he informed the Capuchin missionary and chronicler Raphaël du Mans (d. 1696) of his intentions, and that he felt disappointed by the way that many missionaries bribed Muslims into conversion. Around the same time, another Augustinian missionary by the name of Manuel de Santa Maria also apostatised and took the name Ḥasan Qulī Beg, after taking church property and then marrying. It is possible that ʿAlī Qulī's situation was similar, as it is known that he also took a spouse (Richard, *Raphaël du Mans*, vol. 1, pp. 131-2; Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, pp. 273-4).

After embracing Islam, he served as a translator of European languages at the court of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722), succeeding du

Mans in this office. According to one source, he may have played an active role in the persecution of the Catholic Armenian Shahrimanian family (Anon., *Chronicle of the Carmelites*, vol. 1, p. 486). His prominence at court seems confirmed by the fact that he was encouraged to write his work *Sayf al-mūʾminīn* by the famous theologian and jurist Fāḍil-i Hindī (d. 1724). Unfortunately, not all of his writings are extant and, of his surviving books, not all are fully preserved. Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke believe that his *Ithbāt al-nubuwwa* ('The proof of prophethood') might be identical to his *Radd bar Yahūd*, a polemic against Judaism, of which only one manuscript has survived. He wrote two short treatises (*risāla*s), both of which have been edited by Rasūl Jaʿfariyan. One of these, which is against Sufism, is entitled *Radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān* or *Radd-i ʿaqāʾid-i ṣūfiyān* ('Refutation of the community – or of the beliefs – of the Sufis'). The other, on the question of marriage, is called *Fawāʾid-i izdiwāj*. His major works are two treatises defending Islam against Christian theology and proving the validity of the prophecy of Islam. They are entitled *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) ('Guidance for those who are led [or who lead] astray') and *Sayf al-mūʾminīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn* ('The sword of the faithful in the fight against the associators').

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Rome, Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide – Fondo di Persia, Mesopotamia e i Caldei, vol. 2. fol. 219

Anonymous, *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, London, 1939

J. Aubin (ed. and trans.), *L'ambassade de Gregório Pereira Fidalgo à la cour de Châh Soltân-Hosseyn, 1696-1697*, Lisbon, 1971

C. Alonso (ed.), 'El convento agustiniano de Ispahan durante el período 1690-1702', *Archivo Agustiniano* 67/185 (1983) 141-84

F. Richard (ed.), *Raphaël du Mans, missionaire en Perse au XVII^{e} s.*, 2 vols, Paris, 1995

Secondary

C. Windler, *Missionare in Persien. Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17-18. Jahrhundert)*, Cologne, 2018

A. Tiburcio, 'Muslim-Christian polemics and scriptural translation in Safavid Iran. 'Ali Qoli Jadid al-Eslām and his interlocutors', *Iranian Studies* 50 (2017) 247-69

Rasūl Jaʿfariyān and Maryam Sādighī, *Az Darband tā Qaṭīf. Quzarishī az guftigūhā-yi Masīhī-Islāmī dar dawra-yi Ṣafavī va Qājār*, Tehran: Nashar-i ʿIlm, 2016

A. Tiburcio, 'Convert literature, interreligious polemics, and the "signs of prophethood" genre in late Safavid Iran (1694-1722). The work of ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām (d. circa 1722)', Montreal, 2014 (PhD Diss. McGill University)

J.M. Flannery, *The mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and beyond (1601-1747)*, Leiden, 2013

R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, art. "Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām', in *EI3*

R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, 'Muslim polemics against Judaism and Christianity in 18th century Iran. The literary sources of Āqā Muḥammad Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbahānī's (1144/1732-1216/1801) *Rādd-i shubahāt al-kuffār*', *Studia Iranica* 35 (2006) 69-94

A.-H. Ha'iri, 'Reflections on the Shi'i responses to missionary thought and activities in the Safavid period', in J. Calmard (ed.), *Etudes Safavides*, Paris, 1993, 151-64

Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, *Dīn u-siyāsat dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*, Qom, 1991 or 2

F. Richard, 'Un augustin portugais renégat apologiste de l'Islam chiite au début du XVIIIe siècle', *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 1 (1984) 73-85

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn (*or al-muḍillīn*) *wa-taqwiyat al-mūʾminīn*, 'Guidance for those who are led (or who lead) astray and strengthening for the believers'

DATE Probably around 1708

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin or Portuguese, translated immediately into Persian

DESCRIPTION

ʿAlī Qulī's first major work, *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn*, originally written in 'the language of the Franks' (*bi-zabān-i farangī*) and then translated into Persian, aims to provide proof for the truth of Islam through the use of Christian scriptures (the date of composition is suggested by Flannery, *The mission of the Portuguese Augustinians*, though without explanation). It is unclear whether the 'language of the Franks' refers to Latin or to his native Portuguese, as no manuscript of this original version is extant. A number of manuscripts of the Persian version survive, however, although none of them is complete. This monumental work of more than

600 pages is divided into four books (see Pourjavady and Schmidtke, ''Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām'), devoted to:

i) The refutation of Christianity and the proofs of the principles of Islam (*Radd-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Naṣārā u-ithbāt-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Islām az rū-yi kitābhā-yi īshān*)

ii) Refutation of the branches (*furūʿ*) of Christianity and proofs of the branches of Islam (*Radd-i furūʿ-i dīn-i Naṣārā u-ithbāt-i furūʿ-i dīn-i Islām az rū-yi kitābhā-yi īshān*)

iii) Proof of the prophethood of Muḥammad and the Seal of the Prophets (*Ithbāt-i payāmbarī u khātamiyyat az kitābhā-yi īshān*)

iv) The proof of the Imamate and of the coming of the Mahdī (*Ithbāt-i imāmat u-mahdawiyyat az kitābhā-yi īshān*).

SIGNIFICANCE

This is the first of ʿAlī Qulī's two major works, the other being *Sayf al-mūʾminīn*. Thematically, *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* paves the way for the latter, given that both works are intended to refute Christianity and provide proof for the principles of Islam. Although the lack of in-depth studies of this work makes this difficult to confirm, the fact that *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* is quoted in *Sayf al-mūʾminīn* suggests that the latter was probably in many ways a revised and augmented version of the former.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Qom, Malek Library – 5438 (date unknown)
MS Tehran, Old Majlis Library – 2089 307 fols (date unknown)
MS Mashhad, Astan-i Quds – 12116 (date unknown; identical with MS Qom, Malek Library – 5438 above)
MS Qom, Marashi Library – 3651 (date unknown)

STUDIES

Tiburcio, 'Convert literature'
Pourjavady and Schmidtke, art. ''Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām'
Jaʿfariyān, *Dīn u-siyāsat dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*
Richard, 'Un augustin portugais'

Sayf al-mūʾminīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn, 'The sword of the faithful in the fight against the associators'

DATE 2 June 1711
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

ʿAlī Qulī's second major work, *Sayf al-mūʾminīn*, was written with the encouragement of the famous jurist Fāḍil al-Hindī and dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn. It was conceived as a refutation of an important Christian polemic, the *Apologia pro Christiana religione* by Filippo Guadagnoli (d. 1656). The genesis of this dispute goes back to the publication of *Aʾina-yi ḥaqq-numā* ('The truth-reflecting mirror') by Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goñi (Jerome Xavier, d. 1617), a Jesuit missionary to Mughal India. Jerome Xavier's pro-Christian treatise was refuted in Iran by Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-ʿAlavī al-ʿĀmilī (d. c. 1650) in a work called *Miṣqal-i ṣafā* ('The polisher of purity'). Guadagnoli in turn responded to the latter, which eventually led to ʿAlī Qulī's response.

Sayf al-mūʾminīn is a work of monumental scope. Three manuscripts survive, in Mashhad, Isfahan and Qom, the last comprising close to 900 pages. Structurally, the work is complex, as it alternates translations of and commentaries on biblical passages with more direct refutations of Guadagnoli's work, as well as with sections devoted to refuting various aspects of Christian dogma. The most important feature of ʿAlī Qulī's work is that it can be situated within the genre of theological polemics known as *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (signs or proofs of prophethood), which among other resources of argumentation, uses Jewish and Christian scriptures as proof that predict the coming of Muḥammad and that attest to the validity of Islam.

Throughout this work, the author displays considerable knowledge of Shīʿī intellectual history, quoting at times from the work of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 1325), Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī's (d. 1699) Hadith compilation *Biḥār al-anwār* ('The seas of light') and various other Shīʿī Hadith collections. The book also contains references to Church historians, such as Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339), Martin of Opava (d. 1278), Caesar Baronius (d. 1607) and Bartolomeo Platina (d. 1481), among others. Furthermore, it incorporates themes that were also developed in some of the author's minor *risāla*s, *Fawāʾid-i izdiwāj* and *Risāla dar radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān*, to which he explicitly refers in the *Sayf*. This seems to suggest that these were written in preparation for this work. *Sayf al-mūʾminīn* also quotes from the author's own *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn*. Further study of this latter work would be needed to determine the extent to which *Sayf al-mūʾminīn* may be a revised and augmented version of it.

SIGNIFICANCE

ʿAlī Qulī's work played a pivotal role in the history of Muslim-Christian polemics in the early modern period. Of the authors participating in the debate against the anti-Muslim works of Jerome Xavier, he was the only convert. Thus, his work has the particularity of being well-grounded in both the Christian and Muslim scholarly traditions. More research is needed to identify the originality of this work compared with other treatises that propose an Islamic reading of Christian scripture. One of its recurring themes is the accusation of scriptural tampering (*taḥrīf*) directed against St Jerome (d. 420) for his role in the translation of the Latin Vulgate. While the theme of *taḥrīf* is recurrent in the genre of polemics, the way in which this and other motifs are treated has varied throughout the history of the tradition. ʿAlī Qulī's treatment of the subject has the particularity of – seemingly at least – directing the accusation at the Vulgate rather than at the original sources.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Mashhad, Astān-i Quds-i Razavī Library – 429 folios (copied in 1315sh/1936)

MS Isfahan, private collection Sayyid Muhammad Ali Ruzati (no number available; 15 Rabīʿ al-Akhar 1123/ 2 June 1711 – copied in 1394/1974)

MS Qom, Library of the Congregational Mosque (Masjid-i aʿẓam) – 1675, 900 fols (date not given)

STUDIES

Tiburcio, 'Muslim-Christian polemics'

Jaʿfariyān and Ṣādighī, *Az Darband tā Qaṭīf*

Tiburcio, 'Convert literature'

Pourjavady and Schmidtke, ''Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām'

Ha'iri, 'Reflections on the Shiʿi responses'

Jaʿfariyān, *Dīn u-siyāsat dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*

Richard, 'Un augustin portugais'

Fawā'id-i izdiwāj, 'The benefits of marriage'

DATE Probably before 1711

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Fawā'id-i izdiwāj is one of ʿAlī Qulī's minor works, most likely written in preparation for *Sayf al-mū'minīn*, as suggested by the fact that many of the themes addressed in this text also appear in his *magnum opus*. It covers pp. 291-310 in the 1994/5 version edited by Rasūl Jaʿfariyān.

In his argumentation in this *risāla*, ʿAlī Qulī uses some of the same rhetorical strategies of his major treatises, such as biblical citations and Hadiths. He makes use of the common polemical theme that St Paul falsified scripture, and rebuts the Christian argument that the celibacy of Jesus proved his superiority over other prophets, on the basis that each prophet had different attributes.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although this short *risāla* does not have the thematic breadth of ʿAlī Qulī's book-length treatises, the argumentation style is similar in terms of methodology and complexity. It can be considered as an example of how the themes of polemical literature were applied to examine minute questions and not only as tools for debunking the basic foundations of Christian theology as a whole. It is possible that the author may have been motivated to write this *risāla* for highly personal reasons, such as his decision to marry after converting to Islam, although we do not have enough information to verify this hypothesis.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tehran, National Library – 4/1623 (date not given)

'Fawā'id-i izdiwāj', in Rasūl Jaʿfariyān (ed.), *Mirās-i Islāmi-yi Irān*, vol. 1, 291-310

STUDIES

Tiburcio, 'Convert literature'
Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām'
Jaʿfariyān, *Dīn u-siyāsat dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*

Risāla dar radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān, 'Treatise in refutation of the community of Sufis'

DATE Before 1711

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Together with *Fawā'id-i izdiwāj*, this short *risāla*, which covers fols 209-27 in the Tehran manuscript, constitutes one of ʿAlī Qulī's minor works. And as in *Fawā'id-i izdiwāj*, many of the themes of this piece are recurrent in his major works.

Throughout this treatise (also known as *Radd-i ʿaqā'id-i ṣūfiyān*, 'Refutation of the beliefs of the Sufis'), the author uses his past credentials as an authority on Christian theology to accuse Sufis of being too close to Christians in their practices and doctrine. The text focuses on concepts such as the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) and on the relations between *pīr*s and novices in the *ṭarīqa*s in order to draw comparisons with doctrinal concepts such as the Trinity or institutional practices of Christian convent life. A significant part of the text is devoted to a condemnation of Greek philosophy and the patronage it received in Isfahan.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although comparisons between Sufism and Christianity were no novelty at the time of the composition of this *risāla*, it treats the topic in a way that allows the author to position himself within wider discussions on Sufism in the late Safavid period. The *risāla* must be understood within the context of the rejection of the influence of scholastic philosophy and mystical thought spearheaded by Muḥammad Ṭāhir-i Qummī (d. 1687/8).

The originality of the work lies in its appropriation of the tropes of Muslim-Christian polemics as a tool for anti-Sufi polemics.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tehran, Sipahsalar Library – 1623 fols 209-27 (date not given)

'Risāla dar radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān', in Rasūl Jaʿfariyān (ed.), *Siyāsat u-farhang-i rūzgār-i Ṣafawī*, vol. 1, 895-929

STUDIES

Tiburcio, 'Convert literature'

Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām'

Jaʿfariyān, *Dīn u-siyāsat dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*

Alberto Tiburcio

Muḥammad Khalīl Qā'inī

Muḥammad Khalīl ibn Muḥammad Ashraf Qā'inī Iṣfahānī; Mullā Khalīl

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; around 1680
PLACE OF BIRTH Qaen, Khorasan
DATE OF DEATH 1723 or 1724
PLACE OF DEATH Qazvin

BIOGRAPHY

There is no written record of the time and place of birth of Muḥammad Khalīl ibn Muḥammad Ashraf Qā'inī Iṣfahānī, known as Mullā Khalīl. What is known is that he originated from Qaen, a city in southern Khorasan, and that at some time he moved to Isfahan. His father, Muḥammad Ashraf, was also a religious scholar and, because he had the same name as Mullā Khalīl's grandfather, people used to call him 'Āqā Bābā'.

Mullā Khalīl studied all the sciences of his time in Isfahan, the major Safavid centre of learning. We possess no details about his teachers, although we do know that Āqā Raḍī Khʷānsārī (d. 1702) was one of them. After Āqā Raḍī's death, he studied for some time under Āqā Raḍī's brother, Āqā Jamāl Khʷānsārī (d. 1713). This continued until the latter told him one day that there was nothing more for him to learn and that it was not right for him to keep on living as a student; instead, he should now teach and educate a flock of students of his own. It is reported that Khalīl started teaching from his home, where he lectured on foundational texts, and apparently also on philosophy, and that Mullā Muḥammad Shafiʿ Khurāsānī, one of the students of Āqā Ḥusayn Khʷānsārī, praised his classes. Characterised as a deep and sharp thinker, his knowledge was solid and precise (ʿAbd al-Nabī al-Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm Amal al-āmil*, p. 143).

After the death of Āqā Jamāl, Mullā Khalīl's lectures saw their audience increase. But when Maḥmūd the Afghan beleaguered Isfahan, it was not long before Khalīl escaped to Qazvin. He lived there for about two years as a recognised scholar until his death in 1723 or 1724 (al-Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm Amal al-āmil*, p. 144). From among his works, his epistle on the term *badā'* as used in theology (*kalām*) (Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī, *Al-dharīʿa*, vol. 3, pp. 54–5) and his glosses on Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's

commentary on Avicenna's *Kitāb al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt* (Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī, *Al-dharīʿa*, vol. 6, p. 111) can be mentioned.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
ʿAbd al-Nabī al-Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm Amal al-āmil*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, Qum, 1986

Secondary
Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī, *Al-dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Tehran, 1947
Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, 2 vols., s.l.: Shirkat-i Sahāmi-yi Ṭabʿ-i Kitāb, 1956

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Radd-i Naṣārā, 'Against the Christians'

DATE Probably before the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans in 1722
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION
The unpublished manuscript of this work is kept in in the private library of Aṣghar Mahdavī, no. 8: 592. Mullā Khalīl wrote it in response to a work in Persian defending the beliefs of the Christians, which had probably been put into circulation around this time by a Christian author (this would be Hovhannes Mrkʿuz Jułeyeci, d. 1715). In the introduction, Mullā Khalīl writes: 'A Christian wrote a leaflet in Persian, vindicating his beliefs on the basis of several accounts taken from Christian scriptures. Now even if no one need pay any attention to this, since we all know that these accounts are totally unreliable, some seekers of the truth deemed it appropriate that this ignoramus [Mullā Khalīl] should write something in response to it, in such a manner that it may be of guidance to at least some of those who aspire to knowing the truth. It thus became clear to him that he should give an account of the facts in several points, based on decisive, rational arguments, using the very material employed by the Christian himself, in such a way that the points afore-mentioned would be established and the beliefs of the other overthrown, … showing that his arguments do not support his claims' (MS Mahdavī, fols 25v-26r).

While Mullā Khalīl does not mention the Christian or his leaflet by name, he quotes from it in many places, enough for us to infer that it contained a series of theological arguments in defence of the Christian religion. In his refutation, Khalīl says: 'I have taken it upon myself to

analyse each and every argument put forward by him, and to use these very same arguments to overthrow his beliefs' (MS Mahdavī, fol. 48v).

Mullā Khalīl's treatise contains an introduction, 13 chapters and a conclusion, the last two chapters and the conclusion being rather more detailed than the others.

The layout of the work is as follows:

Chapter 1: The Necessary Existent is actual

Chapter 2: The Necessary Existent is simple

Chapter 3: The Necessary Existent is not preceded by non-existence

Chapter 4: The Necessary Existent is not quantifiable and has no place

Chapter 5: The belief of the Christians concerning the combining of God and the Messiah is inadmissible

Chapter 6: The Necessary Existent is knowing

Chapter 7: The One is powerful

Chapter 8: The One is willing

Chapter 9: The One is living

Chapter 10: All things possessing individual existence cannot at all be absent from the Maker's self

Chapter 11: The One is speaking

Chapter 12: On Trinity (existence, life, and speech)

Chapter 13: Concerning the false claim that God's speech and the Lord Jesus became one

Conclusion: The miracles of the prophets and things said about the Messiah account for everything said in the description of the Seal of the Prophets and the Awaited Mahdī of the Shīʿa.

As these headings suggest, the discussions in the treatise are mostly of a theological and philosophical nature, while some of Mullā Khalīl's arguments betray his Shīʿī leanings. For instance, in Chapter 13 he says that the phrase 'The sun rises from the north' (vocalising the Persian *sh-mā-l* as *shamāl* or 'north') does not mean what the Christians think it does, while 'the Prophet of the end of time' (*payghambar-i ākhir al-zamān*) and 'his last successor' (*khalīfa-yi ākhir-i ū*) refer to the 'lord of time' (*ṣāḥib al-zamān*), who will spread justice throughout the world. According to Mullā Khalīl, the Christians have not understood where *sh-mā-l* truly lies. In the phrase just mentioned, *sh-mā-l* in fact refers to what lies left (vocalising *sh-mā-l* as *shimāl* or 'left' rather than *shamāl*) of Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem, looking in the direction of Mecca), in this case the cities of Kufa and Samarra, his Lordship the Qāʾim having been born in the latter and possessing his throne in the former. However,

probably *shimāl* does not even have a local meaning here, its true object (if taken in the sense of 'virtue' or [positive] 'innate quality') being the Jewish people instead. After all, as the children of Isaac, they believe they are superior to the children of Ishmael. This was also the position of ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām (d. c. 1722), by whom Mullā Khalīl was probably influenced in his belief that St Jerome, author of the Vulgate translation of the Bible and referred to by him as 'Jirunīm' (MS 'Jawānīm'), was the main person responsible for the distortions it contained and for people's misunderstanding of the term *fāraqlīt* (Paraclete) (MS Mahdavī, fols 50r–50v).

At the end of his work, Mullā Khalīl comes to the conclusion that the arguments used by the Christians in justification of their beliefs actually confirm the mission of the Seal of the Prophets. Also, in many places in the Bible, Word stands for the Seal of the Prophets, while the expression 'we love him' from the Gospels refers to the solemn oath to love the Prophet of the end of time and his offspring, which all the prophets take before the Holy Lord in the world of (pure) spirits (*ʿālam-i arwāḥ*).

SIGNIFICANCE

Mullā Khalīl's *Radd-i Naṣārā* indicates the increase in tensions between Muslims and Christians in Isfahan during the last years of Safavid rule. His knowledge of ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām's arguments shows that Muslim scholars were aware of each other's arguments, and used them when needed.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Mahdavī, Manuscript in the private library of Aṣghar Mahdavī – no. 8:592, fols 25r-64r (date not given)

STUDIES

Mullah Abdul Razzaq Lahiji, *Gohar Murad*, introduction by Zain al-Abedin Ghorbani, Qom: Al-Hadi Institute, 2004

ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Al-taʿrīfāt*, Cairo, 1991

Ebrahim Ashk Shirin

Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shah of Persia

DATE OF BIRTH 1668
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH 9 September 1727
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the eldest son of Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94), was born in early 1668. Like his father before him, he was brought up in the royal harem where he is said to have done little more than read the Qur'an under the tutelage of Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī, the cleric who would later become his chaplain (*mullābāshī*).

Sulṭān Ḥusayn ascended to the Safavid throne in August 1694, having been elected by an inner council of eunuchs against the advice of his father, who on his deathbed recommended the superior qualifications of a younger son. Like Shah Sulaymān, he proved to be a sedentary ruler who, rather than inspect his realm or conduct campaigns against domestic rebels and external enemies, preferred the confines of the palace and the company of women and eunuchs.

Women and eunuchs consequently would wield great influence over the shah and his policies, to the point where his great-aunt, Maryam Bigum, the daughter of Shah Ṣafī I (r. 1629-42), counted as a major voice in decision-making. Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn is said to have been especially susceptible to the advice of the high Shīʿī clergy, most notably that of the *shaykh al-Islam* of Isfahan, Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1699), the most prominent cleric of the time, who inspired him to emphasise the importance of enforcing the rules of the *sharīʿa* from the moment he was enthroned.

Endowed by Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī with the title *dīn-parwar* ('nurturer of the faith') upon his accession, Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn subsequently became known for excessive piety mixed with superstition, earning him the nicknames *darwīsh* and 'Mullā Ḥusayn'. He also gained a reputation for softness of character expressed as an aversion to shedding blood, as well as for sensuality and profligacy. All of these traits have been presented by contemporary observers and later commentators alike as factors contributing to the terminal decline of the state that Sulṭān Ḥusayn oversaw and represented.

Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn became known as a ruler whose acts were all in accordance with the *sharīʿa*. Rather than restoring the badly depleted military, he spent large sums on religious causes, constructing multiple *madrasa*s and showering funds by way of *waqf* (religious endowment) especially on the Shīʿī shrine in Mashhad, which he visited in 1706-7. Yet his religious policy was filled with paradox, like that of his forebears. He started his reign with an edict prohibiting the consumption of wine (and various activities and pastimes deemed un-Islamic), yet when he was told about the medicinal benefits of alcohol by his great-aunt – who was an alcoholic herself – he soon became a heavy drinker. Overseeing an emphatically Shīʿī polity, he also employed and was very attached to, an openly Sunnī grand vizier, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī, between 1715 and 1720.

A similar ambiguity comes out in Sulṭān Ḥusayn's stance vis-à-vis the country's Christians (and religious minorities in general). He allowed the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* to promote a doctrinaire agenda, which included enacting measures against non-Shīʿīs, as seen in the forced conversion of Zoroastrians, the imposition of the *jizya* poll tax on Jews and Christians, tax increases imposed on the Julfan Armenians, pressure to convert, and decrees forbidding non-Shīʿīs from going out during times of rain lest they pollute Shīʿīs (Gaudereau, *Relation*, pp. 25-8, 98-100; Aʿrābī-Hāshimī, *Arāmana*, pp. 350-1). Most of these measures were either bought off with bribes or, in the case of the Armenians of New Julfa, blunted through the intervention of Maryam Bigum, the patron of the suburb. Still, the increasingly intolerant atmosphere thus created had a negative effect in that it undermined the loyalty of Iran's non-Shīʿī inhabitants to the Safavid state.

This became a particularly urgent issue as the last decade of the shah's rule saw a welter of urban unrest, tribal revolt and foreign aggression. The most serious challenge came from the east, where the insensitive behaviour of the Safavid troops towards a population that was majority Sunnī alienated the eastern frontier zone and provoked a rebellion among the Baluchis and the Afghan tribes. Having raided the vast eastern borderlands for more than a decade, the Afghans marched into Iran's heartland in 1720 and took Kerman. Two years later, they penetrated as far as Isfahan. After defeating a poorly managed Safavid army, they captured the capital after a six-month siege, forcing Sulṭān Ḥusayn to surrender and abdicate. He was kept alive until 1727, when an Ottoman claim to reinstate him made the Afghans decide to execute him. His abdication and death marked the end of effective Safavid rule.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

[P. Gaudereau (Godreau)], *Relation d'une mission pour la réunion des Arméniens à l'Eglise catholique*, Paris, 1702

Secondary

Sh.al-S. Aʿrābī-Hāshimī, *Arāmana-yi Julfā-yi naw dar ʿaṣr-i Ṣafawī*, Tehran, 2016

R. Matthee, art. 'Solṭān Ḥosayn', in *EIr*

R. Matthee, *Persia in crisis. Safavid decline and the fall of Isfahan*, London, 2012

A. Newman, *Safavid Iran. Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, London, 2006

J.R. Abisaab, *Converting Persia. Religion and power in the Safavid Empire*, London, 2004

S. Babaie, *Iṣfahan and its palaces. Statecraft, Shīʿīsm and the architecture of conviviality in early modern Iran*, Edinburgh, 2008

K. Babayan, *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs. Cultural landscapes of early modern Iran*, Cambridge MA, 2003

R. Matthee, *The politics of trade in Safavid Iran. Silk for silver, 1600-1730*, Cambridge, 1999

A. al-Ḥusayn Nawā'a, *Rawābit-i siyāsi-yi Irān wa Urūpā dar ʿasr-i Safawi*, Tehran, 1993

H.R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit. Iranische Geschichte von 1350-1750*, Beirut, 1989, repr. 2003 (condensed version in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, Cambridge, 1986, 189-350)

R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge, 1986

L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty*, Cambridge, 1958

M. Herbette, *Une ambassade persane sous Louis XIV d'après des documents inédits*, Paris, 1907



Illustration 9. Court painting by Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Zamān, a group portrait celebrating the distribution of presents for the New Year that uses European painting techniques, such as shading for modelling. Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn kneels in the centre, dressed in an opulent gold brocade coat with fur lining. To his right a man calls the names of the recipients of his largesse. At the time of this group portrait, the Safavid Empire was in a state of collapse

Correspondence with European states; Documents about Armenians and Catholics

DATE

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various languages

DESCRIPTION

The reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn presents a paradox with regard to Muslim-Christian relations. On the one hand, the position of Iran's Armenians – indeed of all non-Shīʿī Muslims – markedly deteriorated. This was mostly a function of a weak ruler unable or unwilling to stand up to the voices of intolerance in his entourage, either from hardline clerics or from zealous and opportunistic administrators. As before, only in intensified form, the state's lack of funds played a role in this as well, leading to growing fiscal pressure on vulnerable 'minorities', despite various royal decrees that stipulated tax relief for the Julfans (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 487; Aʿrābī-Hāshimī, *Arāmana*, pp. 341-4, 348, 364-5). A number of rich (Catholic) Julfan Armenians, forced to pay ever-higher taxes and threatened by a law that allowed the family members of an apostate to lay claim to his property, took abroad large amounts of capital to Italy and eventually decamped to Venice and Rome (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 485). Periodic calls also went out in this period for the stricter enforcement of purity laws for non-Muslims, suggesting growing clerically instigated pressure on *dhimmī*s (Aʿrābī-Hāshimī, *Arāmana*, pp. 350-1; Matthee, 'Christians in Safavid Iran'; for a translation of a treatise, *Ṣawāʿiq al-yahūd*, written by Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī that, while it targets Jews, deals with regulations for all *dhimmī*s, especially regarding the *jizya*, see Moreen, 'Risāla-yi Ṣawāʿiq al-Yahūd'ah').

Relations between the missionaries and the (Gregorian) Armenian community and its allies in government circles remained tense in this period. Even tenser were relations within the Armenian community, between the Gregorians, who appealed to the court for protection and offered money to thwart the missionary efforts, and the far less numerous Catholics, who were supported by the missionaries and who sought European protection and, in turn, offered financial assistance to the missionaries (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 476, 484-6, 500-1; Eszer, 'Barnaba Fedeli', p. 202; Ghougassian, *Emergence*, docs 21 and 22, pp. 284-90).

Confessional tensions are also visible in the controversy that erupted when several Augustinian missionaries residing in Isfahan converted to Islam. The most spectacular case was that of a Portuguese Augustinian

named António de Jesus, who in 1697 created a great scandal in Christian circles in Isfahan by turning Muslim, adopting the name ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām (Alonso, 'El convento', p. 171). He became Sulṭān Ḥusayn's interpreter, taking over from the well-known French Capuchin Raphaël du Mans, who had died in 1696. What caused even more commotion among the Christian community of Isfahan is that he also became involved in anti-Christian polemics, writing two treatises along those lines. One is the *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn wa-taqwiyat al-muʾminīn*, which was originally written in the 'language of the Franks'. The other, the *Sayf al-muʾminīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn*, dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, was a response to a work by an affiliate of the Propaganda Fide, Filippo Guadagnoli, the *Apologia pro christiana religione*, itself a refutation of the *Miṣqal al-ṣafā*, which had been printed in an Arabic translation in 1637.

There were some countervailing forces as well. The trust the shah put in his grand vizier Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī, the curiosity he displayed visiting the Armenian churches of New Julfa, and the various decrees, *farmān*s, he issued granting Iran's Christians protection and missionaries the right to operate their missions, all suggest that Sulṭān Ḥusayn was not personally bigoted. Indeed, the Polish Jesuit Krusinski claimed that, while the shah obviously professed Shīʿism, he was in his heart of hearts not convinced that Islam was better than Christianity, attributing this in part to the natural 'kindness and humanity' of the Iranians, in part to the influence of his Georgian concubines (Krusinski, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 128, 131). The translation of the Gospels he commissioned from Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī (from an Arabic copy) shows an interest in Christianity, even if this request must be put in the context of the anti-Christian polemics conducted by members of the high clergy at the time (Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Ismāʿīl Ḥusaynī Khātūnābādī, *Tarjuma-yi Anājīl*).

The messages brought by European diplomats, meanwhile, invariably included requests for protection for missionaries as well as for Iran's Christian communities. Contacts with Christian nations no longer centred on the desire to forge a common front against the Ottomans. A more direct threat was now posed by the Omani Arabs. In 1696, seeking to counter Omani naval raids on the Persian Gulf coast, the shah received a mission led by the Portuguese envoy Gregório Pereira Fidalgo (Aubin, *L'ambassade*). However, lack of funds and Iran's inability to furnish troops made the planned cooperation fail. The Safavid court thereupon approached the French for naval support against Oman in exchange for commercial privileges, a trading post and possession of the two

forts of Masqat. This gave Louis XIV a long-awaited opportunity to play an expanded role in the Persian Gulf, and led to a series of embassies between Paris and Isfahan in the period 1699-1721. The French embassy that visited Isfahan in 1708, headed by Pierre-Victor Michel, resulted in a capitulatory treaty that gave French merchants the same rights as Dutch, English and Portuguese, and promised protection for Iran's Christians as well as for European missionaries (Schimkoreit, *Regesten*, nos 436, 437, and 440, pp. 387-8, 389-93). In 1714, the shah sent Muḥammad Riḍā Beg on a mission to France (Herbette, *Ambassade*; letters in Nawā'ī, *Asnād*, pp. 100-3). This resulted in an amended version of the treaty. Further French missions to Iran in 1718 and 1719, which were accompanied by new pleas for better treatment of Catholic Armenians, remained inconsequential (Touzard, *Le drogman Padery*; letters from Charles VI and Louis XIV to the shah in Eszer, 'Barnaba Fideli').

Other diplomatic relations more directly involved the state of local Christian communities and the European missionaries. Thus, the Polish King Jan Sobieski communicated with the Safavid court in the year of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's accession, in an attempt to lure the local Armenian church back to the Catholic faith (De la Maze, 'Journal', p. 395). The Polish state, solicitous of Catholic missions and still seeking a passageway to Siberia and keen to include Iran in a grand anti-Ottoman coalition, in this period made a crucial contribution to the missionary endeavour in Iran. Polish Jesuit missions were responsible for the creation of mission posts in Shirvan, first in Shamakhi, and later, around 1700, in Ganja. By far the most prominent of the Polish missionaries active in the country in this period was Father Judas Thaddeus Krusinski. Serving as procurator to the bishop of Isfahan and from 1720 General Procurator of the Catholic missions in all of Iran, Krusinski spent almost two decades in Iran (Zaleşki, *Missye w Persyi*; Zieliński, *Xiądz Krusiński*; Matthee, 'Introduction').

Despite the pressure and persecution, in some ways the position of European missionaries improved during Shah Sulṭān's reign compared with that of his father, at the end of whose reign the Gregorian Armenians had succeeded in having all missionaries with the exception of the Jesuits evicted from New Julfa and their church destroyed (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 464-5, 836). This prompted Pope Innocent XII (r. 1691-1700) to write a letter of protest carried to Iran by the Carmelite Fr Conrad (Petrus Dinhart), in which he requested the shah to allow Elias di St Alberto Mutton, the prior of the Carmelite convent in Isfahan, to return to New Julfa and re-establish the mission (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 477-8, 835-6). Mediation by the newly arrived Portuguese envoy

Gregório Pereira Fidalgo and Portuguese threats of possible harassment of Gregorian Armenians residing in Portuguese India helped bring about the desired result: the Carmelites received permission to return to New Julfa and to rebuild their church at the expense of the Safavid treasury. On 30 December 1696, Father Elias was also consecrated bishop of Isfahan, filling a long-standing vacancy.

The following spring, Dhū l-Qaʿda 1108/April-May 1697, the shah issued a decree ordering all provincial governors to allow the Carmelites to settle and operate anywhere in Safavid territory without interference (Richard, 'Les privilèges accordés', p. 176; Schimkoreit, *Regesten*, pp. 347-8; Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 836).

In the spring of 1699, Peter Paul of St Francis, the Archbishop of Ancyra, arrived in Isfahan. Carrying letters from Pope Innocent XII, the Republic of Venice, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he was tasked to seek better treatment for European missionaries, to gauge the shah's interest in an anti-Ottoman alliance with European powers, and to try to bring about a reconciliation of the Gregorian Armenians with the papacy. He received *raqam*s confirming the privileges of the missionaries, including the right to build churches and (re)open missions in places such as Hamadan, Shamakhi and Gori. The shah also issued a letter of friendship with the pope. Most remarkably, he ordered the Armenians of Iran to submit to the jurisdiction of the Holy See (Gaudereau, *Relation*, pp. 43-9, 53; Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 487-94, 977-9; no Persian originals).

Very little came of these pledges and promises. Complaints about the continued maltreatment of Christians in northern Iran next caused the pope, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Doge of Venice and the Grand Duke of Tuscany to send a joint mission to Iran to seek redress. The reply came in the form of a *farmān* of February/March 1701 which confirmed the protection of missions in the Caucasus, Tbilisi, Gori, Ganja and Tabriz (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 487, 498-9, 1310-11).

In 1701/2 the shah responded to Pope Innocent XII and the Venetian authorities with letters expressing the wish for good relations, confirming freedom of religion in the Safavid realm and announcing his intention to send some learned men to various European countries to build mosques and to spread the message of Islam (Fekete, *Einführung*, nos 98-100, 539-51).

In 1703, the shah authorised the Polish missionary-cum-diplomat Ignatius Franciscus Zapolski to establish a new Jesuit mission in Ganja (Krzyszkowski, 'Ente Varsovie et Ispahan', pp. 114-15). A royal decree from 1708 reconfirmed the right of the Carmelites of Isfahan to have a house at their disposal (Schimkoreit, *Regesten*, no. 438, pp. 388-9). Yet growing oppression by local Muslims, diminishing subventions from Europe and

the end of support from the Shahrimaneans took their toll: increasingly starved of money and often staffed by a single person, the Jesuit and Capuchin missions located in the Caucasus, Shamakhi, Tblisi and Ganja barely survived. The Capuchins were chased out of Tblisi and the mission in Tabriz was destroyed in the devastating earthquake that struck the city in April 1721 (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 501-4; Gaudereau, *Relation*, p. 26; Matthee, 'Poverty and perseverance').

Twenty-six illuminated documents (*ḥukm*s and *farmān*s) issued by Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn are preserved at the National Centre of Manuscripts and the National Archive of Georgia, published separately in Kldiashvili, *Illuminated historical documents*, pp. 175-201. These deeds mainly deal with the granting of estates and offering salaries or posts to Georgian governors who converted to Islam. Among them are several documents dealing with religious issues, with nearly the same contents, namely confirmation or re-confirmation of land properties owned by the Catholicos of Kartli and Kakheti. The main theme expressed in these documents is that estates belonging to the holy church remain unassailable in perpetuity.



Illustration 10. a. Pd-47 addressed to the valis of Kartli and Kakheti and their viceroys, concerning confirmation of land properties to the Catholicos of Kartli-Kakheti
b. Pd-48 addressed to the viceroy of the vali of Kartli, dealing with the return of land owned by the Holy Church to the Catholicos of Kartli-Kakheti

SIGNIFICANCE

In more ways than one, Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign represents a continuation of trends that went back at least to his father and predecessor, Shah Sulaymān. One is the reduced political relevance of the Christian missionaries after the Safavids had made peace with the Ottomans in 1639. Another is the strong discord that existed within the Armenian community, between Gregorians and Catholics, and the suspicion and calumny that the former displayed vis-à-vis the Christian missionaries. A third is increasing fiscal and religious pressure on Iran's Christian communities. Debates and controversy continued as well, with the example of António de Jesus turned ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām being the most controversial, not just for his conversion but for his becoming a polemicist on behalf of Shīʿī Islam. As before, such deteriorating conditions did not necessarily reflect personal bigotry on the part of the shah; indeed, it went hand in hand with an abiding interest in symbols of Christianity, an openness to missionary activity and protective measures, even as these were counteracted by the acts of oppressive and greedy authorities.

PUBLICATIONS

N. Sanson, *Estat présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris, 1694; H.as. 3548 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

N. Sanson, *The present state of Persia, with a faithful account of the manners, religion, and government of that people*, trans. J. Savage, London, 1695; Wing 1600:10 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)

[P. Gaudereau (Godreau)], *Relation d'une mission*; Rar. 252 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

F.C. Schillinger, *Persianische und Ost-Indianische Reise*, Nuremberg, 1707; It.sing. 931 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

C. de Bruyn, *Reizen over Moskovie door Perzie en Indie*, Amsterdam, 1714; Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden 12568 E 2 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

J. Villotte, *Dictionarium novum Latino-Armenium ex praecipuis armeniae linguae scriptoribus concinnatum*, Rome, 1714; 2 L.as. 17 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Anon. [P. Fleuriau] (ed.), *Nouveaux mémoires des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, vol. 3, Paris: Guillaume Cavelier; 327 Mem vol. 3 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

Père Ricard, 'Lettre du Père Ricard, missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, du 7 Août 1697', in Anon. [Fleuriau], *Nouveaux mémoires*, vol. 3, pp. 253-71

Anon. [Léonard Monier], 'Mémoire de la mission d'Erivan', in Anon. [Fleuriau], *Nouveaux mémoires*, vol. 3, pp. 314-32

Anon. [Jean Baptiste de la Maze], 'Mémoire de la province de Sirvan', in Anon. [Fleuriau], *Nouveaux mémoires*, vol. 3, pp. 333-92

Jean-Baptiste de la Maze, 'Journal du voyage du Père de la Maze, de Chamakié à Ispahan, par la province du Guilan', in Anon. [P. Fleuriau], *Nouveaux mémoires*, vol. 3, pp. 393-482

Anon. [P. Fleuriau] (ed.), *Nouveaux mémoires des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, vol. 4, Paris: Guillaume Cavelier, 1724; 327 Mem vol. 4 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

Père Bachoud, 'Lettre du Père Bachoud, missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus', Shamakhi, 25 Sept. 1721, to Père Fleuriau, in Anon. [Fleuriau], *Nouveaux mémoires*, vol. 4, pp. 329-46

Anon. [J. Villotte], *Voyages d'un missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Turquie, en Perse, en Arménie, en Arabie, & en Barbarie*, Paris: Jacques Vincent, 1730; Bibliotheque de la Ville Lyon 422031 (digitised version available through Google books)

J.Th. Krusinski, *A history of the late revolutions of Persia*, 2 vols, London, 1733, repr. 2018; 24588 e.3 (vol. 1), 24588 e.4 (vol. 2) (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

H. Chick (ed. and trans.), *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, 2 vols, London, 1939 (repr. London, 2012)

K.V. Zetterstéen (ed.), *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden in schwedischen Archiven*, Uppsala, 1945

Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz, *The chronicle of Petros di Sarkis Gilantentz concerning the Afghan invasion of Persia in 1722, the siege of Isfahan and the repercussions in northern Persia, Russia and Turkey*, ed. and trans. C. Owen Minasian, Lisbon, 1959

P. Krüger, 'François Picquet und die Errichtung des Chaldäisch-Katholischen Patriarchats', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 54 (1970) 14-21

J. Aubin, *L'Ambassade de Gregório Pereira Fidalgo à la cour de Châh Soltân-Hosseyn, 1696-1697*, Lisbon, 1971

V.S. Puturidze (ed.), *Persidskie istoricheskie dokumenty v knigokhranilishshakh Gruzii*, 4 vols, Tbilisi, 1961-77

L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente*, ed. G. Hazai, Budapest, 1977

P.P. Bushev, *Posols'vo Artemiia Volynskogo v Persiyu*, Moscow, 1978

A. Kroell (ed.), *Nouvelles d'Ispahan, 1665-1695*, Paris, 1979

R. Schimkoreit, *Regesten publizierter safawidischer Herrscherurkunden. Erlass en Staatsschreiben der frühen Neuzeit Irans*, Berlin, 1982

C. Alonso, 'El convento agustiniano de Ispahan durante el periodo 1690-1702', *Archivo Agustiano* 68/185 (1983) 141-84

ʿA.al-H. Nawāʾī (ed.), *Asnād u mukātibāt-i siyāsī-i Īrān az sāl-i 1105 tā 1135 h.q.*, Tehran, 1984

V.B. Moreen, 'Risāla-yi Ṣawāʿiq al-Yahūd [The treatise Lightning Bolts against the Jews] by Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d. 1699)', *Die Welt des Islams* 32 (1992) 177-95

Mir Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Ismāʿīl Ḥusayn Khatūnābādī, *Tarjuma-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, ed. R. Jaʿfariyān, Tehran, 1996

Jadid al-Islām, *Sayf al-muʾminīn fi qitāl al-mushrikīn*, Qom, 1996

Sayyid Abu Ṭālib Musawi Findiriski, *Toḥfat al-ʿālam. Dar awṣāf u akhbār-i Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn-i Ṣafawī*, ed. Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, Tehran, 2009

Katʿoghikos Esayi Hasan Jalaeantsʿ, *A brief history of the Aghuankʿ region. A history of Karabagh an Ganje from 1702-1723*, ed. and trans. G.A. Bournoutian, Costa Mesa CA, 2009

Katʿoghikos Simēon of Erevan, *Jambr*, trans. G.A. Bournoutian, Costa Mesa CA, 2009

D. Kldiashvili (ed.), *Illuminated historical documents from Georgian depositories*, Tbilisi, 2011, pp. 175-201 (for examples of documents, http://illuminateddocument.ge/en/main/links)

Sh.al-S. Aʿrābī-Hāshimī, *Arāmana-yi Julfā-yi naw dar ʿaṣr-i Ṣafawī*, Tehran, 2016

S. Jaśkowski, D. Kołodziejczyk and P. Mnatsakanyan, *Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Persją Safawidów i katolikosatem w Eczmiadzynie w świetle dokumentów archiwalnych/ The relations of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Safavid Iran and the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin in the light of archival documents*, Warsaw, 2017

A.P. Piemontese, *Persica Vaticana. Roma e Persia tra codici e testi*, Vatican City, 2017

STUDIES

R. Matthee, 'Introduction', in Judas Thaddeus Krusinski, *The history of the revolutions in Persia*, 3 vols, London, 2018, vol. 1, pp. vii-xvii

S. Kiyanrad, 'Thou shalt not enter the bazaar on rainy days! *Zemmi* merchants in Safavid Isfahan: Shi'ite *feqh* meeting social reality', *Journal of Persianate Societies* 10 (2017) 158-85

M. Moazzen, *Formation of a religious landscape. Shīʿī higher learning in Safavid Iran*, Leiden, 2017

A. Tiburcio, 'Muslim-Christian polemics and scriptural translation in Safavid Iran. 'Ali-Qoli Jadid al-Eslam and his interlocutors', *Iranian Studies* 50 (2017) 247-69

M. Moazzen, 'Institutional metamorphosis or clerical status-quo? New insights into the career and works of Sayyid Mir Muhammad Baqir Khatunabadi', *Studia Iranica* 45 (2016) 65-88

R. Matthee, 'Poverty and perseverance. The Jesuit mission of Isfahan and Shamakhi in late Safavid Iran', *Al-Qanṭara* 36 (2015) 463-501

A. Tokatlian, *Kalantars. Les seigneurs arméniens dans la Perse safavide*, Paris, 2009

R. Matthee, 'Christians in Safavid Iran. Hospitality and harassment', *Studies on Persianate Societies* 3 (2005) 3-43

A.-M. Touzard, *Le drogman Padery. Emissaire de France en Perse* (*1719-1725*), Paris, 2005

V.S. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian diocese of New Julfa in the seventeenth century*, Atlanta GA, 1998

F. Richard, 'Les privilèges accordés aux religieux catholiques par les Safavides, quelques documents inédits', *Dabireh* 6 (1989) 167-82

F. Richard, 'Un augustin portugais renégat apologiste de l'islam chiite au début du XVIIIe siècle', *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 1 (1984) 73-85

A. Eszer, 'Barnaba Fedeli di Milano O.P. (1663-1731). Das Schicksal eines Missions und Bischofs im Sturm seiner Zeiten', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1976) 179-262

A. Kroell, 'Louis XIV, la Perse et Mascate', *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* 4 (1976-7) 1-78

P.J. Krzyszkowski, 'Entre Varsovie et Ispahan. Le P. Ignace François Zapolski S.I.', *Archivum Historicum Societas Jesu* 18 (1949) 85-117

S. Brzeziński, *Misjonarze i dyplomaci polscy w Persji w XVII I XVIII wieku*, Potulice, 1935 (originally published in *Annales Missiologicae/ Roczniki Misjologiczne* 7/1)

M. de Pradel de Lamase, 'La religion chrétienne en Perse et la mission de P. de la Maze S.J. (1625-1709)', *Revue de l'Histoire des Missions* 4 (1927) 251-60

M. Herbette, *Une ambassade persane sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1907

S. Zaleski, *Missye w Persyi w XVII i XVIII wieku pod protektoratem Polski*, Krakow, 1882

F. Zieliński, *Xiądz Krusiński, wiadomość historyczna*, *Biblioteka Warszawska* 4 (1841) 375-97

Rudolph Matthee

Nādir Shah

Nādir Shah Afshār; Ṭahmāsp Quli Khan; Nāder Shah

DATE OF BIRTH November 1688
PLACE OF BIRTH Darrah Gaz, Khurāsān
DATE OF DEATH 20 June 1747
PLACE OF DEATH Qūchān, Khurāsān

BIOGRAPHY

Nādir Shah Afshār was the founder of the Afshārid dynasty. Although he was on the throne for only 11 years (1736-47), he briefly conquered large parts of India and Central Asia. A Turkman tribesman from northern Khurāsān, by the late 1720s he had joined the army of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II (d. 1740), son of the previous Safavid ruler Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722).

Ṭahmāsp II was fighting several challengers, most important among them the Afghans who had occupied the Safavid capital of Isfahan in 1722. By 1729, Nādir had secured Shah Ṭahmāsp's place on the throne, and by 1732 had defeated the Afghans in Khurāsān. He then deposed Ṭahmāsp in favour of Ṭahmāsp's infant son, who was enthroned as Shāh ʿAbbās III (r. 1732-6). After further fighting against the Ottomans, Nādir gained sufficient stature to convene an assembly of leaders on the Mughān steppe in Azerbaijan. This gathering, labelled a *quriltāy* by his chroniclers to evoke Central Asian tribal assemblies, proclaimed him Nādir Shah in March, 1736.

On ascending the throne, Nādir declared that Twelver Shīʿism would renounce all anti-Sunnī practices, and that Twelver Shīʿism in the form of the Jaʿfarī legal school (*madhhab*) of Islam, after the Sixth Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765), should take its place among the four traditional Sunnī schools of legal interpretation (the Ḥanafī, Ḥanbalī, Shāfiʿī and Mālikī *madhhab*s). Although the Ottomans never accepted this proposal, they did ultimately agree to create a more regular system of diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Iran, as well as facilitating pilgrimage traffic and commerce between the two.

At this time, Nādir issued a declaration of protection for Christians under his rule, quickly followed by statements of tolerance for foreign Christians in Iran, such as the Carmelites. For some time, Nādir's own

court physician was a Jesuit lay-brother, Louis Bazin, who wrote an account of him (Querbeuf (ed.), *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. 4, pp. 277-352).

A short time later, Nādir moved some Armenians to Mashhad, to create a 'New Nakhjivān' settlement modelled on the New Julfa that had been established near Isfahan by the Safavid Shāh 'Abbās I. This experiment fell into ruin after just a few years (Tanburi Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın tevarihi*, p. 36).

When he came to the throne, Nādir arranged a truce with the Ottomans, which allowed him to invade India and deal the Mughals a crushing blow. On the way back from this expedition, he advanced into Central Asia and subjugated its rulers.

When he returned from the east, Nādir renewed his campaigns against the Ottomans. Around this time, he gave orders to assemble Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scholars to translate the Bible and the Qur'an into Persian, though his main religious project remained his attempt to bring the Muslim world together, whether by force or diplomacy. Without achieving great military success in new offensives against the Ottomans, he convened a council of Shī'ī and Sunnī ulema in late 1743 at the Iraqi shrine city of Najaf, where he had the participants sign a document that recognised his Ja'farī *madhhab* concept.

Several more rounds of inconclusive fighting in the Caucasus and western Iran ensued, after which Nādir signed the Treaty of Kurdān with the Ottomans in September 1746. This document did not recognise Twelver Shī'ism as part of Sunnī Islam, but its provisions regarding frontiers, protection of pilgrims, regular exchange of ambassadors and fair treatment of prisoners created an enduring framework for future Ottoman-Iranian peace agreements.

Despite his considerable battlefield successes, Nādir's harsh governing style sparked numerous revolts during the last years of his reign, culminating in his assassination at the hands of his own troops in June 1747.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Y.M.M.T. Querbeuf (ed.), *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. 4, Paris, 1780
Tanburi Arutin Efendi, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın tevarihi*, Ankara, 1942
Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān'gushā-yi Nādirī*, Tehran, 1962
Muhammad Kāẓim Marvī, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Nādirī*, Tehran, 1985

Secondary
R. Smbatian, 'Nadir's religious policy towards the Armenians', in U. Bläsing, V. Arekelova and M. Weinreich (eds), *Studies on Iran and the Caucasus in honour of Garnik Asatrian*, Leiden, 2015, 131-8
K. Thomas and A. Aghbar, *A restless search. A history of Persian translations of the Bible*, Williston VT, 2015
M. Axworthy, *The Sword of Persia. Nader Shah, from tribal warrior to conquering tyrant*, New York, 2006
E. Tucker, *Nader Shah's quest for legitimacy in post-Safavid Iran*, Gainesville FL, 2006
L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London, 1939

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Decree of toleration

DATE 12 April 1736
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION
This is a royal decree apparently issued by Nādir shortly after his coronation on the Mughān steppe in Azerbaijan in the spring of 1736.

The decree notes that, according to the Prophet Muḥammad, the Christian community is composed of several different sects that follow rites and practices different from each other. Each of these sects is associated with a particular people (*qawm*), and each sect follows its own rules and customs.

In recognition that all these people were faithful servants of Nādir's kingdom, the instruction commands governors in all areas not to hinder Christians who were acting as they pleased in a European (*farangī*) way, nor to bar Europeans from acting in the [local Christian] way, generally warning officials not to bother these Christians. It goes on to declare that, if Christians want to repair their churches and places of worship or build new ones, no one should impede them. It closes by declaring that there should be care from all perspectives [to respect this decree] and recognise it as a binding instruction.

This document represents part of an attempt to reinforce existing norms of religious tolerance and non-interference with the religious minorities (particularly Armenian Christians) that had been established in the Safavid era in recognition of their vital economic role as international traders and merchants in the service of the Iranian ruler. Nādir

issued numerous other decrees around this time guaranteeing rights to the Armenian rulers, in particular confirming their jurisdiction over marriage, divorce and inheritance cases in their communities and limiting taxes owed by Armenians.

SIGNIFICANCE

This initiative was essentially an extension of policies instituted by the Safavid Shāh ʿAbbās I, who in 1606 had established a new community of Armenians in New Julfa across the Zāyanda River of Isfahan. Nādir Shāh might have been making changes as he tried to establish his legitimacy as Iran's ruler in the wake of many years of Safavid control, but he sought continuity with their practices in his relations with Christian subjects, primarily for economic reasons. His recognition of European influence among Iranian Christians may reflect the impact of the European missionaries, particularly the Catholic order of Discalced Carmelites, who maintained a group of monks in Iran between 1608 and 1749.

PUBLICATIONS

This text is part of a collection of Safavid-era documents held by Muḥsin Mufakhkham.

Muḥsin Mufakhkham, 'Asnād va mukātibāt-i tārīkhī', *Barrasī'ha-yi tārīkhī* 2/5 (1968) 159, Document 32 (includes a facsimile of the original; digitised version available through http://www.asnad.org/en/document/32/)

Tarjuma-yi Injīl-i Nādir-Shāhī, Gospel translation of Nādir-Shāh

DATE 1741

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

This is part of a Persian translation of the Bible commissioned by Nādir around 1740, following his defeat of the Mughals and his conquest of India.

Nādir had teams of Jewish, Christian and Muslim scholars brought to Isfahan to translate into Persian the Pentateuch and Psalms; the Acts of the Apostles, New Testament Epistles, the Apocalypse of John and the Four Gospels; the Qur'an. Three Italian Carmelites were assigned to

work on the Christian scriptures: Philip Mary of St. Augustine (1688-1749; Bishop of Isfahan 1736-49), Thomas Aquinas of St Francis (1702-44) and Urban of St Elisaeus (1687-1755). They were assisted by a Dominican friar, Raymond Berselli (d. 1764). Between May 1740 and June 1741, these groups helped create vernacular Persian versions put into their final form by Nādir's court historiographer, Mīrzā Mahdī Khan Astarābādi (fl. 1733-59), assisted by two other court scribes, Mīr Maʿsūm Khātūnābādī and ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khātūnābādī (Thomas and Aghbar, *A restless search*, p. 152; Halft, 'The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia', p. 174). The Khātūnābādīs were the son and grandson of an earlier Persian Bible translator and commentator, Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī (d. 1715) (Halft, 'The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia', p. 173).

The translations of the Christian portions of the Bible appear to have been based largely on an Arabic printed translation of the Vulgate Bible. It appears that they were not composed with reference to earlier translations of Christian scriptures into Persian, nor did they provide inspiration for later translations.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nādir's reasons for commissioning this project remain obscure, but one fairly persuasive hypothesis is that he might have sought such translations as aids to scholars in sorting out strategies for the reconciliation of Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam envisioned in his Jaʿfarī *madhhab* proposal (Thomas and Aghbar, *A restless search*, p. 149). The existence of several manuscript copies in Iran and Europe suggests that it achieved at least a modest level of circulation immediately after it was completed. A transcription, in Persian but using the Georgian alphabet, has also been found in Tbilisi (Halft, 'The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia', p. 176).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Īrān – MS 480 (1741; Arabic and Persian interlinear text)

MS Paris, BNF – Manuscrits persans no. 7 (Supplément persan 6) (1746; details given in E. Blochet (ed.), *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale. t. I^er^, nos 1-720*, Paris, 1905; http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k762174/f14.image)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana – Borgia persana no. 18 (1746); MSS Borg.pers.18 (digitised version available through *DigiVatLib*)

MS Tehran, Golestan Palace Archives – MS 2801

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Center of Manuscripts – Oriental Fund, MS PK 55/60 (undated; Georgian transcription)

Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, Mīr Maʿsūm Khātūnābādī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī Khātūnābādī, *Injīl-i Nādirshāhī: Mattá, Murqus, Lūqā va Yūhannā*, ed. Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, Tehran: Nashr-i ʿIlm, 2009

STUDIES

D. Halft, 'The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia. Arabic printing of the Gospels, Catholic missionaries, and the rise of Shīʿī anti-Christian polemics', Berlin, 2016 (PhD Diss. Freie Universität Berlin), pp. 173-6

Thomas and Aghbar, *A restless search*, 145-65

Ernest Tucker

Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī

Ismāʿīl Qazwīnī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Second half of the 18th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Yazd

BIOGRAPHY

Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī was an 18th-century Jew who, at an unspecified age, relinquished Judaism and became a Twelver Shīʿī Muslim. After he converted to Islam, he composed in Yazd a Persian refutation of Judaism, *Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ* ('Tidings of the prophets'). This anti-Jewish tract, completed before May 1766, appears to be his only known work. In his introduction, he relates that he discovered 'the truth of Islam' (*ḥaqqiyyat-i dīn-i Islām*) at an early age, as he studied the books of the biblical prophets (Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī', p. 281). His extensive use of the Hebrew scriptures, Jewish exegetical material and an Aramaic textual source suggests that he had a Jewish religious education.

Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī's son, the prominent Shīʿī scholar Ḥājjī Bābā Qazvīnī Yazdī, also wrote an anti-Jewish tract in Persian under the title *Maḥḍar al-shuhūd fī radd al-Yahūd* ('Record of testimonies refuting the Jews'), in which he incorporated passages from his father's work. In *Maḥḍar al-shuhūd*, dated March 1797, Ḥājjī Bābā depicts his father as 'the most learned [Jewish] scholar of his time/his people' (*aʿlam az jamīʿ-i ʿulamāʾ-i ʿaṣr-i khūd/ṭāʾifa-yi khūd*) (Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī', p. 282). This is, however, a common topos in biographies of converts to Islam who became polemicists against their former religion.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See the references in Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī', pp. 280-2, as well as the following:

Ḥājjī Bābā Qazvīnī Yazdī, *Maḥḍar al-shuhūd fī radd al-Yahūd*, ed. A. Ḥusaynī, Yazd, 196[?]

Ḥājjī Bābā Qazvīnī Yazdī, *Maḥḍar al-shuhūd fī radd al-Yahūd*, ed. Ḥ.Ḥ. Navvāb, Qom, 2000

Secondary

D. Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī. A twelfth/eighteenth-century Jewish convert to Imāmī Šīʿism and his critique of Ibn Ezra's commentary on the four kingdoms (Daniel 2:31-45)', in M.L. Hjälm (ed.), *Senses of scripture, treasures of tradition. The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, Leiden, 2017, 280-304

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ, 'Tidings of the prophets'

DATE Before May 1766
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

In *Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ* ('Tidings of the prophets') Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī challenges Jewish interpretations of the Hebrew scriptures by arguing that the kingdom of God as announced by the biblical prophets began with the establishment of Islamic rule. He bases his argument on visions and prophecies, especially in the Book of Daniel, but also in the books of Habakkuk, Isaiah and Deuteronomy, which he invariably interprets as annunciations of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad. Most prominently, the four kingdoms in Daniel are reinterpreted in favour of a victory of 'the kingdom of Islam' (*malakūt-i Islām*) (Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī', pp. 288-90). In support of his argument, Qazvīnī quotes extensively from the Bible in Persian and/or in a Perso-Arabic transcription of the original Hebrew, accompanied by an interlinear, word-for-word translation into Persian. In addition, he quotes from the medieval Jewish Aramaic tract *Neḇuʾat ha-yeled* ('The prophecy of the child'), also known in Persian as *Waḥy-i kudak*, in which the coming of a messiah is announced.

Besides the Hebrew scriptures, Qazvīnī relied on Abraham ibn Ezra's (1089-1164) long commentary on the Book of Daniel, as included in various editions of the *Miqraʾot gedolot* ('Great scriptures'), David Qimḥi's (c. 1160-c. 1235) Hebrew dictionary *Sefer ha-shorashim* ('Book of the roots'), and the Hebrew book *Nagid u-meṣaweh* ('Leader and commander') by the 17th-century kabbalist Yaʿaqob ben Ḥayyim Ṣemaḥ (the latter includes in the Constantinople edition that was printed in 1725-6, *Neḇuʾat ha-yeled* in the appendix). These books most likely circulated in mid-18th-century Yazd in printed editions from Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Qazvīnī also references in his tract two historiographical works, the medieval account of Jewish history *Sefer Josippon* ('The book of Josippon') and the

Muslim universal history *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ fī sīrat al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-mulūk wa-l-khulafāʾ* ('Garden of purity concerning the biography of prophets, kings and caliphs') by the Persian historian Mīrkhwānd (d. 1498). Other sources on which Qazvīnī relied still remain to be investigated and identified.

Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ is extant in 11 manuscripts known to date, the earliest of which, MS Qom, Marʿashī – 3349 (references that follow are to this MS), covers 51 folios and is dated May 1766. Following the introduction (fols 1r-3r, defective at the beginning; blank: 3v), the anti-Jewish work is structured in 12 chapters (*faṣl*), in which the following biblical and extra-biblical passages are discussed: 1. Nebuchadnezzar's vision of a great statue made of four metals and Daniel's interpretation of the statue in Daniel 2:31-45 (fols 4r-11r); 2. the mysterious sayings of the child Naḥman from *Neḇu'at ha-yeled* (fols 11r-20r); 3. Daniel's dream of the four beasts in Daniel 7:1-28 (fols 20r-27r); 4. Daniel's vision of the ram, the goat and the little horn in Daniel 8:1-27 (fols 27v-34r); 5. Daniel's prophecy of 70 weeks until the coming of a messiah in Daniel 9:1-3, 20-7 (fols 34r-37v); 6. God's answer to Habakkuk's prayer in Habakkuk 2:2-4 (fols 37v-39v); 7. the well-known verse referring to Mt Paran in Habakkuk 3:3, 6 (fols 39v-40v); 8. God's speech to the nations in Isaiah 45:20-3 (fols 40v-41v); 9. the announcement of a special servant in Isaiah 42:1-4, 19-21 (fols 41v-47v); 10. God's salvation of all nations in Isaiah 51:4-6 (fols 47v-49r); 11. the epilogue in Isaiah 59:21 (fol. 49r-49v, defective at the end); and 12. the announcement of a prophet like Moses in Deuteronomy 18:15-19 (fols 50r-51v, defective at the beginning). Many of these biblical verses are also employed against Christianity by Shīʿī polemicists, who often quote from the Hebrew scriptures in the original Hebrew transcribed into Perso-Arabic script.

Apart from a reference to the descendants of the imams (Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī', p. 284, n. 17), *Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ* does not reflect a particularly Shīʿī Muslim perspective. Rather, the author argues for the general superiority of Islam over the other religions, regardless of the doctrinal differences between the Muslim denominations.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī's *Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ* is a rare source on Twelver Shīʿī-Jewish interaction in mid-18th-century Iran. Although his argument is in line with the characteristic themes of Muslim anti-Jewish polemic, the author relied on a comparatively wide range of Jewish and Muslim works in Hebrew, Aramaic and Persian. As a convert to Islam, Qazvīnī was a

cross-cultural intermediary and go-between, who discussed Jewish textual sources in Persian translation and thus made internal debates on exegesis, philology and theology accessible to a native Muslim readership.

The Shīʿī scholar Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī (d. 1831) drew on *Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ* in his anti-Christian polemical tract *Ḥujjat al-Islām* ('Proof of Islam'), otherwise known as *Burhān al-milla* ('Proof of the religion'), completed in 1817 as a reply to the Anglican missionary Henry Martyn (1781-1812). Under the authority of Qazvīnī as a converted Jew, Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī adduced the passages that discuss the various Jewish interpretations of the four kingdoms in the Book of Daniel. Given the interdependence of motifs in Muslim anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim polemic, it is not unlikely that other Muslim authors of Persian refutations of Christianity also drew on Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī's work.

Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ shows how Jewish religious texts and arguments transcended the linguistic and religious boundaries through converts to Islam and thus contributed to the intellectual exchanges between the three religions.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Qom, Marʿashī – 3349, 51 fols (May 1766; partly defective; the oldest known dated MS, with numerous corrections, emendations and insertions, presumably by the author; see Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿumūmī-i ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿuẓmā Najafī Marʿashī*, Qom, 1975-, vol. 9, pp. 124-5)

MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 23052, 57 fols (January 1773)

MS Qom, Marʿashī – 14043, 77 fols (1778-9; see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi [...] Marʿashī*, vol. 35, pp. 515-16)

MS Tehran, Dānishgāh – 7105, 80 fols (13 January 1786; see ʿAlī N. Munzawī and Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī va Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, Tehran, 1951-, vol. 16, p. 456)

MS Tehran, Majlis – 474 [13250], pp. 1-57 (paginated; mid-July 1790; see *Nashriya-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān darbāra-yi nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī* 7 (February-March 1975), p. 600)

MS Qazvin, Imām Ṣādiq – 504/13, 45 fols (September-October 1808; see Maḥmūd Ṭayyār Marāghī and Muḥammad Karīm Bārīk Bīn, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Imām Ṣadiq-i Qazvīn*, 2 vols, Qazvin, 2000-11, vol. 1, pp. 401-2)

MS Najaf, Maktabat al-Ḥusayniyya al-Shūshtariyya – 319/1, fols 1-17 (1814-15; since the library was destroyed in the 1980s, the whereabouts of the MS collection remain unclear; see Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Al-dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, 26 vols, Beirut, 1983-6, vol. 2, pp. 354-5; Asadullāh Ismāʿīliyān and Riḍā Ustādī, 'Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Ḥusayniyya-yi Shūshtarīhā', *Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī (Nashriyya-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī u Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān)* 11-12 (1983) 787-879, p. 853)

MS Tehran, Dānishgāh – 10267/1, fols 1v-58v (partly defective; the MS is part of a codex dated 2 March 1859; see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i [...] Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, vol. 19, pp. 356-60)

MS Karbala, private collection of the late Sayyid ʿAbbās al-Ḥusaynī al-Kāshānī – 17, 167 pages (29 November 1858; paginated – the present location of the MS remains unclear; see Ḥamīd Majīd Hadw, *Makhṭūṭāt maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥujjat al-Sayyid ʿAbbās al-Ḥusaynī l-Kāshānī fī Karbalā'*, Karbala, 1966, vol. 1, p. 76)

MS Najaf, private collection of the late Shaykh al-Sharīʿat al-Iṣfahānī – without shelf mark (1862-3; the present location of the MS remains unclear; see Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Al-dharīʿa*, vol. 2, pp. 354-5, no. 1426)

MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 32154, fols 139v-172v (date unknown, 19th century; the MS is part of codex MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 32152)

Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī' (with an edition of the beginning of Chapter 1 in the appendix, pp. 292-300)

D. Halft is currently preparing an edition of *Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ*

STUDIES

Halft, 'Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī'

Dennis Halft

A chronicle of the Carmelites and the papal mission in Persia

The Safavids and the papal mission of the 17th and 18th centuries

DATE 17th/18th centuries
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French

DESCRIPTION

Taking its name from Mt Carmel in Palestine, and harking back to the late 12th-century Crusader experience, the Carmelites, *Ordo fratrum Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ de Monte Carmelo*, are a contemplative monastic order that has always focused on prayer, community and service. The Discalced Carmelites originated in Spain in the second half of the 16th century as part of a reform within the order inspired by St Teresa of Ávila and in accordance with the principles of the Counter Reformation. The Italian branch of the order goes back to the period 1597-9, when Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) separated the Carmelites living in Italy from those residing in Spain in an attempt to steer evangelisation in Asia away from its association with Iberian imperial control. Soon after this, in 1604, the pope sent a Carmelite delegation to the Safavid state in defiance of the Iberian monopoly on missions in Asia. Apart from enhancing papal control over overseas evangelisation against the Portuguese Augustinians, who had established a mission in Isfahan in 1602, the delegation was also a response to an earlier mission sent to Rome by Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1588-1629) and designed to capitalise on the presumed Christian leanings of the Safavid ruler, who was considered a potential ally in the struggle against the Ottomans. Consisting of four Spanish friars, Paulo-Simón de Jesús María, Juan Tadeo de S. Elisio, Vicente de San Francisco and Juan de la Asunción, this mission arrived in the Safavid capital in late 1607. A year later, the Carmelites were given permission to establish a permanent mission in Iran. The Carmelite operation gained strength with the creation in 1622 of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, which became the premier organ for propagating the faith around the world.

The Discalced Carmelites quickly established themselves in Isfahan and drew close to the Safavid court, in particular Juan de S. Elisio, who

became a liaison between the Christian community and the court. He acted as interpreter and translator and even became something of a confidant to the shah. He also collaborated on the translation of the Psalms and the Gospels into Persian. This close relationship continued until the early 1620s, when Shah ʿAbbās's irritation with the Portuguese and his growing mistrust of the missionaries as their proxies created a rupture, rendering their position in Isfahan temporarily precarious. Yet this did not prevent the Carmelites from receiving permission to open a branch in Shiraz in 1623. The following year, they also managed to establish a mission in Basra.

The Carmelites continued to operate in Iran for the next century and a half, outliving the Safavid dynasty by decades. They occupied their mission in Isfahan continuously from 1609 to c. 1757, and were intermittently represented in New Julfa between 1679 and 1752; they resided in Shiraz between 1623 and 1738 and in Basra from 1624 to 1778, and individual Carmelites lived on the island of Kharq and in the port of Bushihr for some years in the mid-18th century.

Like all other Christian orders operating in Iran (and the wider Muslim world), the Carmelites in Iran largely failed in their aim to convert Muslims, and even their efforts to persuade the local Armenians to accept papal authority had very limited success. As a contemplative order, they also operated under strict orders with regard to behaviour and food and the instruction to refrain from contact with lay people and not to invite anyone to their convents. Yet necessity and circumstances springing from a certain openness in Safavid society caused the Carmelites to play a number of unforeseen social roles. They thus ended up socialising with other resident or visiting foreigners, offering accommodation to English and Dutch merchants, and consorting with people of different faiths, including Muslims. In Shiraz they became involved in viticulture, exposing themselves to criticism about violating their vow of poverty. They quickly gained a reputation as medical experts, which brought them into contact with ordinary Muslims. As representatives of the papacy, and adept at languages, they also ended up acting as cultural brokers, translators and interpreters, and in the case of Tadeo di S. Elisio, even as confidant of Shah ʿAbbās. This role forced them to adapt to the ways of the court, which meant riding horses instead of donkeys and breaking the rules regarding the wearing of the monastic habit.

The Carmelites' engagement with the world beyond their convents and churches resulted in a rich documentation consisting of thousands

of epistolary works in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French, and often lengthy reports written to the superiors in Rome, many of which have been preserved and are now held in the archives of the Carmelite Order in Rome, in the holdings of the Propaganda Fide and in the Vatican Library. Most of this documentation concerns issues directly relevant to the missionaries and their preoccupations, but in the process the reader also gains much insight into the workings of the court, the personalities of Safavid rulers and administrators, and the objectives of domestic and foreign policy. Lengthy extracts of these writings were brought together in English translation in a celebrated two-volume edition titled, *A chronicle of the Carmelites and the papal mission in Persia*, which was published in London in 1939 and reissued, with a foreword by the present author, in 2012.

A chronicle of the Carmelites was originally published anonymously, and even though it was known that the compiler and translator was a certain Herbert Chick, the work was typically cited and quoted without the name of the translator-editor attached. Little more was known about Mr Chick than that he had lived for years in southern Iran, primarily in Shiraz, where he had served as British consul in the 1920s. An invitation by I.B. Tauris Publishers to write an introduction to a new edition of *A chronicle of the Carmelites* posed the question of the identity of the translator-editor. Inquiries among the Chick family, facilitated by Dr John Gurney of Oxford, led to a surviving nephew named John Chick, who happily provided a great deal of biographical information about his uncle, including some photographs. Meanwhile, research by Angelo Piemontese had established that Herbert George Chick officially professed his conversion to the Catholic faith before Father Francys Lyons CSP (Congregation of St Paul the Apostle) at the Church of Santa Susanna, located on the Quirinal Hill, which is known as the American Church in Rome. Cardinal Aydan Gasquet on 30 May 1924 confirmed Mr Chick at the papal basilica of St John Lateran. After his return to Iran, while residing in Shiraz, Chick founded the Association of Catholics.

Chick spent a substantial part of the years 1929-35 working on this body of material in the Carmelite Archives on the Corso d'Italia in Rome, the Propaganda Fide archives, then (and until recently) located near the Spanish Steps, the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and the holdings of the Villa Borghese. The result is a rich compilation of material that stretches from the origins of the mission, covering branches in Isfahan, Shiraz, Basra and Baghdad, to the demise of the last mission, that

of Basra, in 1778. Most of the material consists of letters, either in their entirety or in the form of salient passages, written by the members of the order in Persia, interspersed with running commentary by the editor. The works also include biographies of the members of the order active in Persia as well as some 75 Latin briefs, letters written by successive popes to the Safavid shahs, and a list of the Persian letters written by the shahs to the popes, with some letters transcribed. Chick, who just calls himself the 'compiler' in his introduction, justifies the lengthy citations in inverted commas as an attempt to let the friars speak for themselves as much as possible, and explains the occasional 'stilted' English of the translations in the same manner. He affectionately dedicated his work to the many men of the cloth who selflessly laboured for years and decades, in poverty and solitude to 'serve their fellow-men in perils and privations'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The corpus of material brought together in the two volumes represents the most voluminous (and most accessible) repository of missionary material on Iran and its orbit in the early modern period. Most of the information naturally centres on the spiritual concerns of the order and the interaction with fellow Christians – the Armenians, in the first instance. But the close relationship between the Carmelites and the Safavid court in Isfahan also offers unique insights into the workings of the political system, the religious policies of the Safavid shahs, and their diplomatic entanglements with the Christian nations of Europe.

PUBLICATIONS

P. Donazzolo, 'Viaggi in Oriente ed in Occidente (sec. XVII-XVIII) del Fratello Francesco Maria di S. Siro (Carmelitano scalzo)', *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 19 (1912) 337-54; 423-36; 530-7; 584-605

H. Gollancz (ed. and trans.), *A chronicle of the events between the years 1623 and 1733 relating the settlement of the Order of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, Oxford, 1927 (English trans.)

Anon., *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries* [ed. and trans. H. Chick], London, 1939 (English trans.)

Ange de St Joseph, *Souvenirs de la Perse safavide et autres lieux d'Orient (1664-1678) en version persane et européenne*, ed. and trans. M. Bastiaensen, Brussels, 1985 (French trans.)

H. Chick (ed. and trans.), *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia. The Safavids and the papal mission of the 17th and 18th centuries*, 2 vols, London, 2012 (English trans.; repr. of 1939 edition with foreword by R. Matthee)

STUDIES

A.M. Piemontese, 'La corrispondenza epistolare tra i Papi e i Re di Persia (1263-1936)', in *Festschrift for Monsignor Sergio Pagano*, Rome, 2019 (forthcoming)

C. Windler, *Missionare in Persien. Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.-18. Jahrhundert)*, Cologne, 2018

A.M. Piemontese, *Persica Vaticana. Roma e Persia tra codici e testi*, Vatican City, 2017

C. Windler, 'Regelobservanz und Mission. Katholische Ordensgeistliche im Safavidenreich (17. und frühes 18. Jahrhundert)', in A. Karsten and H. von Thiessen (eds), *Normenkonkurrenz in historischer Perspektive*, Berlin, 2015, 39-63

A.M. Piemontese, *La Persia istoriata in Roma*, Vatican City, 2014

C. Windler, 'La Curie romaine et la cour safavide au XVIIe siècle: projets missionnaires et diplomatie', in M.A. Visceglia (ed.), *Papato e politica internazionlae nella prima età moderna*, Rome, 2013, 505-23

P. Ortega García, 'Juan Tadeo de San Eliseo (1574-1634)', *Kalakorikos* 17 (2012) 161-83

C. Alonso, 'Nuevos documentos inéditos sobre el viaje de los Carmelitas Descalzos a Persia (1604-1607) y la oposición del gobierno español y de los Agostinos', *Archivo Agustiniano* 94/212 (2010) 3-38

C. Windler, 'Konfessioneller Anspruch und kulturelle Vermittlung: Katholische Missionare im Safavidenreich', in M. Häberlein and A. Keese (eds), *Sprachgrenzen – Sprachkontakte – kulturelle Vermittler. Kommunikation zwischen Europäern und Außereuropäern (16.-20. Jahrhundert)*, Stuttgart, 2010, 75-93

L. Gil Fernandez, *El imperio luso-español y la Persia safávida*, 2 vols, Madrid, 2006-9

F.D. Esteban, 'Informe de una misión carmelita in Persia di 1621 a 1624', in J.M. Blásquez (ed.), *Persia y España en el diálogo de las civilizaciones. Historia, religion, cultura*, Madrid, 2002, 185-98

S. Giordano, *Domenico di Gesù Maria, Ruzzola (1559-1630). Un carmelitano scalzo tra politica e riforma nella chiesa postridentina*, Rome, 1991, pp. 103-7

C. Alonso, 'El primer viaje desde Persia a Roma del P. Vicente de S. Francisco, OCD (1609-1611)', *Teresianum. Ephemerides Carmelitae* 40 (1989) 517-50

E. Galdieri, 'Le residenze dei missionari cattolici presso le corte Safavide. Nuovi dati sulle case di Esfahan', in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti (eds), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, Rome, 1985, 459-74

P. Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano Leandro di S. Cecilia viaggiatore in Oriente (1731-1751)', in *La conoscenza dell'Asia et dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Naples, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 509-31

C. Alonso, 'Clemente VIII y la fundación de las missions católicas en Persia', *La Ciudad de Dios* 174 (1958) 196-212

C. Alonso, 'Nuevas aportaciones para la historia del primer viaje missional de los Carmelitas Descalzos a Persia (1603-1608)', in *Missionaria Hispanica* 19 (1958) 249-87

A. Ambrosio da S. Teresia, *Biobibliografia missionaria Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, Rome, 1941

A. Ambrosio da S. Teresia, *Chronica Bassorensis Missionis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum annis 1733-1778, ab actoribus anonymis conscripta in lucem edita et notis illustrata a P. Ambrosia S. Teresia*, Rome, 1934

L. Mirot, 'Le séjour du Père Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse en Perse (1640-1642)', *Études Carmélitaines. Mystiques et Missionnaires* 18 (1933) 213-31

L. Mirot, 'Lettres écrites de Perse et de Syrie par le R.P. Bernard de S. Thérèse, évêque de Babylone', *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique de Clameci*, 3rd ser. 8 (1932) 125-65

F. del Niño Jesus, *A Persia (1604-1609). Pericepias de una embajada pontifica que fué a Persia a principios del siglo XVII*, Pamplona, 1929

A. Dalolio, 'Un viaggio in Oriente alla fine del secolo XVII', *L'Archiginnasio. Bolletino della Biblioteca Comunale di Bologna* 2 (1907) 73-106

R.P. Berthold Ignace de Sainte Anne, *Histoire de l'établissement de la mission de Perse par les Pères Carmes-Déchaussés (de l'année 1604 à 1612)*, Brussels, 1885

Rudolph Matthee

ʿAlī-Murād Khān Zand

DATE OF BIRTH 1720
PLACE OF BIRTH Iran
DATE OF DEATH 11 February 1785
PLACE OF DEATH Murchakhur, Iran

BIOGRAPHY

As the sixth sovereign of the short-lived Zand dynasty, ʿAlī-Murād Khān governed parts of Iran from 1781 to 1785, always in competition with other members of the Zand lineage and with the warring chieftain and eventual founder of the Qajar Dynasty, Āghā Muḥammad Khān (r. 1786-97) (Hambly, 'Agha Muhammad Khan', p. 114). He played an important military role during the tenure of Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1751-79), the founder of the Zand dynasty, who established his capital in Shiraz and ruled under the title *Wakīl al-raʿāyā* (Deputy of the people). While the Wakīl's brother Ṣādiq Khān (d. 1781) engaged the Ottomans in Basra in 1775, ʿAlī-Murād fought them in the frontier region of Kurdistan (Perry, 'Zand dynasty', p. 91).

After the death of Karīm Khān, a struggle for his throne ensued between various factions. One faction supported Karīm Khān's eldest son Abū l-Fatḥ Khān (d. 1787), while another, led by Karīm Khān's brother Zakī Khān (d. 1779), supported the Wakīl's third son Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (d. 1779). The latter faction initially prevailed, but was unable to hold on to power for longer than five months before being defeated by Abū l-Fatḥ's coalition. Yet a third faction supported Ṣādiq Khān, who returned from his mission in Basra to lay claim to the throne. Initially, ʿAlī-Murād allied with his uncle Zakī Khān in support of Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān. Under Zakī's service, ʿAlī-Murād was sent on an unsuccessful mission to recapture Āghā Muḥammad Khān, who, having been imprisoned by Karīm Khān, had managed to escape after the latter's death. ʿAlī-Murād later changed his allegiance in support of Abū l-Fatḥ and rebelled in Isfahan. In response, Zakī Khān mobilised his army against him while continuing to fight Ṣādiq Khān. Zakī was betrayed and killed by his own troops, which left Ṣādiq Khān and ʿAlī-Murād quarrelling with each other. ʿAlī-Murād eventually prevailed and occupied Shiraz and had Ṣādiq Khān killed, together with all but one of his sons. The spared son,

Jaʿfar Khān (d. 1789), made a temporary truce with ʿAlī-Murād (Ghaffārī, *Gulshan-i murād*, pp. 466-71; Perry, 'Zand dynasty', p. 93).

ʿAlī-Murād established his stronghold in the old Safavid capital of Isfahan. As the Qajars resurged in the northern regions, he led intense campaigns in these territories – especially in Mazandaran – hoping to capture them. With his absence leaving a power vacuum in Isfahan, Jaʿfar Khān took advantage of the opportunity to rebel against him. During these campaigns, ʿAlī-Murād Khān sought the support of Queen Catherine II of Russia (r. 1762-96), to whom he offered to cede the Transaraxian territories in exchange for military support. Before the queen's embassy could reach him with an official response, ʿAlī-Murād died in Murchakhur on 11 February 1785 (Ferrières de Sauveboeuf, *Mémoires historiques*, pp. 202-3; Perry, 'Zand dynasty', p. 96).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

L.F. Ferrières de Sauveboeuf, *Mémoires historiques, politiques, géographiques depuis 1782 jusqu'en 1789*, Maastricht, 1790, vol. 2

Muḥammad Ḥassan Khān (Iʿtimād al-Sulṭāna), *Tārīkh-i Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, Tehran, 1882, vol. 2

Anonymous [H. Chick], *A chronicle of Carmelites in Persia and the papal missions of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, London, 1939

Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar Shīrāzī, *Rūz-nāma*, ed. ʿA. Iqbāl, Tehran, 1946

Muḥammad Ḥāshim Āṣif, *Rustam al-tavārīkh* (*Rustam al-ḥukamā'*), ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran, 1969

Abū l-Ḥasan Gūlistāna, *Mujmal al-tavārīkh,* ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran, 1970 (with supplement by Kamara'ī, up to the year 1789)

Muḥammad Ṣādiq Nāmī, *Tārīkh-i gītī-gushā*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran, 1987

Abū l-Ḥassan Ghaffārī Kāshānī, *Gulshan-i murād*, ed. Ghulām-Riżā Ṭabāṭabā'ī Majd, Tehran, 1990

Secondary

T.O. Flynn, *The Western Christian presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c.1760-c.1870*, Leiden, 2017

J.R. Perry, art. 'Zand dynasty', *EIr*

H. Busse, art. 'Abu'l-Fath Khan Zand', *EIr*

J.R. Perry, art. "Alī-Morād Khan Zand', *EIr*

J.R. Perry, *Karīm Khān Zand*, London, 2006

G.R.G. Hambly, 'Agha Muhammad Khan and the establishment of the Qajar dynasty', in P. Avery, G. Hambly and C. Melville (eds), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 7. *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, Cambridge, 1991, 104-43

J.R. Perry, 'The Zand dynasty', in P. Avery, G. Hambly and C. Melville (eds), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 7. *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, Cambridge, 1991, 63-103 (main study)
J.R. Perry, art. 'Āḡā Moḥammad Khan Qājār', in *EIr*
J.R. Perry, *Karīm Khān Zand. A history of Iran, 1747-1779*, Chicago IL, 1979
M. Roschanzamir, *Die Zand-Dynastie*, Hamburg, 1970
J. Malcolm, *The history of Persia, from the most early period to the present time*, London, 1829

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Farmān-i ʿAli-Murād Khān, ʿAlī-Murād Khān's *farmān* on freedom of residence and practice for Christians

DATE 25 May-22 June 1781
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

This *farmān* (royal edict), issued on behalf of ʿAlī-Murād Khān Zand, was written in response to a petition by a clergyman by the name of Avānūs, which is usually a transliteration of the Armenian name for John: Hovhannes or Yohvannes. Although it is difficult to establish the identity of this character, it is plausible that it could have been the same as an Armenian Catholic missionary known in Italian sources as Giovanni d'Arutiun, who was active in New Julfa in Isfahan at least between 1773 and 1788 (Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, pp. 148-9; I am grateful to Prof. Christian Windler for bringing this reference to my attention and for sharing his notes based on archival sources from the Holy Office). In the *farmān*, ʿAlī-Murād Khān authorises priests from the Armenian Orthodox community, as well as European missionaries, to move freely throughout the Iranian realm and practise their religion and engage in trade for their subsistence. However, these liberties are granted on condition that they recognise the authority of the Shīʿī state. The text explicitly mentions that Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, Capuchins and Augustinians could live anywhere in Iran – mentioning places such as Azerbaijan, Shirvan, Qarabagh, Nakhchivan, Isfahan, Shiraz and Bandar Abbas – and could teach and live side-by-side with the Armenian community. The *farmān* also requests the *beglerbegs* to facilitate the free transit and residence of the priests, as well as to guarantee that they were not disturbed in their commercial activities. The document is dated Jumādā al-Thānī 1195,

which corresponds to May/June 1781. It has been published on two separate occasions, by Jahāngīr Qāʾim-Maqāmī and by Īrāj Afshār.

The manuscript is written in *shikastah-nastaʿlīq* script. As it is the case with most Perso-Islamic *farmān*s, its structure exhibits elements akin to the classical components of medieval (and by extension all pre-modern) diplomatics, namely *invocatio*, *intitulatio*, *arenga*, narration, disposition, *adhortatio*, sanction, corroboration, *eschatocol* and *datatio*. However, as is also the case with most of these documents, the boundaries between these elements are not too rigid. The language of this decree is relatively simple compared with other documents of its kind, and economises in its use of formulaic rhetoric.

SIGNIFICANCE

This document suggests that ʿAlī-Murād Khān may have sought a certain level of continuity with respect to the policies of Karīm Khān regarding the treatment of Christian communities. During his tenure, the latter had encouraged the re-establishment of the Armenian trading community of Isfahan after it was hit by famine in the 1750s, as well as that of European missionaries (Perry, 'Zand dynasty', p. 99; Perry, *Karīm Khān*, pp. 237-8).

PUBLICATIONS

The single MS of the *farmān* is contained in the private collection of Muḥsin Mufakhkham.

I. Afshār, 'Farmān-i ʿAlī Murād Khān', *Āyandah* 19/1-3 (1993) 147-8

J. Qāʾim-Maqāmī, *Yakṣad u panjāh sanad-i tārīkhī: az Jalāyiriyān tā Pahlavī*, Tehran: Chapkhāna-yi Artish-i Shahānshahī-yi Īrān, 1969, pp. 105-6

STUDIES

C. Windler, *Missionare in Persien. Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17-18. Jahrhundert)*, Cologne, 2018

B.G. Fragner, art. 'Farmān', *EIr*

B.G. Fragner, art. 'Zand Dynasty', *EIr*

Perry, "Alī-Morād Khan Zand'

Perry, 'Zand dynasty'

Perry, *Karīm Khān*

Alberto Tiburcio

Armenia and Georgia

King Arch'il

Arch'il II Bagrationi

DATE OF BIRTH 1647
PLACE OF BIRTH Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 16 April 1713
PLACE OF DEATH Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Arch'il II, Bagrationi of Imeret'i (r. 1661-3, 1678-9, 1690-1, 1695-6, 1698) and of Kaxet'i (1664-75), was the son of Vakht'ang V of K'art'li (r. 1658-75) alias Shahnavāz. Following the peace treaty of Amasya, Imeret'i became a vassal kingdom of the Ottoman Empire and Kaxet'i fell under Safavid suzerainty. In 1663, Arch'il was sent to Iran on the instruction of the court in Isfahan, and he was named Shah Nazar Khan after converting to Islam. He was then installed in the Kaxet'i kingdom as a Safavid figurehead. Later, he regretted his change of faith: 'I now repent of my conversion, of not shedding my blood for Christ. Woe to my education!' ('Praising and exposure of kings', stanza 61, *Archiliani*, ed. A. Baramiże, p. 237).

When he was in power, he fought against the Safavids and the Ottomans to free his kingdoms from their control. During this unequal conflict, Arch'il maintained close diplomatic ties with Christian countries and sought the assistance of the Russian Empire against his Muslim neighbours. His embassy to Russia in 1682-8 failed, and in 1699 he emigrated to the court of Peter I (r. 1682-1725) and settled in the village of Vsesviatskoj near Moscow. After his death in 1713, he was buried in the Donskoy Monastery in Moscow.

His family maintained close contact with Tsar Peter I, who supported him by setting up a Georgian printing-house. Arch'il II edited the Psalms in Georgian (1705) and started preparing an edition of the New Testament, which was published in 1743. This editing work, together with his literary activities, made him a celebrated king-poet. He left several poems on socio-historical topics, and Georgian translations of such works as *Alexandriani* and *Visramiani*.

One of the most important innovations in his historical works is his conception of 'truth telling', which he defined as 'an objective representation of historical reality'. His precise descriptions of historical

events make his works important historical sources. His poem 'Dialogue between T'eimuraz and Rust'veli' is dedicated to the historical battles, victories and defeats of T'eimuraz I.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Arch'ili, *C'xovreba mep'isa T'eimuraz pirvelisa* [The life of T'eimuraz I], ed. P. Ioseliani, Tbilisi, 1853

Arch'ili, *Archiliani* [The lay of Arch'il], ed. A. Baramiże and N. Berżenishvili, 2 vols, Tbilisi, 1936-7

Secondary

K. Hitchins, art. 'Georgia II. History of Iranian-Georgian relations', in *EIr*

H. Fähnrich, *Geschichte georgiens*, Leiden, 2010

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 119-20

G. Beradze and K. Kutsia, 'Towards the interrelations of Iran and Georgia in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries', in R. Motika and M. Ursinus (eds), *Caucasia between the Ottoman Empire and Iran 1555–1914*, Wiesbaden, 2000, 121-31

Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tāriḫ-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ed. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Riżvānī, Tehran, 1998

I. Tabaġua, *Sak'art'velo Evropis ark'ivebsa da cignt'sac'avebši (XIII-XX s-is pirveli meot'xedi)* [Georgia in European archives and libraries (13th century-first quarter of 20th century, II (1600-1628)], Tbilisi, 1986

Vaxushti Batonishvili, *Aġcera sameposa sakartvelosi* [Description of the kingdom of Georgia], ed. S. Qauxč'ishvili, Tbilisi, 1973

K. Kekeliże, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria* [History of Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1959

D.M. Lang, *The last years of the Georgian monarchy 1658-1832*, New York, 1957

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Gabaaseba T'eimurazisa da Rust'velisa, 'Dialogue between T'eimuraz and Rust'veli'

T'eimuraziani, 'The lay of T'eimuraz'

C'xovreba mep'isa T'eimuraz pirvelisa, 'The life of T'eimuraz I'

DATE 1681-5

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Gabaaseba T'eimurazisa da Rust'velisa ('Dialogue between T'eimuraz and Rust'veli') is a historical poem dedicated to the king and poet T'eimuraz I. It is also known as *T'eimuraziani* ('The lay of T'eimuraz'). It comprises 1,133 stanzas in the edition by R. Baramiże (1989), of which 950 cover the one hundred years of Georgian history up to the death of T'eimuraz in Iran in 1664.

The framework of the poem is a kind of dialogue competition in the craft of poetry between Rustaveli, the prominent Georgian poet of the 12th century, and T'eimuraz. Arch'il narrates from the king's perspective, and the main emphasis is on his struggles and suffering. His story unfolds against the backdrop of the political and military conflicts between the Georgian kingdoms and the Safavids and Ottomans. The story tells of how T'eimuraz, when still a child, was sent to the Safavid court, of his return as king of Kaxet'i and the decades of bitter fighting against the Safavid overlords until his death in 1663. With great emotional and dramatic depth, Arch'il describes the strokes of fate that befell T'eimuraz's family as a consequence of his moves against Iranian control. He makes T'eimuraz lament for his two sons, who were castrated and killed by order of Shah ʿAbbās, and for his mother, Queen K'et'evan, who was martyred in Isfahan.

Arch'il appeals to the Georgians to imitate such heroic actions by sacrificing their own families for the political interests and religion of their country, and to pass on their history to the following generations (stanza 610).

The poem contains a number of passing references to Islam. Regarding the appointment of Muslim viceroys in east Georgia, Arch'il says: 'My Christ will make me win soon, Ali cannot continue to resist him' (stanza 636). Shah ʿAbbās is described as a ruler who does not keep his word, even when he swears such an extravant oath as: 'If I should renege on my word, I would destroy the grave of Muḥammad and slaughter a pig on his grave' (stanza 497). He is compared to a 'bloodthirsty dragon' (stanza 446) and the devil (stanza 215).

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem contains a great wealth of information about Muslim-Christian relations in the Caucasus in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its value is enhanced by its recording Arch'il's own memories and observations: he stresses that his work relies on real facts and not fairy tales, and asserts that he sought true information from eyewitnesses throughout his

12 years as king (stanza 55). Thus, the work provides important insights into the complexity of the socio-historical and cross-cultural interrelations between the three great powers in the Caucasus, the Safavids, the Ottomans and the Russians. It also witnesses to what had become an age-old resentment towards Muslims and hatred of Islam on the part of Georgian Christians.

PUBLICATIONS

Archili, *C'xovreba mep'isa T'eimuraz pirvelisa*, ed. P. Ioseliani, Tbilisi, 1853

Archili, *Archiliani, Gabaaseba T'eimurazisa da Rust'velisa*, in R. Baramiże (ed.), *Kart'uli mcerloba* [Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1989, vol. 6

STUDIES

Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 120

D. Kacitaże, 'Archilis "gabaaseba T'eimurazisa da Rust'avelisa" rogorc saistorio cqaro' [Archili's Dialogue between T'eimuraz and Rust'veli' as a historical source], *Aġmosavleti da Kavkasia* 1 (2003) 47-56

A. Baramiże, *Narkvevebi K'art'uli literaturis istoriidan* [Essays on the history of Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1940, vol. 2

Nana Kharebava

Iakob Shemok'medili

Iakob Shemok'medili (Samebeli) Dumbaże

DATE OF BIRTH Early 17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Shemok'medi, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 1713
PLACE OF DEATH Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

Iakob Dumbaże, later known as Shemok'medili, was born in the village of Shemok'medi in Guria, Georgia, in the first part of the 17th century. He received a religious education in Trebizond and, on his return to Georgia began working for the Georgian Orthodox Church. In 1647, he was appointed Metropolitan Bishop of Shemok'medi and remained in this position until 1658. At the end of the 1650s, the now Iakob Shemok'medili (Iakob of Shemok'medi) accompanied Svimon Gurieli to Jerusalem. On his return in the 1660s, he was appointed Archbishop of Sameba Cathedral, built in the 5th-6th centuries near the village of Xashmi in Kaxet'i, in eastern Georgia, and was consequently given the soubriquet Samebeli ('of Sameba').

At the end of the 17th century, Iakob Shemok'medili was once again appointed Metropolitan of Shemok'medi. In 1687, the Catholicos of western Georgia, Davit' Nemsaże, sent him to Rome, where he was warmly welcomed by Pope Innocent XII (r. 1691-1700). When he returned to Georgia, the Catholic Church dispatched missionaries with him. They began actively propagating Catholicism throughout western Georgia, which led to tensions in their relationship with Iakob Shemok'medili, who ultimately drove them out of the region.

Iakob Shemok'medili was enthusiastic about preserving and protecting churches and monasteries for his congregations. It was thanks to his initiative and efforts that the Church of the Redeemer in Shemok'medi was restored, as is recorded in an inscription under the church's eastern cornice. In 1696, he spent time in the Donskoy Monastery in Russia, before travelling to Kiev. Towards the end of his life (at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries), Iakob Shemok'medili vacated his post as bishop in Guria and travelled to the Monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos. From

there he went to the Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem, where he died and was buried in 1713.

At the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, Iakob Shemok'medili was relatively prominent for his spiritual and literary achievements. He was well known as a scholar and writer, and was one of the religious figures who propagated anti-Islamic teachings. He was close to the royal court of K'art'li, and in 1688-91 was commissioned by King Giorgi XI (r. 1676-88 and 1703-9) to write a verse adaptation of the anti-Muslim *Mot'xroba sjult'a uġmrt'ot'a ismaitelt'a* ('Treatise on the faith of the infidel Ishmaelites') written by Bagrat Muxranbatoni in the first half of the 16th century. He also wrote a poem 'In praise of Arch'il II. A response to questions posed by Ioseb T'biliseli', which addresses biblical concepts in a question-and-answer form. A reworking of Shavt'eli's 12th/13th-century panegyric *Abdulmesiani* is also attributed to him. Iakob Shemok'medili was praised in the writings of figures such as Arch'il II, Davit' Guramishvili, Catholicos Anton I and Ioane Batonishvili.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

B. Darch'ia, *Iakob Shemok'medeli*, Tbilisi, 2009

E Gabiżashvili (ed.), *Sak'art'velos mart'lmadidebeli eklesiis enc'iklopediuri lek'sikoni* [Encyclopaedic dictionary of the Georgian Orthodox Church], Tbilisi, 2007, pp. 379-80

T. K'artvelishvili, *Guriis saepiskoposoebi* [The episcopates of Guria], Tbilisi, 2006, pp. 94-8

P. Sixaruliże, *Moskovis k'art'uli axalshenis istoriidan* [On the history of Georgian settlement in Moscow], Tbilisi, 1991, p. 230

L. Menabde, *Żveli k'art'uli mcerlobis kereba* [Centres of ancient Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1980, vol. 2, pp. 122-3

K'art'uli sabchot'a enc'iklopedia [Georgian Soviet encyclopaedia], Tbilisi, 1980, vol. 5, p. 40

N. Marr, 'Iz knigi [ts]arevicha Bagrata o grusinskikh perevodakh dukhovnykh sochineniĭ i geroicheskoĭ "Daredzhaniani"', *Izvesti[ia] Akademii* 10 (1899) 234-46

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Usjulos moamadisa da k'ristianet' gabaaseba, 'A dialogue between the infidel Muḥammad and the Christians'

DATE 1688-91
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Iakob Shemok'medili's poem *Usjulos moamadisa da kristianet gabaaseba lek'sad nat'k'vami Shemok'medilis iakobisagan brżanebit'a mep'isa giorgisa żisi mep'isa shahnaozisayt'a* ('A dialogue between the infidel Muḥammad and the Christians, told in poetic form by Iakob Shemok'medili on the orders of King Giorgi, son of King Shahnaozi') is almost entirely based on Bagrat Muxranbatoni's (c. 1487-1550) original composition, *Mot'xrobay sjult'a uġmrt'ot'a t'at'rist'a, gamokrebilni, da sitqws-geba k'ristianet'a mier, t'k'muli batonis shvilis Bagratisa* ('An account of the beliefs of the ungodly Tatars, collated, and a refutation by Christians, uttered by Crown Prince Bagrat') (see D. Rayfield, 'Bagrat (I) Muxranbatoni', in *CMR* 7, p. 660). He adapted it into verse form and added only the prologue, epilogue and an occasional stanza. In all, the work consists of 289 sixteen-syllable stanzas.

The prologue is made up of 17 stanzas. Shemok'medili first eulogises God, the Virgin Mary and the saints before talking about himself as the writer, and the nature and condition of man. The epilogue contains just two stanzas, in which Shemok'medili asserts his poetic vocation and reveals the circumstances surrounding the composition of this polemical work.

In transforming the prose into verse, Shemok'medili broadly follows the structure of Bagrat Muxranbatoni's original work, although he makes occasional changes to the sequence of the narrative, as well as some translocations and omissions, and he sometimes departs from the original text. For example, a fairly large section in which Bagrat Muxranbatoni denounces the morals and customs of Muḥammad and Muslims is replaced with a series of increasingly harsh and insulting passages aimed at disparaging the followers of Islam and those who propagate it.

Usjulos moamadisa da kristianet gabaaseba addresses all the issues that might be raised during a religious debate between Christians and Muslims. Sections of the work make the following comparisons: the figures of Christ and Muḥammad; the Christian and Islamic holy books;

writings of the prophets and popes and Islamic traditions; baptism, atonement, and miracles and signs in Christianity and Islam; the theme of witness in both religions. The main propositions are as follows: Jesus Christ is divine and is closely associated with God the Father, and the Christian religion is true; in contrast, Islam, Muḥammad, the Qur'an and Muslims have failed to see the truth and are in association with the devil.

Each paired theme begins and ends with an uncompromising assertion that Christianity is the true religion and that Islam is false.

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite the fact that Iakob Shemok'medili's *Usjulos moamadisa da kristianet gabaaseba* is a verse adaptation of an existing work (Rayfield, 'Bagrat (I) Muxranbatoni', p. 660), the very act of adaptation makes it a creative work in its own right and establishes the author as a writer with his own poetic voice.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-342, fols 277v-325r (1773; see E. Metreveli et al. (eds), *Description of Georgian manuscripts collection S*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1959)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-1103 (1780, opening chapter; see E. Metreveli et al. (eds), *Description of Georgian manuscripts collection S*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1959)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-2775, pp. 230-84 (18th century; see E. Metreveli et al. (eds), *Description of Georgian manuscripts collection S*, vol. 6, Tbilisi, 1965)

MS Gori, Gori State Historical and Ethnographical Museum (GSIEM) – 24, fols 60r-87r (1840; see T. Bregaże and C'. Kaxabrishvili (eds), *Description of Georgian manuscripts in the Gori State Historical and Ethnographical Museum*, Tbilisi, 2002)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-2400, 16 pages (1881; see E. Metreveli et al. (eds), *Description of Georgian manuscripts collection S*, vol. 3, Tbilisi, 1963)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-951 (19th century; see E. Metreveli et al. (eds), *Description of Georgian manuscripts collection S*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1959)

Iakob Shemok'medili, *Poetur t'xzulebat'a sruli krebuli* [Iakob Shemok'medili. The complete poetical works], ed. B. Darch'ia, Tbilisi, 2014, pp. 4-139 (selection of a large portion of the texts, research, versions, glossary and index)

STUDIES

X. Baindurashvili, 'Shiizmi T'bilisshi (8-18 s.)' [Shia Islam in Tbilisi (8-18th centuries)], *Istoriul-et'nograp'iuli Shtudiebi* [Historical-ethnographic studies] 9 (2005) 142-64

B. Darch'ia, 'Bagrat Muxranbatonis bibliograp'iuli c'nobebi' [Biographical information on Bagrat Muxranbatoni], *Mc'ignobari* 99 (1999) 91-9

B. Darch'ia, 'Bagrat Muxranbatonis antimahmadianuri t'xzuleba' [Bagrat Muxranbatoni's anti-Mohammedan composition], *Religia* 10-12 (1996) 68-90

B. Darch'ia, 'Iakob Shemok'medilis "usjulos moamadisa da k'ristianet' gabaasebis" xelnacerebi' [Manuscripts of Iakob Shemok'medili's 'A dialogue between the infidel Moamad and the Christians'], *Mac'ne* 1-4 (1994) 39-72

A. Xint'ibiże, *Iakob Shemok'medili. XVII saukunis mcerali da sasuliero moġvace* [Iakob Shemok'medili. 17th-century writer and spiritual figure], Tbilisi, 1986

I. Lolashvili (ed.), *Mc'ire ucqebani k'art'velt'a mceralt'at'vis (XVI-XIX ss.)* [Minor letters to Georgian writers (16th-19th centuries)], Tbilisi, 1982, pp. 12-13, 105-6

K. Kekeliże, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria* [A history of ancient Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1982, vol. 2, pp. 73-4, 526-7

L. Menabde, *Żveli k'art'uli mcerlobis kerebi* [Centres of ancient Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1962, vol. 1, issue 2, pp. 568-71

L. Menabde, *Żveli k'art'uli mcerlobis kerebi* [Centres of ancient Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1961, vol. 1, issue 1, pp. 60, 88, 153, 253

K. Kekeliże, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria* [A history of ancient Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1951, vol. 1, pp. 317-18, 450

Khatuna Baindurashvili

Martyrology of Loys Grigor

Nahatakut'iwn Grigori xostovanoł vkayin K'ristosi, or hasarakapēs koč'i Loys Grigor, ełeloy i žamanaks Šah Sult'an Hōsēyni, yami 1703, 'Martyrology of the confessor [and] martyr of Christ Grigor, widely known as 'Light Grigor' that occurred in the time of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in the year 1703'

DATE Around 1703
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Nahatakut'iwn Grigori xostovanoł vkayin K'ristosi is by an unknown author. The original editor, Yarut'iwn Tēr-Yovhaneanc', plausibly surmises that he may be identified as the Christian Armenian dressed in Muslim garb recorded in the text as being present with the martyr at the time of his death. The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology itself.

Tēr-Yovhaneanc' also remarks that he found the text in the city of New Julfa in a small notebook of unknown provenance, the current whereabouts of which are uncertain. The first edition in 1880 is 11 pages long, and the critical edition of 1903 is 12 pages.

The narrative begins by briefly sketching Grigor's background as a tall, handsome youth of 18 years born into a poor family in the Yerevan quarter of the town of New Julfa across the River Zāyandarud from the Safavid capital of Isfahan, who has entered into the employment of an English merchant in the city. It swiftly moves to the episode that triggered the course of events leading to the youth's martyrdom. As his father passed through the market, the hem of his garment brushed against a drinking vessel belonging to one of the shopkeepers, who in his anger at the vessel thereby becoming impure beat him severely. When his son learned what had taken place, he returned to the market with two Muslim servants, struck the shopkeeper who had beaten his father and dragged him to the Englishman's establishment.

Meanwhile, the other stall-owners sought to punish Grigor for his action by fabricating charges and mustering false witnesses to say that

he had insulted Islamic law. They approached a *qāḍī* for his ruling on the matter. He affirmed the truth of their case, and declared that the youth should be sentenced to death if he did not convert. This sentence was then notarised and taken to the mayor of Isfahan, who arranged for Grigor to be tried. The English establishment released the two Muslim servants, who were then imprisoned, while the crowd brought their case to the attention of the royal prefect.

Seeing that the tense atmosphere continued unabated, the Englishmen sent Grigor home for a few days. Meanwhile, the prefect demanded that they should produce Grigor for interrogation, finally bringing his father to prison and prevailing upon him to reveal his son's location. Once Grigor was back in the city centre, a prince made him various promises to induce him to convert, which the youth rejected, before he too was led to prison. At the crowd's demand, he was taken to the main square in chains, his hands tied so tightly behind his back that blood flowed from the wounds. However, he refused to relent. On arriving at the square, he was approached by a shopkeeper of high status, who offered him further inducements and pressed him to accept a fine coat in token of his assent. On his repeated refusal, he was addressed by a group of former Christians who had become Muslims; they advised him to make a public confession of Islam to save his life, after which he would be free to go to a Christian state and follow his religion openly.

The mob was so incensed at his latest confession of faith that one of them struck him on the back with a cane, and this triggered a mass assault upon him that knocked him to the ground, at which point someone else struck him in the chest with a sword. At this, others drew him into a warehouse and closed the door to save him from the crowd, and appealed to him to reconsider. This, however, provided only a temporary respite, as the crowd burst in and began attacking him with swords and stones before dragging him round the square on a rope and then leaving him to die.

That night, the Armenians arranged for four Muslim guards to watch over the body. The guards witnessed a bright light illuminating the corpse until dawn and reported this to both the Christian and Muslim communities. The prefect then dispatched a horseman to the town of New Julfa to instruct the Armenians there to take charge of his body. They carried his remains for burial with great pomp in the Summer Church of the Yerevan Quarter, placing his tomb before the altar. Some who kept vigil by his tomb overnight also saw various signs, which they related to the wider community at dawn.

The author concludes his account by confirming that the martyrdom took place in the eighth year of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722) on 20 July, the Armenian feast of St Nersēs the chief-bishop and Bishop Xad.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work highlights the role of English merchants and particularly that of the English East India Company in the Iranian economy and international trade in Persian raw silk in the 17th-18th centuries. Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1588-1629) had welcomed their overtures as a means of reducing the volume of overland trade via his hostile Ottoman neighbour and balancing the position of the Portuguese. Meanwhile, they had to contend with Dutch and later French competition, as well as that of the local Armenian community, well positioned to purchase the export monopoly on a regular basis.

Here the relationship between Grigor and his English employers should be interpreted in the context of an agreement the English East India Company had entered into with members of the Armenian community of New Julfa in 1688 for the former to gain an insight into the latter's business practices and market knowledge in order to achieve greater competitiveness in an environment of increasing insecurity and corruption. The attentiveness the various judicial and administrative authorities of the capital paid to the foreign dignitaries indicates their status because of their political and economic influence, which motivated Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn to confirm the company's privileges the following year.

Although respect was extended to foreigners of a different religious persuasion, tolerance towards domestic religious minorities had significantly deteriorated over the 17th century, a tendency reinforced by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's piety and insistence in the more rigorous application of *sharīʿa* and prohibition of 'unislamic' behaviour. In keeping with this, it is striking that the hagiographer emphasises that all the members of the Armenian community who had witnessed Grigor's passage through the city to the main square disappeared once the violence commenced, presumably through fear of further incensing the mob. Thus, the only one present was deliberately dressed as a Muslim so as not to arouse suspicion. Muslim sensitivities were particularly ruffled by special privileges Shah ʿAbbās had accorded to the Armenians of New Julfa, such as the right to build new churches, ring church bells and make wine. As a result, violence broke out in the capital's mixed quarters, which accommodated more than 1,000 Armenian artisan families who had been relocated as part of the shah's scorched earth policy towards the Ottomans.

This occasioned Shah ʿAbbās II's (r. 1642-66) expulsion of lower-class Armenians living there, who moved to the south-west of New Julfa in 1655-9. There, seven new quarters were created, of which one was the Yerevan Quarter frequently mentioned in the martyrology.

This is presumably the background of Grigor's father as an ordinary artisan. By contrast, what is striking about the youth's parents is their divergence from ethnic gender stereotypes. His father was illiterate and had to ask someone to write his wife a note, while that very act implies her ability to read. Female literacy was much higher among merchant families, not only because of their greater wealth and level of education, but because of the practical necessity of handling sensitive correspondence during a husband's long absence on business.

The juxtaposition of economic decline and growing religious intolerance characterised by anti-Christian polemics perpetrated by the higher clergy led to the harsher imposition of the poll tax (*jezya*) on Jews and Christians under Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94) and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. In this climate, a powerful inducement to convert was a law now more frequently invoked, which granted converts the right to inherit all their family's assets. In consequence, the number of this demographic increased, as in the case of K̄ʿāja Ałapʿiri, the mayor of New Julfa, who converted in 1671. This explains the inclusion of Armenian converts towards the end of Grigor's judicial process.

Granted the importance given to conversion in this period and the fact that the proceedings were taking place in the capital, the process is much more protracted than normal and features a much wider range of judicial and administrative officials. Of these, the presence of the mayor is of particular note. Although he is not named, his genealogy is given, first as ethnically Georgian and second as the grandson of Shahnavāz Khan. Like Armenians, thousands of Georgians were relocated to different parts of the Persian realm under Shah ʿAbbās I and they frequently found employment in the Safavid administration and military. The protocol of a Georgian occupying the post of *dārūgā* (city prefect) of Isfahan derives from Shah ʿAbbās's settlement with Tʿeimuraz I of Kakheti (r. 1605-48, with intermissions). To maintain his status as king, the latter agreed to recognise Persian suzerainty, serve as the shah's *wālī* (governor), and send his son to Isfahan to fill the post of *dārūgā*. The title Shahnavāz Khan was one later adopted by King Vakhtʿang V of Kartli (r. 1658-75) in token of his recognition of Persian suzerainty and related acquiescence to outwardly conform to Islam. As a result, his son Alexander

occupied the position of *dārūgā* before it devolved on the official described in the martyrology.

The significance of this figure's ethno-religious background is subtly foregrounded in the narrative. His initial agreement to accept the case and try the accused was motivated by the number and zeal of the crowd, while his subsequent permission for Grigor to be taken to the main square was based on the shopkeepers' pretence that they wanted to go there to settle their dispute with the English merchants. Their real intent to kill Grigor there was not relayed to him. Moreover, after hearing the report of the authenticating light that had shone over the martyr on the previous night, he shows deep remorse at the youth's death and regret at his own involvement in the affair.

The martyrology embodies fairly typical topoi, such as the protagonist's refusal to renounce his 'luminous faith' or 'the right law of Christ'. Similarly, the gifts promised him by various Islamic officials are declined as being 'passing' and 'false'. However, the work is exceptionally marked by the author's literary skill in developing the narrative so as to achieve a powerful crescendo building to a climax. As Grigor rejects the prince's offer of wealth, precious gifts and a beautiful wife, he is portrayed as the 'servant of Christ'. After this, as he rejects the senior shopkeeper's longer list of inducements, he becomes transformed into 'the martyr of Christ' at whom the crowd 'gnashed their teeth' as they did at the protomartyr Stephen (Acts 7:54) on the basis of Old Testament precedents (Lamentations 2:16, Psalm 37:12). Here, too, part of the climax relates to the shopkeeper's deploying the rhetoric of the new Islamicate empires of the 16th century to the effect that the Muslim faith is illustrious and Muslims are prosperous, enjoying the benefits of strong, powerful rule (i.e. empire) in this life, before inheriting bounties in the next. Similarly, although the youth's mien throughout is bright, the author foregrounds the process by which his face becomes ever more radiant as the hour of martyrdom approaches, so that when he reaches the square his appearance is dazzling, completely bereft of fear.

The original editor, Tēr-Yovhaneanc', notes that the martyr's tomb was still honoured in his time by Julfan Armenians, and that women especially would pour water on the tomb and drink some of the liquid as a cure for illness. He also records a variant tradition centring directly on Grigor. One day as he is walking through the market, the hem of his garment falls on a glass the glassmaker had laid out for sale, causing it to fall and break. Muslims nearby exploit the incident as a means of compelling

the youth to convert. His refusal to do so then becomes the occasion for his martyrdom.

PUBLICATIONS

Yarutʻiwn Tēr-Yovhaneancʻ, *Patmutʻiwn Nor J̌ułayu orh Aspahan* [History of New Julfa], New Julfa: i tparan Amenapʻrkčʻean S. Vanacʻ, 1880, vol. 1, pp. 210-21 (first edition)

Y. Manandean and H. Ačʻaṙean, *Hayocʻ nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałarshapat, 1903, pp. 539-51 (critical edition)

K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki* (*1155-1843*)*, perevod, predislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 214-21 (Russian trans.)

K. Ter-Davtʻyan, *Haykakan Srbaxosutyun. Varkʻer ev vkayabanutʻyunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 382-4

S. Peter Cowe

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani

DATE OF BIRTH 24 October 1658
PLACE OF BIRTH Tandzia, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 26 January 1725
PLACE OF DEATH Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani was one of the wealthiest and most influential members of the 17th-century K'art'lian nobility. His grandfather Qaplan was chief steward and chief judge of King Rostom (r. 1634-58), and his paternal aunt Rodam, was the wife of Vakht'ang V Shah-Nawaz (r. 1658-75) and queen of K'art'li, while his father Vakht'ang ('the Great Orbeli') was a chief judge, a well-known bibliophile and a patron of the arts, brother-in-law of the king of K'art'li, and also the son of Zaal, *eristavi* of Aragvi, a powerful and influential feudal lord.

At this time, the numerous Orbeliani family (Vakht'ang and his wife Tamar had eight sons and three daughters) was a sort of cradle of civilisation in K'art'li, in which were brought up famous poets, calligraphers, and ecclesiastical figures: Demetre, Nikoloz, Zosime (Sulkhan-Saba's brothers) and Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani himself, a scholar of remarkable intellectual range, a writer and lexicographer, preacher and diplomat, monk and statesman.

Sulkhan-Saba received a distinctive education; his father directly supervised his instruction. The gifted youth studied both religious and secular subjects from a very early age: theology, philosophy, and natural science, though he gave special attention to philological subjects. He was also familiar with foreign languages: Turkish and Armenian, and a little Greek, Latin and Italian. Sulkhan-Saba's paternal cousins, the Kings Giorgi XI and Arch'il, played an important role in his education and personal development. On the whole, his familial connections with the royal court and K'art'li's politico-economic and cultural situation at that time greatly determined both Sulkhan-Saba's character and life of public service in the literary, social and government spheres.

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani acted as tutor to the heir to the throne, the future king Vakht'ang VI (r. 1703-12 and 1716-24). During this period, he wrote a collection of fables, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa* ('The wisdom of deception').

In K'art'li, the situation soon changed: owing to the ongoing struggle over the politics and throne of Iran, the descendants of Vakht'ang V were temporarily prevented from exercising sovereignty. Sulkhan Orbeliani faithfully stood beside his cousins, but in 1698 he unexpectedly took monastic vows with the name Saba in the monastery of John the Baptist at Davit' Gareja.

In spite of his new way of life, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani remained actively engaged in affairs of state, especially after Vakht'ang, whom he had educated, was appointed as viceroy (provincial governor) of K'art'li. Sulkhan-Saba became his devoted political advisor and his associate in his cultural initiatives, a participant in his diplomatic missions and head of his diplomatic missions. In this regard, Sulkhan-Saba's journey to Europe (1713-16) is especially notable, in the course of which he presented himself before King Louis XIV of France (r. 1643-1715) and Pope Clement XI (r. 1700-21). This visit failed to achieve political results, although it provided the impetus for the composition of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's memoir, *Mogzauroba evropashi* ('Journey to Europe').

Noteworthy in Sulkhan-Saba's autobiographical account is his conversion to Roman Catholicism, the date of which, according to archival materials, varies from the 1680s to the 1710s. There are different opinions as to whether or not Sulkhan-Saba returned to Orthodoxy in the last years of his life.

Returning from Europe, the disillusioned diplomat was not well received in his homeland. Relations were also tense between him and Vakht'ang VI, but the tutor and his charge were quite soon reconciled – Vakht'ang, being in Iran in 1719, sent his translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* to Sulkhan-Saba for editing.

In 1724, oppressed by Muslim invaders (Iran and Ottoman Turkey), Vakht'ang VI was compelled to request military and political help, and departed for Russia. Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani was among his retinue. Halting at the fortress of Solaghi, the king sent him on ahead to the Russian Tsar Peter I (r. 1682-1725) but, overwhelmed by the complicated journey, the elderly Saba was unable to get as far as St Petersburg. He was taken ill in Moscow, and he died in the palace of his paternal cousin's daughter, Darejan.

In addition to *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa* and *Mogzauroba evropashi*, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani was responsible for a scholarly work of encyclopaedic character, *Lek'sikoni K'art'uli* ('Georgian lexicon'), which is of considerable importance even today, as well as a collection of sermons, *Scavlani*

('Teachings'), several minor poems of secular and religious content, and other works.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

T'. Žordania, *K'ronikebi da sxva masala sak'art' velos istoriisa da mcerlobisa* [Chronicles and other materials on the history and literature of Georgia], Tbilisi, 1897, vol. 2, pp. 475-511

M. T'amarashvili, *Istoria kat'olikobisa k'art'velt'a shoris. Namdvilis sabut' ebis shemotanit' a da ganmartebit' XIII saukunidgan vidre XX saukunemde* [History of Catholicism among the Georgians. Presenting genuine documents with commentary from the 13th to the 20th centuries], Tbilisi, 1902, pp. 311-31

A. Xaxanashvili, *K'art'uli sitqvierebis istoria (užvelesi droidgan me-XVIII sauk. gasulamde)* [History of Georgian literature (from ancient times to the end of the 18th century)], Tbilisi, 1904, vol. 2, pp. 542-7

Secondary

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 123-6

M. Xarbedia, '20 mokle mogoneba. "Mogzauroba evropashi": tek'stis ark'eologiis mc'deloba' [20 concise memoirs. Journey to Europe: An archaeological experiment], in I. Ratiani (ed.), *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani 350. Saiubileo krebuli* [Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani 350. Anniversary collection], Tbilisi, 2009, 30-55

Z. P'iralishvili, 'Saba da k'art'uli kosmosi' [Saba and the Georgian world], in I. Ratiani (ed.), *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani 350. Saiubileo krebuli* [Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani 350. Anniversary collection], Tbilisi, 2009, 10-29

R. Baramiże, 'Sulkhan-Saba Orbelianis biograp 'iisat 'vis' [Materials for Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's biography], *Literaturuli Sttudiebi* [Literary studies] (1988) 117-25

S. C'aishvili, *Żveli k'art'uli mcerloba, cerilebi da gamokvlevebi* [Old Georgian literature. Essays and investigations], Tbilisi, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 115-34

I. Tabaġua, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbelianis elč'oba sap'ranget'shi* [Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's embassy to France], Tbilisi, 1985 (offprint edition from *Mac'ne*)

K. Kekeliże, 'Zogiert'i momenti Sulkhan-Saba Orbelianis c'xovrebisa da shemok' medebis istoriisa' [Some incidents in the life of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani and the history of his work], *Etiudebi Żveli k'art'uli literaturis istoriidan 9* [Studies in the history of Old Georgian literature 9], Tbilisi, 1963, 191-9

K. Kekeliże, 'Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani', *Etiudebi Żveli k'art'uli literaturis istoriidan* [Studies in the history of Old Georgian literature 8], Tbilisi, 1962, 297-351

G. Leoniże, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. Gamokvlevebi da cerilebi* [Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. investigations and essays], 1958, Tbilisi, pp. 128-86
Al. Baramiże, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (c'xovreba da shemok medeba)* [Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (life and works)], Tbilisi, 1959
L. Menabde, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani*, Tbilisi, 1953
G. Leoniże, *Żiebani k'art'uli literaturis istoriidan* [Investigations into the history of Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 63-112
K. Kekeliże, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria, żveli mcerloba* [History of Georgian literature. The old literature], Tbilisi, 1941, vol. 2, pp. 425-34

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sibrdzne sic'ruisa, 'The wisdom of deception'

DATE 1680s
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION
This work by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani is a collection of fables in which the social vices and mores of the time are portrayed in allegorical form. The Persian domination of K'art'li and the struggle for the royal throne and authority resulted in the moral degradation of part of the population; the rejection of traditional Christian faith and conversion to Islam with a view to obtaining material advancement; and an increase in hypocrisy, deceitfulness, greed, meanness, and other negative qualities.

The work's subject-matter is set at a royal court. Its geographical location is not specified, but external indications suggest a more eastern milieu, in which the chamberlain (the chief among the courtiers) is the eunuch Ruk'a [= Rokh (Persian)]. The setting, however, is conventional, as is the subject-matter of the interpolated fables.

The work contains more than 100 fables, which are employed as arguments by the characters: King P'inezi, his vizier Sedrak'i, the king's son Jumberi, his tutor Leoni, and the above-mentioned Ruk'a. At the same time, there can be found in the text as many as 60 maxims, anecdotes and riddles.

Along with beasts and birds, the characters in the fables are skilfully interpolated into the work's subject-matter, people of varying social rank and circle – from kings to paupers. The stories of a number of the fables are set in Muslim countries and cities; examples of such stories include 'The King of Khorasan' (a province of Persia), 'The unjust Shah of Shirvan' (Shirvan is a coastal district of Persia), 'The King of Arabia',

'The great Persian merchant', and 'The Persian and the Indian'. In the fable 'The king and the painter', the principle character governs Lavdikia [Laodicea] (a city on the border between Persia and India), the main character in the fable 'The king and the physician' is the ruler of Basra (a city in the Ottoman Empire at this time), and the ruler of Isfahan (Sp'ahani in Middle Persian – a city in Persia) is the main character in the fable 'The two dervishes and the shah'; the physician in the parable 'The man healed by enmity' is a native of Shiraz (a city in Iran), while the merchant from 'The great merchant and the pigeon' is a native of Bursa (a city in the Ottoman Empire); the three characters in the fable 'The three comrades' are all inhabitants of various cities in Iran: the first is a native of Isfahan, the second, a native of Gilan, and the third, a native of Ganja; in the fable 'The heir of the thief', the story takes place in Tabriz (a city in north-western Persia), but in the fables 'The fruitgrower and the shepherd' and 'The astute Arab', it takes place in Baghdad.

It should be noted that in these parables Muslims (to whose religious affiliation Orbeliani pays no attention) are in some cases the bearers of decidedly negative traits, but sometimes quite the opposite – they are portrayed quite positively as individuals. They do not bear stereotypical characteristics by virtue simply of being Muslim by faith. This is also true of characters in other parables in the work: the duke, the grand-duke, the chief magistrate, the king of the Indians, the emperor, and so on. The same is true in the case of the *qāḍī*, the Islamic judge, who appears as a fully-delineated character in five of the work's fables ('The four deaf-mutes', 'The hairless man and the *qāḍī*', 'The *qāḍī* and the Devil', 'The pauper and the rich man', 'The *qāḍī* famous as an ass'). With regard to this character's injustice, cunning, greed for gain and (if it is genuine) his 'perfection' in exposing crime, Orbeliani was, in general, commenting on the justice system of his time.

Orbeliani deliberately seeks to expose religious leadership in the fable 'The witch-wife's husband', in which Sadr of Baghdad is presented as an expert in Islamic law, but turns out to be a thief and a robber. In the same parable, the hidden depravity and wickedness of false, fraudulent religiosity is condemned. The witch-wife of a pitiful man of Isfahan continually reads the Qur'an and does not fail to pray five times a day, but also deceives her husband, for in reality she is unfaithful to him and commits adultery. This fable also mentions the Ka'ba.

Two or three episodes in the work related to traditional Muslim religious customs and rites are also worth mentioning: in the fable 'The

Caliph of Baghdad and the Arab', the custom of Muslim prayer is portrayed; in 'The power of wine', in which the characters are a sultan and his vizier, drunkenness and the drinking of wine are condemned; but in the fable 'The Christian and the Jew', a Jew is bribed by another Jew so that on a calamitous day, the 'Tatars' of Istanbul (this is how the Georgians of the Ottoman Empire regularly referred to the Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire and to Muslims in general) abuse a pitiful Christian– at times detaining him, at other times beating and tormenting him. On one occasion, a Christian uses his wits to list the famous prophets in the presence of the Turkish Jew and asks him to write down their names. The Jew enumerates 24 prophets, but the Christian denounces him, for (he says) he has forgotten Muḥammad, and so the *qāḍī* imprisons him. Although in this fable the author focuses attention on human nature and weaknesses, one of its details, the torment of the Christian by the Ottoman Turks, may possibly be an echo of the historical situation in Georgia, since K'art'li had endured years of aggression at the hands of the Ottoman Empire, which had detached the region of Tao-Klarjet'i, occupied it, and consolidated rule there.

Klarjet'i is the setting of one of the fables in the work, 'The dead destroyer', in which the Tatar (Ottoman) overseer gives the inhabitants no rest. Before his death, he asks them to hang his body on a tree, as if to atone for his sins. When a passing Tatar sees the corpse, he reports it to the authorities, 'Our overseer has been hanged.' Within a day, they attack the village, carry off the people's property, and hold them responsible.

The work, as we know from some of its manuscripts, was written in the author's 'time of youth'. According to Orbeliani's own *Lexicon*, 'youth' is defined as from 20 to 30 years of age, which suggests that *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa* would have been written during the years 1678-88. At precisely this time, Orbeliani was entrusted with the upbringing of the heir to the throne of K'art'li, Vakht'ang VI. Thus, the work can be considered a sort of literary embodiment of Orbeliani's practical task, to develop abilities in the prince that would be useful for his kingship and his country. This is precisely what Jumberi's tutor Leoni is seeking to achieve throughout the fables.

The work's title, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa* ('The wisdom of deception'), implies that wisdom can be discovered in an unrealistic, artistic fantasy in a fictional narrative (that is, in a deception). For this reason, it is erroneous to translate it as 'The book of wisdom and of deceit'. This title suggests

that Orbeliani may have been influenced by the very popular *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat*, which was known in Georgian as *Sibrdzne Balavarisa* ('The wisdom of Balavari'). Its influence, as well as that of the collections of Indian and Persian fables *Anvari Sohailisa* (*Kilila and Damana* in Georgian translation) and *T'imsariani* can be seen in Orbeliani's work, especially in the plan of the fables, certain turns of phrase, the sequential arrangement of the maxims, and other formal aspects, though the fables in *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa* are neither attributed by name to any other source nor well-known contemporary translations or imitations of other works in the same genre. Orbeliani may have drawn the basic plot from subject-matter that was widely known among the populace, though the work is an original composition from beginning to end.

Later, when he became a monk, Orbeliani's written collection of sermons, *Teachings*, worked towards the same goal of providing moral instruction, in which the author draws attention to the vicious qualities and habits of the public and seeks to guide them to the moral path through Christian learning. In this collection, which has survived in a single complete manuscript (dated 1729), but has been published in printed form several times in Georgian, there are sermons pertaining to confession, hospitality and avarice. One of these, 'Concerning the Feast of St George and the Muslim domination of the Georgians', is directed against conversion to Islam. Orbeliani relentlessly reproves the behaviour of those who, for mercenary goals, would exchange their ancestral religion for Muslim domination, and warns such traitors that they will by no means be pardoned for their sins if they do not come to their senses in time.

Owing to its later popularity, there are many extant manuscripts of *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, 50 of which are worthy of consideration. No autograph copy is preserved. Scholarly editions of the text are based on six datable manuscripts (Q 744, S 3047, A 1166, H 180, A 860, S 1528), which are approximately assigned to the second half of the 18th century. Printed editions of the text run to between 160 and 170 pages.

SIGNIFICANCE

Sibrdzne sic'ruisa is an extremely important literary work in the history of Georgian culture and thought. With its straightforward, easy-going, colloquial folk language and penchant for humorous disclosures, it inculcates moral habits by telling stories, an approach which, along with its other merits, excludes discrimination with respect to ethnic or religious affiliation, and encourages respect for people's various ethnicities and

creeds, their historical traditions, and their traditional rites and customs. This kind of tolerant culture was familiar to Georgian literature and social life prior to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, and also after him. He is biased only against the ethnicity and religion of the enemy, which in the case of the Ottoman Turks, can faintly be detected in this work as a response to the historical situation.

PUBLICATIONS

The following MSS have been used for critical editions:

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – H 180 (1766; copied by Rector David; contains four texts including *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa*)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Collection of the Society for the spread of Georgian literature amongst former Georgians – S 1528 (1782)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Georgian Manuscripts Foundation – Q 744 (18th century)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Collection of the former Ecclesiastical Museum – A 860 (18th century)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Collection of the former Ecclesiastical Museum – A 1166 (18th century)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Collection of the Society for the spread of Georgian literature amongst former Georgians – S 3047 (18th century)

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Cigni sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, St Petersburg, 1859

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Cigni sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, ed. P. Umikashvili, Tbilisi, 1871

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Cigni sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, Tbilisi, 1881

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Cigni sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, ed. N. Mt'varelishvili, Tbilisi, 1892

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Kniga mudrosti i Izhi*, ed. and trans. A.A. Tsagareli, St Petersburg, 1878, 1893 (Russian trans.)

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *The book of wisdom and lies*, ed. and trans. J.O. Wardrop, London, 1894 (English trans.)

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne-sic'ruisa*, ed. G. Leonidze, 1928, Tbilisi

Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Die Weisheit der Lüge*, trans. M. Tseretheli, Berlin, 1933 (German trans.)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Cigni sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, ed. G. Leonidze and S. Iordanishvili, 1938, Tbilisi
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Mudrost' vymysla*, ed. and trans. E. Ghoghoberidze, Moscow, 1948, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1975 (Russian trans.)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *A bölcseség mesékönyve*, trans. R. Honti, Budapest, 1953, 1955 (Hungarian trans. from the 1951 Russian edition)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, Tbilisi, 1957
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *The book of wisdom and fiction*, trans. J. Mchedishvili and I. Petrova, Tbilisi, 1959 (English trans. selections in English and Georgian)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Kniha moudrosti a lži*, trans. I. Vaculin, Prague, 1962 (Czech trans.)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, ed. V. Chelidze, Tbilisi, 1970
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Die Weisheit der Lüge*, trans. H. Fähnrich, Berlin, 1973 (German trans.)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *La sagesse du mensonge*, ed. and trans. G. Buač'idze, Tbilisi, 1978 (French trans.)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *The book of wisdom and fiction*, trans. J. Mchedishvili and I. Petrova, Tbilisi, 19782 (English trans.; selections in English and Georgian)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *A book of wisdom and lies*, trans. K. Vivian, London, 1982 (English trans.)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Weisheit der Erdichtung*, trans. H. Siradze, Tbilisi, 1984 (German trans.)
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, ed. L. Menabde, Tbilisi, 1986
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, Tbilisi, 1992
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa*, Tbilisi, 2010
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa; Mogzauroba evropashi* [Wisdom of deceit; Journey to Europe], Tbilisi, 2011
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa, rč'euli nacerebi*, t.1 [Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba: Wisdom of Deceit, Selected Works, vol. 1], Tbilisi, 2013

A list of translations of the work is given in D. Menabde, 'Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani in foreign languages', in I. Ratiani (ed.), *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani*

350. Saiubileo krebuli [Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani 350. Anniversary Collection], Tbilisi, 2009, 182-8, including:

Mongirdi, 1954 (Polish trans.), Elimbaevi, 1959 (Kazakh trans.), L.B. Fox, 1962 (English trans.), P'enrixi, 1974, 1981 (German trans.), P'erensene, 1983 (Lithuanian trans.) and Ceret'eli, 1988 (German trans.)

STUDIES

L. Menabde, 'Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani', *Didi K'art'velebi* [Great Georgians], Tbilisi, 2012, pp. 14-32

Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, pp. 123-6

P'iralishvili, 'Saba da k'art'uli kosmosi', pp. 12-21

K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria*, t. 2 [A history of Old Georgian literature, vol. 2], Tbilisi, 1981, pp. 454-8

D.M. Lang, '"Wisdom and lies". Variations on a Georgian literary theme', *BSOAS* 18 (1956) 436-48

Leoniże, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. Gamokvlevebi da cerilebi*, pp. 172-8

Mogzauroba evropashi, 'Journey to Europe'

DATE 1710s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Mogzauroba evropashi ('Journey to Europe') is the conventional title given to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's memoir. Only the second part of the text has been preserved. This is about 210 pages long. The title page is missing, and the actual subject-matter can only be restored partially by means of documents preserved in European archives. Hence the designation of the text that has come down to us as *Mogzauroba evropashi* in 'previously written' accounts. Orbeliani wrote it in Europe between 1713 and 1716, when, as a close relative of King Vakht'ang VI, he was entrusted with a diplomatic mission.

As Georgia was surrounded by the Muslim Persian and Ottoman Empires, cut off from its traditional political, economic and cultural lifeline to Europe, the country found itself in very serious circumstances. In addition, Vakht'ang VI was summoned to Isfahan by the Shah of Persia in 1712 with the unconditional demand for him to convert to Islam, and the threat of compulsory deportation to Kirman should he refuse.

In 1713, Orbeliani set off urgently for France and Italy in order to obtain assistance for K'art'li; in particular, he approached King Louis XIV with an offer of trade with Asia, thereby skirting the Ottoman Empire, and he offered Pope Clement XI the conversion of 24 villages of K'art'li to Catholicism. Neither took up his offer, and he made to return home unsuccessful.

In the parts of *Mogzauroba evropashi* that have survived (the most extensive of these is 110 pages in print), Orbeliani first mentions the Ottomans when he was staying in Malta. One of his hosts relates that in his youth he had served on ships in the hope of burning Constantinople, and during one voyage he was involved in a battle with the sultan's sailors and defeated them, seizing great plunder from them. Another Maltese person reveals that he had also waged war as a commander against the sultan's fleet. Orbeliani does not conceal his emotion as he transmits this information.

By Orbeliani's account, at the time of his stay in Malta, they had 17,000 Muslim prisoners. They liberated any Christian among those they captured, and so Orbeliani met several Georgians in Malta (and in Livorno) to whom the local people were favourably disposed. Although they wanted to return to their homeland, he forbade this, apparently because of the severe social and political conditions prevailing in Georgia at this time.

Before entering the port of Constantinople, Orbeliani once again mentions the Ottomans disapprovingly, writing that from the ship he beheld villages that they had laid waste.

At the point when he reaches Muslim territory, his narrative becomes unexpectedly 'compressed' and in general adopts an uncharacteristic mood:

> We arrived in Constantinople and lodged at the Yedikule [the seven-towered fortress-castle] … we disembarked from the ship … it is a great city and has many buildings, but having come from France we no longer cared for it. (Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Mogzauroba evropaši*, ed. L. Menabde, Tbilisi, 2012, p. 184)

He adds to this dry description no more than 20 lines of sparse information about only a few incidents from a stay in Constantinople of 17 months: in March, following the sultan's campaign in the Morea (Peloponnese), the illumination of every minaret in Constantinople to celebrate the sultan's victory and the eve of the birth of Muḥammad; in April, the firing of cannon for ten days to mark the birth of the sultan's

daughter and son (three days for the daughter, but seven for the son). Also included on two or three pages of the work are some more comprehensive descriptions of Istanbul, concerning the extent of the city, the age of those paying taxes, and the ethnic composition and size of the population, with information of a general geographical and social character. However, later while he is at sea, outraged and insulted, Orbeliani describes with great mental anguish on several of the final pages of *Mogzauroba evropashi* the misfortunes by which Georgian territories were converted into Ottoman *pashalik*s, and recalls how much trouble and humiliation he suffered on this homeward journey, both from the Ottomans and from Georgian inhabitants of the empire's outlying territories who had converted to Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani's *Mogzauroba evropashi* is the first example of Georgian documentary prose. Drawing on the European scholarly tradition, he established the beginning in the national literature for the development of the well-known genre of the travel-memoir. Through this detailed record, he was the first to introduce Georgian readers to European culture and popular customs. In addition, he recorded his antipathy towards Muslim Ottomans, referred to as Tatars, and to Georgians who had converted to Islam. He transmitted noteworthy information of a political, economic, geographical and practical character, openly disclosing his own attitudes and his cultural and political orientation.

A number of imitators followed Orbeliani's lead in Georgian literature. During the 18th and 19th centuries, travel memoirs were written by Timot'e Gabashvili, Iona Gedevanishvili and Giorgi Avalishvili. All three authors provide important information about both the Ottoman and Eastern Christian spheres, the geographical locations they visited and the local ways of life, the people's cultural and religious beliefs, and their relationships. The contemporary Georgian author Nugzar Shataidze's postmodern autobiographical short story, 'The wasted Copeck, or What did I want in Europe?' is also worthy of note, because in it the stories of Georgian writers in Europe and Istanbul are told in the context of Orbeliani's *Mogzauroba evropashi*.

PUBLICATIONS

Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, 'Mogzauroba evropashi', ed. G. Eristavi, *Tsiskar* 1-4 (1852) published in several parts

Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Mogzauroba evropashi*, 1940, Tbilisi (first critical edition)

Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Mogzauroba evropashi, T'xzulebani*, t. 1 [Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Journey to Europe, Works*, vol. 1], Tbilisi, 1959
Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Puteshestvie v Evropu*, trans. F. T'valt'adze, Tbilisi, 1969 (Russian trans.)
Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Mogzauroba evropashi*, Tbilisi, 2005
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Sibrdzne sic'ruisa; Mogzauroba evropashi* [Wisdom of deceit; Journey to Europe], Tbilisi, 2011
Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Mogzauroba evropashi*, ed. L. Menabde, Tbilisi, 2012
Orbeliani Sulkhan-Saba, *Mogzauroba evropashi*, ed. Z. Abašije, Tbilisi, 2013

STUDIES

Menabde, 'Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani', pp. 52-62
Xarbedia, '20 mokle mogoneba. "Mogzauroba evropashi"', pp. 30-51
P'irališvili, 'Saba da k'art'uli kosmosi', pp. 22-6
Leoniže, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. Gamokvlevebi da cerilebi*, p. 170

Irina Natsvlishvili

Grigol Vakhvakhishvili-Dodorkeli

DATE OF BIRTH After 1659
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Before 1750
PLACE OF DEATH Presumably St Dodo's monastery, Davitgareja Laura, Kaxet'i

BIOGRAPHY

There is very little information on Grigol Vakhvakhishvili. We know that he lived at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries in Kaxet'i, Georgia's eastern kingdom. He is thought to have been the son of Kaxet'i's royal falconer. Later, he took vows as a monk at Dodorka, one of the monasteries of Davitgareja Laura. (Dodorka was founded by St Dodo of Gareja in the 6th century.) In 1703, an ecclesiastical and calendar reform was carried out on the initiative of Queen Ana of Kaxet'i by him and Nikoloz Cherkezishvili, Metropolitan of Rustavi.

Grigol Vakhvakhishvili also played an important part in the compilation of a collection of the lives of Georgian saints. He was the author of a life of Queen St K'et'evan and of a liturgical collection called *Akolotia [Akolouthia]*, a work in two parts, which consists of church hymns.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Manuscript Centre – S-1464 *Sadghelsastsauloni* [Holy Day Readings], fols 47v-48r (18th century; includes information on Grigol Vakhvakhishvili's activities and his contribution to church reforms)

Anton I (Georgian Catholicos), *Tsqobilsitqvaoba* [Sacred poetry], [s.l.], 1768 (includes biographical and literary information about Grigol Vakhvakhishvili)

Ioané Batonishvili, *Kalmasoba*, ed. K. Kekelize and A. Baramidze, Tbilisi, 1948, vol. 2, p. 181 (contains information about Grigol Vakhvakhishvili's religious and literary activity)

Anton Bagration, *Tsqobilsitqvaoba*, ed. Ivané Lolashvili, Tbilisi, 1980, p. 278 (commentary, p. 333)

Secondary

M. Kavtaria, 'Grigol Vakhvakhishvili (Dodorkeli)', in I. Shanidze (ed.), *Dzveli k'art'uli agiograpiuli literaturis dzeglebi* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographical literature], Tbilisi, 1989, vol. 5, pp. 136-65

K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria*, Tbilisi, 1981[5], vol. 2, pp. 342-3

M. Kavtaria, *Dzveli k'art'uli sasuliero poeziis istoriidan* [From the history of Old Georgian spiritual poetry] (17th-18th centuries), Tbilisi, 1977, pp. 142-63

M. Kavtaria, *Davitgarejis literaturuli skola* [The Davitgareja literary school], Tbilisi, 1965, pp. 64-71

T. Rukhadze, 'Akhlad aghmochenili tskhovreba da ts'ameba K'et'evan dedoplisa [A newly discovered life and martyrdom of Queen K'et'evan]', *Literaturuli Dziebani* [Literary investigations] 5 (1949) 229-67

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tsamebay qovlad didebulisa motsamisa dedoplisa K'et'evanisa, 'The martyrdom of the most worshipful martyr Queen K'et'evan, who was martyred in the city of Shiraz by the infidel Shah 'Abbās, King of the Persians'

DATE 1703-13

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Tsamebay qovlad didebulisa motsamisa dedoplisa K'et'evanisa, romeli itsama sparsta mepisa shahabaz usjulosa mier kalaksa shirazisasa is a prose composition, 28 pages long in the 1989 edition. It describes the life, martyrdom and sacrifice for Christianity of Queen St K'et'evan (1560-1624) of Kaxet'i (Georgia's eastern kingdom). K'et'evan was the wife of Davit', King of Kaxet'i, and when the king died she took over the government of the kingdom on behalf of her son T'eimuraz. The prince was taken to the court of Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1588-1629), and a struggle for the throne began between K'et'evan and her brother-in-law, Konstantiné, who had converted to Islam and enjoyed the support of 'Abbās. Konstantiné ruthlessly slaughtered his own father and brother Giorgi, and the Kaxet'i nobility brutally killed him and offered K'et'evan his head. The queen then decided that her son should take the throne as King T'eimuraz I of Kaxet'i. The king returned from Persia with the shah's permission, but the shah soon had doubts about T'eimuraz's loyalty and

invaded Kaxet'i. To allay the shah's anger, T'eimuraz sent to him his mother and two sons, both of whom were castrated.

As the narrative relates, soon afterwards the shah demanded that K'et'evan, a prisoner in Shiraz, should abjure Christianity and accept Islam. The queen refused and was executed in Shiraz's central square after horrific torture. Catholic priests who were in Shiraz at the time buried her remains. Later, these priests brought some parts of her body back to Kaxet'i to King T'eimuraz, and they were buried in the Church of St George at Alaverdi, the religious centre of Kaxet'i.

SIGNIFICANCE

Grigol Vakhvakhishvili-Dodorkeli's work had a powerful effect on Georgian historical writing and literature. Later descriptions of St K'et'evan's life and execution are often based on his work.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Manuscript Centre – A-130, pp. 114-27 (1705-13)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Manuscript Centre – S-3269, pp. 171–7 (1720s)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Manuscript Centre – A-170, pp. 69–77 (1733)

I. Shanidze (ed.), *Dzveli kartuli agiograpiuli literaturis dzeglebi* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographical literature], Tbilisi, 1989, vol. 5, pp. 5-32

Z. Machitadze, 'Holy great-martyr Queen Ketevan', in L. Mirianashvili (ed.), *Lives of the Georgian saints*, trans. D. and L.E. Ninoshvili, Platina CA, 2006, 325-9 (not a translation, but covers the same material as Vakhvakhishvili-Dodorkeli's *Life of K'et'evan*)

STUDIES

E. Gabidzashvili, *A specialized bibliography of Old Georgian original spiritual writing and compositions*, Tbilisi: Spiritual Academy and Seminary Publishers, 2015, pp. 30-1

Kavtaria, 'Grigol Vakhvakhishvili (Dodorkeli)'

Kekelidze, *Dzveli kartuli literaturis istoria*

Kavtaria, *Davitgarejis literaturuli skola*

Rukhadze 'Akhlad aghmochenili tskhovreba', pp. 248-67

Merab Ghaghanidze

King Vakht‘ang VI

DATE OF BIRTH 15 September 1675
PLACE OF BIRTH K‘art‘li, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 26 March 1737
PLACE OF DEATH Astrakhan, Russia

BIOGRAPHY

Vakht‘ang VI Bagration-Mukhraneli was king of K‘art‘li from 1716 to 1724, having served as Iranian governor of the country from 1703 to 1714. His reign was characterised by a proliferation of Georgian literature, which facilitated intellectual growth. He himself was a distinguished poet, scientist, translator, editor and critic, and he regularly organised educational events.

During his time as governor, Vakht‘ang tried to strengthen the rule of law, overseeing the creation of a legal digest for which he was given the title ‘the legislator’. He also focused on the development of agriculture by renovating irrigation systems. In 1709, he established the first Georgian printing house, where copies of the Gospels, New Testament letters and the Book of Psalms were first published. In 1712, he published his own edited version of Rustaveli’s *Vep‘xistqaosani* (‘The knight in the panther skin’). He also translated *Kalila and Dimna* and several other works, and took a close interest in astronomy, mathematics, geography and chemistry.

Vakht‘ang was opposed to Islam both politically and religiously. In April 1712, he was called to Isfahan by the shah to be officially confirmed as heir to the throne of K‘art‘li, for which he was ordered to convert to Islam. When he refused, he was exiled to Kerman, but in 1716 he formally accepted Islam and was allowed to return to K‘art‘li as king. In 1719, however, he publicly denounced Islam and re-affirmed his Christian faith.

In 1720, Vakht‘ang established relations with Peter I of Russia (r. 1682-1725), and two years later, in July 1724, he fled to Russia after being betrayed. In 1726-7, he travelled to Gilan as the official Russian representative but, after unsuccessful talks with the Iranian shah, he adopted Astrakhan as his home. He died there on 26 March 1737.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Perepiska Gruz. tsarei s rossiĭsk. Gosudariami ot 1659 g. po 1770 g., St Petersburg, 1861

P. Karbelashvili, *Ierark'ia sak'art'velos eklesiisa: kat'alikosni da mġvdelmt'avarni*, Tbilisi, 1900

Sak'art'velos c'xovreba, (Z. Čičinaži gamoc'ema), Tbilisi, 1913, p. 141

Secondary

M. Lort'k'ip'aniże et al. (eds), *Sak'art'velos istoria ot'x tomad*, vol. 3, Tbilisi, 2012

D. Musxelishvili, M. Samsonaże and A. Daušvili, *Sak'art'velos istoria użvelesi droidan 2009 clamde*, Tbilisi, 2012

L. Menabde, *Vaxtang VI*, Tbilisi, 2011

R. Metreveli, *Sak'art'velos mep'eebi*, Tbilisi, 2010

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 126-7

M. Lort'k'ip'aniże and R. Metreveli, *Sak'art'velos mep'eebi,* Tbilisi, 2007

S. Janashia and N. Berżenišvili, *Sak'art'velos istoria*, Tbilisi, 1980

K'art'uli sabčot'a enc'iklopedia, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1979, pp. 336-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

K'ilila da Damana, Kilila and Damana

DATE 1710-14

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

The 18th-century *K'ilila da Damana* is a translation of a well-known collection of fables about two jackals, which were first developed in India (*Panchatantra*) and then soon disseminated in Iran and the Arab world. Among the Persian versions of the text, the most popular was written in the second half of the 15th century by Vaiz Kashifi, entitled *Anwar-e-Sohaili*, a version famed for its eloquence and complexity of style. Georgian translations of the manuscript were developed from this edition.

Until the 1930s, the Georgian public was familiar with two editions, the first by King Davit' I of Kaxet'i (r. 1601-2) and others, and the second by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, which was thought to have contained some contributions by Vakht'ang. E. Takaishvili was the first to describe this contribution, while Al. Baramidze's 'Anwar-e-Sohaili's, or Kilila and Damana's Georgian versions' set in motion the full study of the text.

There are three different versions of the translated work, known as A, B and C. Version A was translated by King David. A century later, in

1710-14, Vakht'ang ordered Georgian and Armenian scholars to complete this work. He himself reviewed the completed edition but was dissatisfied with it, so, while in exile in Kerman (1714-16), he started from scratch and made a gloss translation, version B. Lacking time and needing help, he sent this to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, who created an entirely new edition on the basis of Vakht'ang's gloss. This reworking was authorised by Vakht'ang, and became the final version C.

This translation preserves the moral of every Indian and Muslim story in the work, irrespective of its cultural and religious background. Fidelity to Kashifi's Persian original was crucial to Vakht'ang, so he did not make any significant changes to the text, even when Muslim characters were painted in a positive light.

Some examples of Muslim terms in the text include: verse 197.2: *Aji*, pilgrim to Mecca; verse 296: *ajigha*, women's veil; verse 487.16: *Marzap'ani* (viceroy), appointed by the shah; verse 284: *Shamsjazireti* (Syria, Yemen, Hijaz); verse 6, 198.20: *Shikh*, shaykh; verse 143: *Jimshedi jami* (Jimshed's bowl), a reference to the Iranian fictional King Jimshed's magic mirror; verse 390: *khoja*, merchant.

SIGNIFICANCE

Vakht'ang VI describes *K'ilila da Damana* as a 'book of fables full of gratification, offering sustenance ... containing world wisdom'. Despite numerous insults and restrictions inflicted on him by the Persian Empire, which contributed to his stubbornly shunning all things Persian, he pragmatically shows acceptance of this Persian work. He realised that by translating it he would enable his people to broaden their cultural perspective, so he and his collaborators produced an unbiased translation of the text, allowing Muslim characters to be portrayed in a positive light, rather than deliberately altering it to reflect his own experiences.

PUBLICATIONS

MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – M53; S3177; A155 Acad. M.-F. Brosset's Collection 16/47 (before 1737)

K'ilila da damana, sparsulidan k'art'ulad nat'argmanebi mep'isa Vaxtangisagan, Tbilisi, 1886

K'ilila da damana: igav-arakebi, k'art'ulad gadmoket'ebuli Vaxtang VI-isa da Sulxan-Saba Orbelianis mier, Tbilisi, 1949

K'ilila da damana: igav-arakebis krebuli, sparsulidan t'argmnili mep'e Vaxtang VI-isa da Sulxan-Saba Orbelianis mier, Tbilisi, 1975

Husein ibn Ali K'ashep'i, *K'ilila da damana: spars. t 'argmn. mep'e Vaxtang meek'vs isa da Sulxan-Saba Orbelianis mier*, Kutaisi, 2006

STUDIES

K'art'uli literaturat'mc'odneobit'i mc'ire ant'ologia, ed. G. Baramiżem, Tbilisi, 1997, pp. 87-91

M. Todua, *'K'ilila da damanas' sabaseuli versia*, Tbilisi, 1967

D. Kobiże, 'K'ilila da damana', *Mnat'obi* 2 (1950) 168-72

Sak'art'velos SSR Mec'nierebat'a akademiis moambe, Tbilisi, 1946, vol. 8, pp. 529-36

Al. Baramiże, *Narkvevebi k'art'uli literaturis istoriidan*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1945

K. Kekeliże, *Dzveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, Tbilisi, 1924, vol. 2, pp. 305-11

Nana Mrevlishvili

Step‘anos Kafayec‘i

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly Theodosia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably early 18th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author identifies himself by name at the conclusion of the work, employing an epithet to indicate his affinities with the city of Theodosia on the Crimea and describing himself by the deprecatory formula ‘unworthy, last philologist’, which led the first editor to plausibly identify him as a priest.

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology itself.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nahatakut‘iwn nor vkayin K‘ristosi S. Sahakay Brutnec‘woy, ‘Martyrology of Christ’s neomartyr St Sahak Brutnec‘i’

DATE 1714
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Nahatakut‘iwn nor vkayin K‘ristosi S. Sahakay Brutnec‘woy (‘Martyrology of Christ’s neomartyr St Sahak Brutnec‘i’) is eight pages long in the critical edition published in 1903. This is based on the first edition published in 1893 by Ełewond Alishan, who does not provide details concerning the manuscript from which the work derives.

The protagonist is described as a tall, handsome 17-year-old youth from the village of Brut (Buhrut) in the historical Armenian province of Gołt‘n, currently the Ordubad district of the Nakichevan region of the Republic of Azerbaijan, who had travelled with a kinsman to the Ottoman town of Azak (Azov) near the mouth of the River Don for purposes of trade. The author indicates that the young man’s noble bearing provoked the envy of local Muslims who schemed how to orchestrate his

conversion to Islam. They thus procured witnesses to testify that he had promised to reject Christianity in favour of their religion and raised the matter with a *qāḍī*, who stated that the youth must either fulfil his promise or die by the sword.

When the case was brought before the emir Yūsuf, Sahak stated he did not recognise the witnesses or the episode they related. After three days in prison, Sahak was again taken before the emir, together with an official styled the 'prince of princes', a number of judges, and other magnates. The prince offered various inducements including adoption to persuade the youth to accept Islam, but to no avail. Back in prison for a further seven days, Sahak refused to eat the food they provided. Meanwhile, the *qāḍī* conveyed to him a message via an Armenian that all that was required was a formal abjuration of Christianity, after which he would be free to return to his country and practise his faith unopposed. This offer the youth also rejected and, in consequence, underwent harsh torture, his flesh being scraped with iron tongs. The final phase of the tribunal was conducted by the army commander, who also sought to persuade the youth to change his mind by promising wealth and other benefits. When Sahak rejected these, the commander ordered him to be stripped and bound and escorted to the square opposite the emir's palace for execution. However, the executioner was so convulsed by shaking that instead of severing Sahak's neck the sword fell upon his back, causing a copious effusion of blood. When the shaking continued as he was about to administer the second blow, the emir exclaimed he should approach the task as if he were slaughtering a sheep. At that he laid the youth on the ground and struck him. The *qāḍī* then ordered the martyr's body to be thrown into the river, but some faithful Christians were able to gain possession of his remains for a large sum and arrange his burial. The martyrdom occurred on 17 October 1714.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work displays the author's close familiarity with the characteristics of the genre of martyrology in various respects. Most notable is his penchant for contextualising the protagonist within a biblical framework, as in describing the youth as a lamb among wolves (John 10:12), who is nevertheless armed with the breastplate of faith, etc. according to Pauline military metaphors (Ephesians 6:14), with his faith founded on a rock (Matthew 7:24-7 and Luke 6:46-9). More particularly, he heightens various parallels with the passion of Christ, as in his drinking the 'cup of death' (Luke 22:42), while his body is exposed on the square for three

days before burial like Christ’s entombment, and a God-fearing man like Nicodemus (e.g. Matthew 27:57-8) prepares his body for burial. Similarly, pivotal aspects of the action are depicted from a spiritual perspective. The ultimate agency behind the scheme to have Sahak apostasise is attributed to Satan, and a miracle concludes the narrative: drizzle falls on the martyr’s exposed body to wash his blood from the earth so that it is not trampled on by infidels.

Meanwhile, a Christian is portrayed as taking some of the saint’s blood by night on a piece of cotton, which glowed like a fire without emitting sparks, an event also witnessed by the Muslim night watchmen, who informed Christians afterwards. Other Muslims are depicted as seeing the martyr’s body standing upright in the cart that carried him to his burial.

Stereotypically, a light is also manifested as extending from the place of execution to that of burial in token of divine vindication.

The work also features different kinds of stylistic embellishment, one facet of which is the inclusion of two sets of rhetorical questions during the interrogation and before the execution to evoke pathos in readers. Another traditional trope is paradox and hyperbole, presenting the martyr as a rose blossoming in winter, whose fragrance spreads throughout the world.

The narrative also alludes in passing to deeper contemporary issues of a more political and economic nature underlying the events described. The area around the estuary of the River Don into the Sea of Azov was a major commercial hub, as indicated by the ethnic diversity of those witnessing the martyrdom, who included Turks, Tatars, Armenians, Greeks and Russians. Hence Azak (Azov) became the source of frequent military disputes, necessitating construction of the fortress mentioned in the text, erected by the Ottomans in 1471 to block access by the Don Cossacks. Likewise, the Nakhichevan region from which Sahak came was situated on major trade routes, and its Armenian community had been heavily involved in the international silk trade between the Persian and Ottoman Empires since the 16th century, branching out to encompass trade to Russia and thereby to Western Europe in the following century. At the same time, religious and political tensions had complicated Perso-Ottoman relations in this period, resulting in a series of wars, of which the next phase was about to erupt in 1722. In this context it is highly likely that the locals’ statement to the *qāḍī* that Sahak had come from ‘the eastern land’ was calculated to predispose the official against the accused.

PUBLICATIONS

Łewond Alishan, *Sisakan: tełagrutiwn Siwneac' ashxarhi*, Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1893, 528-30 (first edition)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałarshapat, 1903, pp. 552-9 (critical edition)

K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, predislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 228-32 (Russian trans.)

S. Peter Cowe

Besarion Orbelishvili

DATE OF BIRTH Latter part of the 17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH K'art'li, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 1737
PLACE OF DEATH Mc'xet'a, Georgia

BIOGRAPHY

Catholicos Besarion, an ecclesiastical writer, hymnographer, hagiographer, polemicist and liturgist, belonged to the influential house of Orbelishvili-Barat'ashvili, known for their culture and traditions. From 1680 to 1723, he was a priest at the Gareji Monastery of St John the Baptist and an active figure on the Gareji literary scene. The colophon of a manuscript copied in 1697 indicates that his parents were called Mariam and Bezhan, and his father confessor was St Onop're Garejeli (Onop're of Gareji) (Machutaże). In the Gareji desert, his teacher was Hieromonk Ioseb, son of Aragvi Erist'avi [Duke]. Besarion had a close relationship with Mak'sime Bolneli (Mak'sime of Bolnisi). After his time in Gareji, he was the catholicos of K'art'li from 1724 to 1737 (according to some versions, 1727-37).

As Patriarch Besarion, he has received conflicting assessments. Some, among them the venerable Gabriel Mc'ire (Gabriel the Little) in his work *Ġmt'ivsulieri t'xrobani* ('Divinely inspired narratives'), refer to him as a new Chrysostom, while others, including Polievk'tos Karbelashvili (1855-1936), accuse him of passivity and of being wrongfully enthroned as catholicos. He is generally thought to have been enthroned 1724, but M. K'avt'ria gives the date as 1727 (colophon of MS Kutaisi Museum 28). In that same manuscript, Karbelashvili attributes his enthronement to his friendship with King Iase and enmity with King Vakht'ang VI (r. 1716-24).

In 1733, Besarion addressed Vakht'ang in a letter, asking him to return to K'art'li and take an oath from Mamia Gurieli [Mamia of Guria] to end the sale of captives.

MS H-2077 (1735), preserved at the National Centre of Manuscripts, names Catholicos Besarion as the incumbent Head of the Church. His seal can be seen on a document in the Central Archives 1448 Collection (2771, March 1736).

Catholicos Besarion died at the end of 1737. This date is documented by Prince Vakhushti, who, when writing about the death of Vakht'ang VI in 1737 (*k'oronkoni* – the year 425 in the Byzantine 532-year cycle) remarks, 'and Catholicos Besarion died'. He is buried in the Sveticxoveli Church, at the entrance to the Chapel of St Nicholas, in the south-eastern section. A document issued on 2 February 1738, published by N. Berżenishvili already bears the signature of the new incumbent Catholicos Kirile.

The cultural and literary contribution of Besarion Orbelishvili-Barat'ashvili to the development of Georgian ecclesiastical literature is tremendous, as is even acknowledged by those who take a negative view of his public activities (such as Karbelashvili). He is regarded as the author of the second edition of the Georgian hagiographical collection. His era saw the beginning of the compilation of the Georgian hagiographical corpus, which includes the lives and martyrdoms of Georgian saints and is concluded with the activities of saints whose lives had not previously been recorded. Catholicos Besarion is also credited with making a contribution to the development of Georgian liturgical and polemical literature; according to the Slavic-Russian prologue-synaxaries, he compiled a new edition of *Sad ġesascaulo* (Hymn book for feasts), as well as the hymnographic canons of Ise Cilkneli (Ise of Cilkani), 'The Lord's tunic' and 'Ražden the first martyr'. He also wrote *Grdemli* ('The anvil'), a polemical-dogmatic composition in defence of the Orthodox faith in Georgia and against Catholicism.

Besarion copied several works: before 1695 the Liturgy, before 1697 the *Lavsaikon* ('Lausiak history of Palladius of Hellenopolis') and works by Ephraim the Syrian, in 1697 *The ladder* by John of Sinai, and in 1715 *Cmida Timot'e sakvirvelis* and *Cminda Svimeon sakvirvelis c'xovrebani* (Lives of St Timothy the Miracle Worker and St Symeon the Miracle Worker). Prior to that he 'described' *Cigni Eprem asurisa* ('The book of Ephraim the Syrian'), *Lavsaikon, Rvat'a gulissitqvat'at'vis* ('On eight vices') and *Egviptisa da a ġmosavlet'is monastert'a gangebay* ('Organisation of monasteries of Egypt and the East') by St John Cassian. He also began copying *The life of St Gregory the Miracle Worker* (MS Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts A-121 up to fol. 114r), under the title *C'xovrebay da mok'alak'obay cmidisa da netarisa mamisa ch'uenisa Grigol Hromt'a papisay* ('The life and activity of the holy and blessed Father Gregory the Pope of Rome').

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts – Q-135, 65r

MS Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts – A-105

MS Tbilisi, Central Historical Archives of Georgia, Collection 1448 – 1037 (a copy of this document is also preserved in the Archives, Collection 230(5), Directory no. 1, Section 12, Row 14, p. 138)

Perepiska gruz. Tsareĭ c rossiĭsk. Gosudariami ot 1659 g. po 1770 g [Correspondence of Georgian kings with Russian monarchs], St Petersburg, 1861, pp. 198-200

M. Sabinin, *Sak'art'velos samot'xe* [The paradise of Georgia], St Petersburg, 1882, p. 332

P. C'xviloel-Karbelashvili, *Gujerebi Davit' Garejis udabnosi* [Maps of the Gareji Desert], *Iveria* 88 (1893)

P. Karbelashvili, *Ierark'ia saqart'velos eklesiisa. Kat'alikosni da mġvdelmt'avarni* [Hierarchy of the Church of Georgia. Catholicoi and bishops], Tbilisi, 1900, pp. 139-40

K'art'lis c'xovreba. Mariam dedop'liseuli nusxa [Georgian chronicles. The life of K'art'li, Queen Mariam Codex], Tbilisi, 1906, pp. 197-80

V. Bagrationi, *Sak'art'velos c'xovreba* [The life of Georgia], ed. Z. Chichinaże, Tbilisi, 1913, p. 141

Secondary

A. Bagrationi, *Cqobilsitqvaoba* [Ordered discourse], Tbilisi, 1980, p. 255

I. Abulaże et al. (eds), *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographic literature], Tbilisi, 1980, vol. 6, p. 186

I. Abulaże et al. (eds), *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographic literature], Tbilisi, 1980, vol. 6, pp. 34, 49, 54-9

Ir. Abashiże (ed.), *K'art'uli sabchot'a enc'iklopedia* [Georgian Soviet encyclopaedia], Tbilisi, 1977, vol. 2, p. 339

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Lives and martyrdoms of Georgian kings and other martyrs recorded by Besarion Orbelishvili

Arch'il mep'is cameba, 'Martyrdom of King Arch'il'
Luarsab mep'is cameba, 'Martyrdom of King Luarsab'
Biżinas, Shalvas, Elizbaris cameba, 'Martyrdom of Biżina, Shalva and Elizbari'

DATE 1713-33
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Catholicos Besarion's works are included in the hagiographical collection compiled by Catholicos Domenti IV, which was completed by Besarion. He spent 20 years working on the martyrdoms of King Arch'il (d. 786) and other saints, Razhden the First Martyr, King Luarsab (d. 1622), Duke Biżina Ch'oloqashvili, Elizbar and Shalva Erist'avi of K'sani, who were martyred in 1661, and he also wrote the life of Ise Cilkneli [Ise of Cilkani]. The exact date of composition of each of these is unknown. K. Kekeliże and N. Berżenishvili date them to around 1730, while M. K'avt'aria assumes on the basis of the colophon of the manuscript they were composed during the 20-year period between 1713 and 1733. Up until 1724 (or according to M. K'avt'aria, 1727), Besarion was in the Gareji Monastery, and was then enthroned as catholicos and moved to K'art'li, so the place of composition of the works cannot be specified. They have survived in two manuscripts: MS Tbilisi A170 (228r-232v) is dated 1733, while MS Tbilisi S 3269 (228r-235v) is from the 18th century, though its exact date of compilation is unknown.

Catholicos Besarion entitled the Life of King Arch'il *Shesxmay da c'amebay cmidisa da didebulisa mocamisa Arch'ilisi, mep 'isa mis k'art'velt'asa ...* ('Praise and martyrdom of the holy and glorious martyr Arch'il, king of the Georgians...'). He based it mainly on *Kartlis tskhovreba* ('Life of kings') by Leonti Mroveli, which describes the martyrdom of Arch'il in 786, and he also used the history composed by Juansher, who is now acknowledged as the author of sections 6-9 of *Kartlis tskhovreba* (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 68). Catholicos Besarion expanded the

factual material in both texts and added a colophon. It is this colophon that identifies him as the author of *The martyrdom of Arch'il*.

King Arch'il reigned in the Kingdom of K'art'li through a very difficult period for Georgia. His reign was distinguished by his fearless struggle against Muslim conquerors and his untiring efforts for the unification of Georgia. The work begins with an extensive introduction, composed under the influence of the introduction to the *Life of Maximus the Confessor*. This is followed by an account of Arch'il's life, in which Besarion seeks to demonstrate and appraise the great acts of the king: 'Nowhere else was the martyrdom of kings heard. Different is the blood of a king, and different that of a lord, and different that of a slave' (Janashvili, *K'art'uli mcerloba*, vol. 1, pp. 260-1; all references are to this edition). The first part, which is dependent on the *Martyrdom of David and Konstantine* (pp. 262-6), recounts the appearance in Georgia of Murvan Qru (Murvan the Deaf, Marwān), who is identified as a nephew of Muḥammad, as in the *Martyrdom of David and Konstantine*. This is followed by an account of the life of Arch'il, taken from Leonti Mroveli (pp. 266-90). Besarion tells of the appointment of Mir, Arch'il's elder brother, as ruler of K'art'li by Arch'il's father, Erist'avi of K'art'li Adarnase, and of Arch'il's support for him during his reign, which witnessed the invasion of K'art'li by Murvan Qru, who ravaged Georgia, destroying cities and innumerable fortresses. Mir and Arch'il took refuge in Ap'xazet'i, where Mir died and Arch'il succeeded him. When he saw how the country was being ravaged he decided he would sacrifice his life to save it, which led him to meet with the Arab ruler. At this meeting, Murvan Qru was attracted to Arch'il and promised him honour and gifts if he abandoned the religion of Christ. He refused and was put in prison. When he accused an Armenian ruler who had converted to Islam of apostasy, he was sentenced to death. Besarion describes Arch'il's execution in great detail, and the narrative ends with the brief advice: 'Let us admire the works of the holy royal martyr and follow his example' (pp. 290-2).

Ġuacli cmidisa da sanatrelisa mocamisa da mep'isa Luarsabisi, romeli icama Shah-Abaz usjuloysa mier sparst'a mep'isa ('Works of the holy and blessed martyr King Luarsab, who was martyred by the infidel king of the Persians Shah 'Abbās') is dedicated to the martyrdom of King Luarsab of K'art'li (d. 1622), an incident in the tragic history of K'art'li and Kaxet'i in the 17th century. On Besarion's initiative, Luarsab was canonised, and the catholicos composed a description of his life and martyrdom in the first half of the 18th century. Like Besarion's other hagiographical works, the text begins with a fairly extensive introduction. From there, it gives

an account of the difficult and tragic fate of Luarsab, his country and people as they found themselves caught between the competing political interests of the Iranian shah and the Ottoman sultan.

Following the devastation of Kaxet'i and the removal of 300,000 families to Fereydan in 1614 by Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1588-1629), Luarsab took refuge in Imeret'i, hoping to win the support of the Ottoman sultan. Failing in this, he returned to K'art'li and set out to meet Shah ʿAbbās in order to save K'art'li from the fate of Kaxet'i. The shah promised him immunity, but did not keep his word. He first took Luarsab hunting and effectively held him captive by placing guards at his tent on the pretext of protecting him from attack. Later, he invited him to eat fish during Great Lent in an attempt to prepare him to abandon Christianity for Islam. Finally, ʿAbbās took Luarsab to Iran and imprisoned him for seven years, but every attempt to force him to convert to Islam proved futile and, on the orders of the shah, he was strangled in prison with a bowstring. This apparently took place on 20 March 1622.

In Georgia, probably before Besarion's time, there existed short synaxary versions of Luarsab's martyrdom (one brief redaction can be found in M. Sabinin's *Sak'art'velos samot'xe*, pp. 580-2; see also Abulaże et al., *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli*, vol. 4, pp. 433-7). His life and martyrdom became so significant to Georgians that an account of it became a desideratum, and Besarion's work was a response to this need.

Shesxma cmidat'a mocamet'a Biżinasi, Shalva and Elizbarisa da ucqeba camebisa mat'isa ('Praise for the holy martyrs Biżina, Shalva and Elizbari and an account of their martyrdom') describes the disaster that befell eastern Georgia in the second half of the 17th century as a consequence of the invasion by Shah ʿAbbās II (r. 1642-66). When ʿAbbās ravaged Kaxet'i, Duke Biżina Ch'oloqashvili, together with Elizbar and Shalva Erist'avi of K'sani resolved to resist. Duke Zaal of Aragvi supported them with a small army. The work makes Besarion's stance towards the Persians clear, presenting the enemy from two viewpoints, as conquerors and as enemies of the religion of Christ. He gives a horrifying picture of the country's devastation, the anguish of the three patriots, and the struggle and self-sacrifice for liberation and the motherland. The enraged Shah ʿAbbās II demands that King Vakht'ang of K'art'li, known as Shah-navaz, hand them over, and when he does ʿAbbās orders them to abjure Christianity and convert to Islam, but they refuse and are subjected to cruel torture. Eventually, Elizbar and Shalva are beheaded, while Biżina Ch'oloqašvili is butchered alive, with his body cut gradually into pieces until only his head remains untouched on his mutilated

trunk. From the movement of his lips it is obvious that his heart is still beating and he is praying, until finally an executioner pierces his heart with a spear. During the night the martyrs' remains are illuminated by a brilliant light. They are buried in secret, and later their relics are transferred to Georgia by Shalva's wife and son. The relics are buried with great honour in the Church of the Archangel, Ikort'a.

The hagiographical works of Catholicos Besarion are all written in the same style, which aims not at eloquence but at creating images that stir people's spirit and awareness by portraying the disaster that befell the homeland. He was highly successful in achieving this objective. The language is epic, especially in the passages depicting the ravaging and devastation of the country, and the suffering and torment of the people.

SIGNIFICANCE

Besarion made an invaluable contribution to the development of later hagiography. For example, Catholicos Anton relies on his works in his *Life* of Arch'il, as well as in his *Shesxma da mot 'xroba ġuaclt'a da vnebat'a cmidisa mocamisa Luarsab meorisa, mep'isa sak'art'veloysa …* ('Praise and account of the works and passion of the holy martyr Luarsab the Second, King of Georgia…'), which is included in his *Martyrikon* (see Abulaże et al., *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli*, vol. 6, pp. 35-66).

The significance of the sacrifices of the three heroes is evidenced by repetition of the stories by other authors. Nikoloz T'bileli [Nikoloz of T'bilisi] and Catholicos Anton wrote poems about them, and they are also included in *Sadġegrżelo* ('A toast') by Gr. Orbeliani, *Osuri mot'xroba*, or *Zare and Qanimat'* ('Ossetic tale, or Zare and Qanimat'') by G. Erist'avi (published in 1858 in the journal *C'iskari*), *Bashi-Ach'uki* (1895-6) by Akaki Tsereteli, and *Baxtrioni* by Vazha-P'shavela (1892), as well as the chronicle written by the Iranian scholar Mohamed Taher (see the study by V. P'ut'uriże, *Mohamed Taheris c'nobebi sak'art'velos shesaxeb* ('Evidence of Mohamed Taher concerning Georgia'), *MSKI. Materials for the History of Georgia and Caucasia*, Section 30, Tbilisi, 1954).

PUBLICATIONS

The Martyrdom of Arch'il:

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – A 170, fols 228r-232v (1733)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S 3269, fols 228r-235v (18th century)

Sabinin, *Sak'art'velos samot'xe* 2, pp. 331-2 (selection)

M. Janashvili, *K'art'uli mcerloba* [Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1900, vol. 1, pp. 253-92

K'art'lis c'xovreba. Mariam dedop'liseuli nusxa, pp. 211-15 (selection)

K'art'lis c'xovreba. Ana dedop'liseuli nusxa [The life of K'art'li. Queen Ana Codex], Tbilisi, 1942, pp. 157-9 (selection)

Żveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia [Chrestomathy of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 247-52 (selection)

S. Qauxch'ishvili (ed), *K'art'lis c'xovreba* [The life of K'art'li], Tbilisi, 1955, vol. 1, pp. 245-8

I. Abulaże et al. (eds), *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographical literature], vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1967, pp. 208-12

I. Abulaże et al. (eds), *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographical literature], vol. 5, Tbilisi, 1989, vol. 5, pp. 95-108

The Martyrdom of Luarsab:

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – A 170, fols 233r-239v (1733)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S 3269, fols 235r-243v (18th century)

Sabinin, *Sak'art'velos samot'xe*, pp. 580-2 (selection)

Żveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia, vol. 1, pp. 407-16

D. Ch'ubinashvili, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia* [Chrestomathy of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1946, pp. 321-44

I. Abulaże et al. (eds), *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographic literature], Tbilisi, 1968, vol. 4, pp. 433-7

Abulaże et al., *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi*, vol. 6, pp. 35-66

Abulaże et al., *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi*, vol. 5, pp. 33-49

Praise for the holy martyrs Biżina, Shalva and Elizbari and an account of their martyrdom:

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – A 170, fols 239r-246v (1733)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S 3269, fols 243r-252v (18th century)

Sabinin, *Sak'art'velos samot'xe*, pp. 599-609 (selection)

Janashvili, *K'art'uli mcerloba*, vol. 1, pp. 293-321
K'art'veli cmindanebi [Georgian saints], Tbilisi, 1901, pp. 81-5
Ch'ubinashvili, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia*, pp. 253-5
Abulaże et al., *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi*, vol. 5, pp. 49-63

STUDIES

N. Berżenišvili (ed.), *Dok'ument'ebi sakartvelos sotsialuri ist'oriidan* [Documents from the social history of Georgia], Tbilisi, 1940, vol. 1, p. 275
D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010³, pp. 68, 122
K. Kekeliże, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 349-50
Abulaże et al., *Żveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli żeglebi*, vol. 6, pp. 34, 49, 54-9
Abashiże, *K'art'uli sabchot'a enc'iklopedia*, vol. 2, pp. 339-40
M. K'avt'aria, *Żveli k'art'uli poeziis istoriidan (XVII-XVIII)* [From the history of Old Georgian poetry (17th-18th centuries)], Tbilisi, 1977, pp. 171-90
M. K'avt'aria, *Davit' Garejis literaturuli skola* [The Davit' Gareji literary school], Tbilisi, 1965, pp. 110-12
Sak'art'velos SSR mec'nierebat'a akademiis xelnacert'a institutis moambe [Herald of the Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences], Tbilisi, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 75-113

Eka Chikvaidze

Łukas Sebastac‘i

DATE OF BIRTH 1709
PLACE OF BIRTH September 1752
DATE OF DEATH Sebastia (Sivas)
PLACE OF DEATH Aṙinč village near Mush

BIOGRAPHY

The author was born Gabriēl Step‘anosean into an Armenian family in Sebastia (Sivas), to the south of T‘ok‘at‘. In October 1728, at the age of 19, he went to the monastery and religious school that had recently been established on the island of San Lazzaro in the Venetian lagoon by Mkhit‘ar Sebastac‘i, founder of the Armenian Catholic congregation that bears his name. Though not yet proficient in reading, he began his studies of Armenian grammar, Latin and philosophy. On his profession as a monk the following year, he assumed the name Łukas, progressing to the rank of deacon in December 1733 and priest in June two years later, after which he continued theology classes until 1740.

His health was frail so he was not sent on overseas assignments preaching and teaching, but remained at the order’s mother house, where he was allocated scholarly and instructional tasks. There are records that he gave three lectures in the scholastic tradition of formal presentations, addressing themes such as the definition of truth and problems in theology, which were then subject to challenges by formal opponents and questions from the audience before he would deliver his final response. In addition, he developed Mkhit‘ar Sebastac‘i’s initiatives in gathering data to compile a geography of Armenia and history of its kings as the basis for textbooks for future classes. The mother house preserves Łukas’s preliminary notebooks on geography as well as the work in its final form (*Ashxarhagrut‘iwn Hayastani ew ashxarhagrakan baṙaran*), in which, after a general introduction to the discipline, he offers a description of Armenian geography accompanied by three maps followed by a dictionary of toponyms. Similarly, his second undertaking, *Hamaṙōt patmut‘iwn t‘agaworac‘n Hayoc‘*, traces Armenian history in seven chapters from its mythical origins in the eponymous patriarch and first king Hayk up to the demise of the last dynasty in the 14th century, followed by an index of personal names and a

chronological list of kings. It is plausible that these texts provided the necessary stimulus for two later Mkhit‘arist scholars, Gabriēl Inǰiǰean and Mik‘ayēl Č‘amč‘ean, to publish exhaustive treatments of those subjects in the later 18th and early 19th century.

Another of the author’s intellectual passions was physics and astronomy. In pursuit of this, he constructed a model of the solar system displaying the orbits of the planets around the sun and of the moon around the earth. Technological interests also led him to the study of horology and an investigation of the clocks in the main churches in Venice, whose operation he sketched. As a practical application of this, although an autodidact, Łukas built the clock for the monastery belfry, which was set in place in 1750. The monastery chronicler, Fr Mkrtič‘ Awgerean, records that, if his colleague had been present for the installation, its timekeeping would have been even more precise.

In fact, in January of that year Łukas received permission to go on a preaching mission to the historical Armenian homeland in part so that he might glean more data to refine his geography textbook. At the same time, he wished to collect Armenian manuscripts to enrich the San Lazzaro collection in order to establish it as a major scholarly centre. By October, he had made his way to T‘ok‘at‘ and on to his home city of Sebastia en route ultimately for Isfahan. The following year, he continued to Diyarbakir and Mush before contracting a serious illness in the village of Ařinǰ, which precipitated his death in early September.

The year of Łukas’s arrival in Venice, 1728, coincided with the death of Dawit‘ Bēk, the protagonist of his contemporary history. In Venice Łukas would have become acquainted with many details of the conflicts in Armenia as correspondence from Mkhit‘arist brothers in the field kept the mother house apprised of significant developments both in Armenian struggles to maintain self-defence in its eastern regions and in the Ottoman challenge to Safavid suzerainty there. However, the idea to compose a history of those events presumably arose from Łukas’s subsequent access to primary sources that provided the details necessary to realise such a goal.

As he records in his work, after the priest Tēr Awetis, one of Dawit‘ Bēk’s chief commanders, was captured by Ottoman troops, he was granted leave by the pasha to resettle in western Europe, where he was absolved by the pope for taking up the sword. His narrative of the events of the 1720s is one of the two bases on which Łukas’s history is constructed. The other is that of the nobleman Step‘an Shahumean, one of Dawit‘ Bēk’s assistants, who moved to Livorno after the defeat of the Armenian revolt

in 1730, and thereafter to Venice, where his family had established a merchant house. Before settling in Smyrna, Shahumean was a regular visitor to San Lazzaro from 1733 until at least 1736-7 and he became Łukas's second main informant. Always fascinated with Armenian geography, Łukas rendered his literary account more fully intelligible by appending a map of the Armenian province of Siwnik', the centre of hostilities.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Venice, Armenian Catholic Mkhit'arist Library, San Lazzaro – *Anjnakan žamanakagrut'iwn* (no catalogue number; before 1752; personal biographical work by Łukas Sebastac'i; provides most of the information on his life)

MS Venice, Armenian Catholic Mkhit'arist Library, San Lazzaro – Mkrtič' Awgerean, *Chronicle of Mkhit'arist history* (no catalogue number; archival document available for internal use by the congregation)

Secondary

S. Aramean, *Dawit' Bēk kam patmut'iwn Lap'anc'woc'*, Venice, 1978, pp. 183-94

Sahak Čemčemean, 'H. Łukas Sebastac'i 1709-1752 hełinak Dawit' Beki patmut'ean', *Bazmavēp* 130 (1972) 491-501

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dawit' Bēk kam patmut'iwn Łap'anc'woc', 'Dawit' Bēk or the history of the Lap'anc'ians' *Patmut'iwn*

DATE Mid-1730s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Dawit' Bēk kam patmut'iwn Łap'anc'woc' ('Dawit' Bēk or the history of the Lap'anc'ians') is based on personal accounts by Step'anos Shahumean and Tēr Awetis, who were present with Dawit' Bēk during the course of the conflict. It was composed in the mid 1730s, a few years after the events it relates. The autograph manuscript (V620) is held by the Armenian Catholic Mkhit'arist Library, San Lazzaro, Venice, with later copies held in Yerevan at the Mashtoc' Matendaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts. It was first published in a redacted form in 1871 by Abgar S. Giwlamireanc', *Ĕntir patmut'iwn Dawit' Bēgin ew paterazmac' Hayoc'n*

Xap'anu, with a French translation by M.-F. Brosset, 'Davith-Beg', in *Collections d'historiens arméniens*, published in 1876, which is 35 pages long. In the critical edition published in 1978, the text is 60 pages long.

This account belongs to a constellation of near contemporary Armenian histories of the tumultuous events in the Near East in the first half of the 18th century, marked by the precipitate demise of central rule in Persia and the emergence of internal social upheaval, and the increasing incidence and intensity of foreign incursions (Afghan, Russian and Ottoman). Moreover, as southern Caucasia formed one of the most important flashpoints of the period, the coverage provided by Łukas Sebastac'i, together with authors such as Abraham Erewanc'i, Abraham Kretac'i and Petros di Sarkis Gilanenc', becomes all the more essential for reconstructing the course of events.

In the introduction, rather than documenting the multifarious strands, Łukas concentrates on the interlacing of factors and movements that animated conflict in the historic Armenian province of Siwnik', then referred to by the name of its main town Kapan (Lap'an), which occupied the south-eastern region of the Safavid province of Yerevan, bordering on the River Arax. The narrative weaves the oral accounts of his eyewitness sources, the noble Step'anos Šahumean and priest Tēr Awetis, into a connected history detailing local developments over the years 1722-30, a timeline that represents the span of the Armenian self-defence initiative there, which is the work's central focus.

The account is divided into three chapters with a concluding afterword, in which the author provides a broader discussion of the central issues of the period. The opening section briefly summarises Shahumean's plan to appeal to the Georgian king, Vakht'ang VI of Kartli (r. 1716-24) to send to Kapan one of the Armenian commanders in his army with an armed entourage in order to catalyse the local Armenian community's effort to secure their protection in the unstable conditions prevailing after the Lezghi incursion from Daghestan to Ganja and Shamax. Dawit' Bēk's arrival in 1722 inaugurated a series of targeted raids against Turkic tribes and villages over the next three years, with increasing support from the local Armenian gentry and their militias. These, in turn, provoked retaliation from a number of seminomadic tribes and Turkic villages, which led to an escalation of the conflict that first, in 1723, drew the involvement of Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, the district governor of Kapan, whose troops Dawit' put to flight, and later of the khan of Nakhiǰewan, the adjoining sector of the province of Yerevan. Subsequently, Dawit' besieged the powerful fortress

of Orotnaberd held by Melik' Pałri (a member of the Armenian gentry, as his title *melik'* indicates), who had recently renounced his religion and aligned with the local Muslim elite. When he was seized, Pałri was compelled to repeat a Christian credal statement in church for 12 days before being decapitated for treason.

While maintaining attention on Dawit"s achievements, the second chapter foregrounds the activities of several of his subordinates, such as Pap and T'oros, who engaged in hostilities in the area of Č'avndur and Mełri. The expanded field of operations led Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān officially to declare that the Armenians were in revolt for raising their sword to attack the Muslims. Meanwhile, another Turkic official, Aslamaz-Qolī, began mustering troops for a counter-offensive, in which he was killed.

As the series of reciprocal raids on villages continued, destroying houses and seizing plunder, a larger-scale operation was mounted against two of the most important cities in the region, with the Armenian assault on Ordubad and the Turkic siege of Mełri. In 1724, T'oros led the incursion on Ordubad where he counted on the assistance of his associate Melik' Frankul. However, the latter switched sides during the engagement and supported Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān and, on achieving victory, he announced his conversion to Islam as a demonstration of loyalty to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān's leadership. Meanwhile, during the siege of Mełri the local Turkmens were joined by co-ethnics from south of the River Arax, all the way to Tabriz. Finally, the matter was settled by the sudden appearance of the brother of the Khan of Yerevan, representing a higher echelon of authority. On conducting a thorough investigation of the affair, and learning that Ṣafī Qolī, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān's subordinate, had issued the order to slaughter the Armenians of Mełri, he had him punished with bastinado and arranged for an amicable exchange of captives.

The third chapter traces developments in the region as the conflict entered its international phase with the involvement of a set of Ottoman armies carrying out Sultan Ahmed III's (r. 1703-30) policy of pre-empting the Russians and overwhelming the desultory Persian resistance by invading western Iran and south-west Caucasia. Having captured Tbilisi and successfully taken Yerevan by siege, the Ottoman forces headed south to Nakhiǰewan. When the advance troops under Bekir Pasha and Arab-ʿAli Pasha arrived in Kapan, they caused major desertion from both local factions, Armenian and Turkic. In particular, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān enjoined all who could bear arms in both communities to unite with the Ottomans in attacking Dawit"s centre in Halijor. For a time, crack Armenian troops

prevented the Ottomans from crossing the river. This was followed by six days of cannon fire to weaken the fortifications, and several attempts on the seventh to make an entry by means of siege ladders. However, an early morning sortie through a secret passageway created such pandemonium in the ranks that the Ottoman forces were compelled to withdraw.

Mełri once more formed the centre of operations. The Ottoman troops entered the city and joined forces with a third pasha stationed there. Meanwhile, Dawit‘ appealed to two Persian officials in the Ordubad region, Tuz-‘Ali Khan and his brother Lek‘azi Khan, to unite and expel the enemy from Safavid territory. The Armenian and Persian troops advanced on the city: one Armenian contingent entered the keep, while a band of the local Armenian population made an entry from higher ground. Once again, the strategy was victorious, but, as a number of other Ottoman military units were still at large, Dawit‘ determined upon another approach – direct contact with Shah Taḥmāsp II (r. 1729-32), who was currently in Tabriz. Delighted with the four loads of Ottoman heads he had sent, the Shah sent him an edict creating him *beglarbegī* of Kapan and empowering him to assemble all forces, including the troops of the khans of the region, to drive the Ottomans from his borders. The document thus legitimised Dawit‘’s authority over the Armenian *tanutēr*s (minor gentry) and the district governors and other commanders of the local Turkic population.

After resisting three Ottoman onslaughts, Shah Taḥmāsp sent Dawit‘ three Persian khans to assist in withstanding a fourth. However, when they faced the main Ottoman force on the plain of Maragha, the Persian khans took flight, leaving the Armenians to capture their camp and supplies. At that point intelligence surfaced that the Armenian community of the major trade entrepot of Agulis had secretly aided the enemy. While Dawit‘’s forces were billeted at the nearby monastery of St T‘ovmas, they were subject to artillery fire from the city. Moreover, the citizens killed Melik‘ P‘arsadan, who was present as an envoy, despite the fact that he had previously interceded for the life of the city mayor Melik‘ Musa, whom Dawit‘ suspected and wished to put to death. Amid continuing uncertainties, including news that the Armenian community of Č‘avndur had placed itself under Ottoman jurisdiction and of Fatḥ-‘Ali Khan’s ongoing alignment with the Ottoman army against Armenian settlements, Dawit‘ died in 1728 after declaring Mkhit‘ar Sparapet his successor.

The following year witnessed a second Ottoman siege of Halijor, with a very different outcome. Facing overwhelming odds, the Armenians

sued for peace, although when the Ottoman soldiers entered the fortress they disobeyed their officers' undertaking to leave the population unharmed by putting the menfolk to the sword and taking the women and children captive, before turning to their main task of dismantling the site's fortifications. Rebounding from this debacle, Mxit'ar raised another army of Armenians and local Turks, which overcame the Ottomans and freed several towns and fortresses from foreign occupation. Subsequently, Mxit'ar took up residence in Xnjoresk' for a time, staying on despite complaints from the local Armenians that he should return to his own estate. Ultimately, his action prompted the inhabitants to kill him in 1730 by firing cannon at him. However, when they then brought his head to the Ottoman pasha in Tabriz, the pasha had them decapitated for killing their brave commander to no purpose.

SIGNIFICANCE

The account contains important information for the construction of ethno-religious identity in Kapan. While the Armenian forces conceive of the 'other' in ethnic terms as 'Turks', Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, for example, depicts the troops in revolt from a religious perspective as 'Christians'. Nevertheless, the fact that the two facets are interrelated is underscored by the more visceral revulsion Dawit' and his followers harbour towards those of their own community, such as Melik' Pałri and Melik' Fŕankul, who had accepted Islam. Deeming them traitors, the Armenian side unequivocally applies the sentence of decapitation, highlighting the issue of porous boundaries between the communities. These conversions are generally motivated by economic and political advantage, a concern heightened by the escalation of events prompted by the Ottoman campaign, in the course of which a number of Armenian villages, together with the city of Agulis, swear allegiance to the invading power, which is conceived as offering the greater protection in an already unsettled situation. Meanwhile, to add to the complexity, the author indicates that Armenian contingents of musketeers are present in the Ottoman army and participating in the hostilities against their co-ethnics.

That the conflict between the local Armenian and Turkic communities is pre-nationalist and does not involve absolutising ideological categories is well attested by inter-ethnic exchanges such as the successful plea of a group of four Turkic villages to Armenian troops to be spared from plundering, despite their command to destroy all such settlements. Similarly, Shahumean encounters a generous Turk in the khan's house at Parkushat, who releases him from the torture he is subjected to and

allows him to escape. Finally, at the international level, the extreme reaction of the Ottoman pasha of Tabriz to the Armenians of Khnjoresk' who presented him with their commander Mxit'ar's head manifests an appreciation for valour in the art of warfare that surpasses narrower partisan concerns.

Over the two centuries following its creation, the work influenced the historiography of the period as well as spawning a series of cultural celebrations of the events and protagonists it describes and its ethos, reinterpreting them within new frameworks and from different perspectives. Łukas's fellow Mxit'arist, Mik'ayēl C'amč'ean, employed Łukas's work extensively in handling developments over the first half of the 18th century in his exhaustive coverage in three volumes of Armenian history from mythical times down to his own era (1783-6).

The appearance of Giwlamireanc''s redacted version in 1871 attracted the attention of the novelist Raffi (Yakob Melik'-Yakobean, 1835-88), a dedicated exponent of Romantic nationalism, whose work was deeply impacted by the contemporary Ottoman treatment of the Armenian community in the six eastern vilayets, the internationalisation of the Armenian Question through the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, and dissatisfaction with the inconclusiveness of the Congress of Berlin, which brought about its formal closure. An advocate of Enlightenment and national progress, he was inspired by Armenian efforts at self-determination in Kapan in the 1720s and the people's valiant defence of the region against the overwhelming force of the invading Ottoman army. While following the overall contours of the historical record, his novel *Dawit' Bēk* (1880-2) remains a work of fiction, and so with artistic licence he recalibrates the plot to encompass Dawit''s capture and decapitation by the enemy, thus heightening the work's pathos and emotional impact by rendering the hero a martyr for the cause and a more potent stimulus for emulation.

The theme was next reprised in a feature film of the same name in 1944 by the most talented and experienced Armenian director of the time, Hamo Beknazaryan. Although bourgeois nationalism was inimical to the principles of Socialism and the directives of the Communist Party under Stalin, the works of nationalist writers such as Raffi were republished during World War II to assist in boosting troop morale. This was regarded as a particularly effective step, since the Soviet army at this point was not integrated but comprised separate units from the 15 constituent republics. Consequently, patriotic themes of valour against

the enemy from the Armenian past would empower the military to combat Nazism. Its impact was doubly reinforced by its emphasis on the close collaboration between Armenian and Russian troops in the 1720s, thus prefiguring the current war effort. Similar concerns inspired Armen Tigranyan's opera *Dawit' Bēk* of 1950, the composer's last oeuvre, the climax of which is a scene in which the tsar's envoy reads Peter's proclamation that the Russian forces will assist the Armenians in their war of liberation.

More recent creations have focused on the movement's second leader, Mxit'ar Sparapet. Conceived already in wartime, when Sero Ḥanzadyan, himself from the Siwnik' region, began collecting data for his novel, published in 1961, the author adapts the subject matter to his central theme of friendship between the Armenian and Russian peoples. This, in turn, embodies the watchword *druzhba narodov* of the era of the thaw under Krushchev, proclaiming the inherent friendship between the peoples of the USSR that remained, despite the gradual change in direction from Stalin's imperative of unification and Russification. The novel was made into a movie by Armenfilm in collaboration with Mosfilm in 1978 under the title *Zvezda nadezhdy* ('Star of hope').

PUBLICATIONS

MS Venice, Armenian Catholic Mkhit'arist Library, San Lazzaro – V620 (probably 1736-7; autograph)

MS Venice, Armenian Catholic Mkhit'arist Library, San Lazzaro – V2685 (probably 1736-7; autograph, contains the original narratives of the author's sources Step'an Shahumean and Tēr Awetis)

MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' Matendaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts – M4598 (1759)

MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' Matendaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts – M3297 (1847)

MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' Matendaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts – M6835 (19th century)

Łukas Sebastac'i, *Ĕntir patmut'iwn Dawit' Bēgin ew paterazmac' Hayoc'n Xap'anu*, ed. Abgar S. Giwlamireanc', Vałarshapat, 1871 (first publication, redacted version of the original)

M.-F. Brosset (trans.), 'Davith-Beg', in *Collections d'historiens arméniens*, St Petersburg, 1876, vol. 2, pp. 221-56 (French trans. using the 1871 edition); DS175.B875 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

S. Aramean (ed.), *Dawit‘ Bēk kam patmut‘iwn Lap‘anc‘woc‘*, Venice, 1978 (critical edition)

Arshak Madoyan (ed. and trans.), *Dawit‘ Bēk kam patmut‘iwn Lap‘anc‘woc‘*, Yerevan, 1992 (republication of text with Eastern Armenian trans.)

STUDIES

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1520-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, p. 463

S. Aramean, ‘Dawit‘ Bēk kam “Patmut‘iwn Lap‘anc‘woc‘”’, *Bazmavēp* 130 (1972) 232-59

S. Ōrbelyan, ‘Davit‘ Beki cagumnabanut‘yan harc‘i masin’, *Banber Hayastani Arxiveri* 28 (1971) 173-84

H.A. Knyazyan, *Azatagrakan payk‘arə Davit‘ Beki glxavorut‘yamb*, Yerevan, 1963

V.A. Parsamyan, *Lehahayeri masnakc‘ut‘yunə Davit‘ Beki apstambut‘yanə*, Yerevan, 1962

A. Hovhannisyan, *Drvagner hay azatagrakan mtk‘i patmut‘yan*, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1959

E. Pēč‘ikean, ‘Dawit‘ Bēki patmakan ałbiwnerə ew Mxit‘areank‘’, *Bazmavēp* 96 (1938) 172-87

A. Lltčean, ‘Niwt‘er Dawit‘ Bēki patmut‘ean verabereal’, *Ararat* (1905) 382-7

S. Peter Cowe

T‘eimuraz II

DATE OF BIRTH 1700
PLACE OF BIRTH Tbilisi
DATE OF DEATH 1762
PLACE OF DEATH St Petersburg

BIOGRAPHY

T‘eimuraz II (1700-62) was a poet and translator and a representative of the 18th-century Realist school of Georgian literature. He was the first child of King Erekle I (Heraclius) of Kaxet‘i (also known as Nazar Ali Khan). In 1712, T‘eimuraz married Tamar, daughter of Vakht‘ang VI of K‘art‘li. This led to an improvement in relations between K‘art‘li and Kaxet‘i. T‘eimuraz’s political achievements took place around the time of the Ottoman-Persian War, during which he was captured by the Persians and swore allegiance to Nādir Shah, ruler of Persia, who in 1738 appointed him as governor of K‘art‘li. In 1742, T‘eimuraz once again pledged his allegiance to Nādir Shah. A rebellion against the Persian invaders, led by Givi Amilakhvari, was taking place at the time. T‘eimuraz sided with the shah in this conflict and, as an apparent reward for his loyalty, he was given the throne of K‘art‘li in 1744 by Nādir Shah, while his son Erekle took the throne of Kaxet‘i. Historians consider this important insofar as rule by a Christian father and son in K‘art‘li and Kaxet‘i, respectively, constituted a victory for national politics.

T‘eimuraz instinctively understood Nādir Shah’s political game and supported him in whatever way he could, if only formally, in order to benefit his country (Iran had a habit of heavily taxing any population that was brought into the empire by force). The relationship between the two men was not just the result of diplomacy; each had the measure of the other, and the relationship resembled an unspoken agreement that ensured neither side would suffer. Nādir Shah was only too aware that both Ottoman Turkey and, of course, Russia had their own ambitions in the Caucasus. T‘eimuraz’s (and by extension, K‘art‘li’s) obliging attitude ensured warm relations with the shah, who considered this equally important as a foundation for Iran’s foreign policy.

Notwithstanding their ‘amicable’ relationship with Iran, T‘eimuraz and Erekle nevertheless sought to establish links with the Russian court,

and in 1761 T'eimuraz travelled to Russia to meet the Empress Elizabeth (r. 1741-62). He died a year later in St Petersburg. Attempts were made to return his body to Georgia for burial, but the route was hard to negotiate and the conditions challenging, and he was eventually buried in Astrakhan.

T'eimuraz is believed to have been the author of an autobiographical 14-stanza lyrical poem describing his capture by Nādir Khan in 1737. Also attributed to him are the 40-stanza poems *Xilt'a K'eba* (In praise of fruit), *Kidurceriloba* (An acrostic), *Anbant'k'eba* (An alphabet poem) and *Gabaaseba Rust'velt'an* (Conversation with Rustaveli). T'eimuraz rejected fairy-tale and fantasy in his writing and largely avoided tales about fictional characters. This helps explain why, when evaluating the work of Shota Rustaveli, he comments that had *Vep'xistqaosani* (The knight in the panther skin) dealt with real events, and had Rustaveli described historical figures, then his pen would not have been 'wielded in vain'. T'eimuraz did, however, pay a tribute of sorts to the fairy-tale/fantasy genre by translating *Sinbād-nāma* (The tales of Sinbad), which he renamed *T'imsariani*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

K. Kekeliże, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria, T. 2. Saero mcerloba XI-XVIII s* [A history of Georgian literature, vol. 2, Secular literature (11th-18th centuries)], Tbilisi, 1924, pp. 433-44

T'eimuraz II, *T'xzulebat'a sruli krebuli* [Complete works], ed. G. Jakobia, Tbilisi, 1939

A. Baramiże, *Narkvevebi K'art'uli literaturis istoriidan* [Essays from the history of Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1945, pp. 466-73

Secondary

G. Kučuxiże, 'Mep'e poetebi' [The poet kings], in L. Menabde (ed.), *XVI-XVIII saukuneebis K'art'uli literatura* [16th-18th-century Georgian literature], 2012, Tbilisi, 131-8

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010³, pp. 140-1

L. Menabde (ed.), *XVI-XVIII saukuneebis K'art'uli literatura* [16th-18th-century Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1997, pp. 179-94

J. Ap'c'iauri, *T'eimuraz II*, Tbilisi, 1991 (a novel)

K. Kekeliże and A. Baramiże, *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria* [A history of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 440-4

V. Mačaraże, *T'eimuraz meoris elč'oba ruset'ši* [T'eimuraz II's ambassadorial mission to Russia], Tbilisi, 1968

A. Baramiże, G. Imedashvili and G. Mik'aże (eds), *K'art'uli literaturis istoria* [A history of Georgian literature], vol. 2. 12th-18th centuries, Tbilisi, 1966, pp. 617-30

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sarke t'k'mult'a, 'The mirror of sayings' *Dġisa da ġamis gabaaseba*, 'Dialogue between day and night'

DATE 1736
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

It is thought that T'eimuraz II wrote the poem *Sarke t'k'mult'a* [The mirror of sayings], or *Dġisa da ġamis gabaaseba* [Dialogue between day and night], in 1736. It contains 825 stanzas. Kekeliże proposes a different date of composition, suggesting that T'eimuraz wrote the poem at the end of 1736, finishing it in 1738. Jakobia, for his part, believed the date of composition to be 1735-6, while Baramiże put it at 1737. The poem's full title, *Sarke t'k'mult'a 'dġisa da ġamis gabaaseba, t'k'muli mep'is erekles żis, mep'is t'eimurazisagan, romeli ik'mna c'xebuli shemdgomad celicdisa c'xrisa t'k'misa amisa; ac cignsa amas ecodebis sarke t'k'mult'a'* [The mirror of sayings, Dialogue between day and night, composed by the son of King Erekle, King T'eimuraz, crowned nine years after its composition; the book being now called The mirror of sayings] goes some way towards helping us date it; admittedly, the full title is not original and would have been added at a later date, but it is nonetheless very significant. It is clear from the full title that T'eimuraz wrote the poem nine years before he took the throne, and that *Dialogue* later became known as *The mirror of sayings*.

The identity of the poem's author is established in the preface: 'Now T'eimuraz begins, he boasts not of Kaxet'i.' Various theories exist as to which T'eimuraz authored the work: Taqaishvili held that the author must have been T'eimuraz I, but most copies of the work state explicitly that it was 'composed by the son of King Erekle, T'eimuraz'. King Erekle's son is clearly T'eimuraz II, not T'eimuraz I.

The theme of *Dġisa da ġamis gabaaseba* was a very well-known and frequently used motif. The most famous example is a similar work, also called *Dġisa da ġamis gabaaseba*, written by the 11th-century Persian poet Asadī Ṭūsī. T'eimuraz reframed the theme within a Georgian context,

filling the poem with European references and rich ethnographic detail about life in Kaxet'i. The first part of *Sarke t'k'mult'a* is religious in tone. Stanzas 34-199 present Old Testament stories in verse form: the creation, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, the sacrifice of Isaac, the blessing of Jacob, Joseph, Elijah's ascension into Heaven, the Israelites, Job, the striking dumb of Zachariah. Stanzas 200-49 deal with the New Testament: the Christian festivals of Annunciation, Christmas, Christ's circumcision, the presentation of Jesus in the temple, Epiphany, the Transfiguration, the raising of Lazarus, Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Passion, the Crucifixion, the descent from the cross and Jesus' burial, Easter, the incredulity of Thomas, Jesus' miracles (the healing of the lame man, the healing of the man blind from birth). The poem describes the Ascension, the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the Dormition of the Virgin; it tells of the Ten Commandments, the nine-fold fruit of the Holy Spirit, the Seven Ecumenical Councils. Alongside this exposition of the Christian faith, *Sarke t'k'mult'a* also deals with various issues relating to Georgian values and the Georgian way of life. In stanzas 430-825, T'eimuraz paints a detailed picture of Kaxet'ian ethnography (wedding customs, song tradition, ball-playing, mounted archery, target shooting, hunting, the rules of war, and so forth). *Sarke t'k'mult'a* ends with the story of the Second Coming.

Alongside this Christian narrative, the poem contains abridged versions of other particularly popular works, of which only *Vep'xistqaosani* (The knight in the panther skin) still exists in its original version. In these accounts T'eimuraz recounts the tales of Wīs and Rāmīn and of Laylā and Majnūn with just as much attention and tenderness as he narrates the passionate love between the heroes of *Vep'xistqaosani*. Only one of the authors whose works are included in *The mirror of sayings* is named, this being Shota Rustaveli: 'Rustaveli bestowed praise upon Tariel.' It is significant that the remaining poems are included without the authors' names. The Persian poets Fakhr al-Dīn As'ad Gurgānī, Firdawsī, Abū l-Najīb al-Bukhārī, Jāmī, Niẓāmī Ganjawī are never mentioned by name, and this is testament to the popularity of these canonical works of Persian literature. Of course, it is also a brilliant example of integration between the civilisations of the time and of cultural dialogue between Georgia and the Orient. In this context, a relationship built on historical and cultural tolerance between a Christian country and the Islamic world was of great importance, as the literary discourse of the period largely revolved around dialogue with the culture and writing

of the Islamic world. This is a broader observation; in all of his works T'eimuraz merely continues an approach Georgian writers had taken to culture for many centuries. He presents popular and important canonical texts of the Muslim canon without prejudice, and on occasion even muses on the fate of the characters, so as to elicit from the reader a sympathetic response to this tale of romantic love.

Another vibrant depiction of the close connection between the Christian writer T'eimuraz II and the Muslim world can be found in *T'imsariani*, a collection of fables, which he translated into Georgian from Persian.

SIGNIFICANCE

As noted above, the Persian poet Asadī Ṭūsī wrote his *Dialogue between day and night* in the 11th century, but it does not follow that T'eimuraz II's poem is merely a translation of this. The poem's originality and the close connection with Georgian tradition are clear on first reading. The tradition of versifying the Bible already existed in Georgian writing (for example, Dimitri Orbeliani's Gospel stories written in 16-syllable rhythm), but it was T'eimuraz who produced the most complete and thorough verse version of the scriptures.

Arch'il's *Sak'art'velos zneobani* (Georgian customs), an ethical code in poetic form, consists of 103 stanzas and describes various religious and secular (lay) traditions associated with, among other things, weddings, banquets, archery contests and ball-playing, hunting, warfare and death. In *Sarke t'k'mult'a* T'eimuraz dedicates 306 stanzas (437-712 and 784-815) to traditional Georgian customs; it might be said, then, that while Arch'il merely lists or catalogues these traditions, T'eimuraz provides the reader with a full and detailed account.

Also noteworthy are the interest with which T'eimuraz approaches the traditions of cultural interaction with Georgian Muslims, and in fact his poem includes five works that describe the romantic adventures of lovesick Muslim characters. Ultimately, he elevated and enriched the cultural dialogue between Christians and Muslims.

Sarke t'k'mult'a had a significant influence on later writers. In the first quarter of the 19th century, Dimitri Bagrationi was inspired to write an imitation, *The night's caress.*

PUBLICATIONS

For a list of the manuscripts that contain *Sarke t'k'mult'a* see T'eimuraz II, *T'xzulebat'a sruli krebuli* [Complete works], ed. G. Jakobia, Tbilisi, 1939, pp. XX-XXII, with a discussion of the manuscripts on pp. XXII-XXVI.

G. K'ork'ashvili (ed.), *Sarke t'k'mult'a / t'k'muli mep'is T'eimurazis meorisa* [The mirror of sayings / composed by King T'eimuraz II], Kutaisi, 1870, pp. 3-63

I. Ekaladze (ed.), *K'art'uli sitqvakazmuli mcerlobis ant'ologia* [Anthology of Georgian literary writers], vol. 2. 16th-18th centuries (Renaissance period), Tbilisi, 1928, pp. 161-72 (selected stanzas of the poem)

T'eimuraz II, *T'xzulebat'a sruli krebuli* [Complete works], ed. G. Jakobia, Tbilisi, 1939, pp. 1-101

STUDIES

Anon., 'Nadirobis zogiert'i sakit'xis istoria T'eimuraz meoris poemis *Sarke t'k'mult'a, anu dġisada ġamis gabaasebis* mixedvit' [Questions from Nadiroba regarding T'eimuraz II's poem *The mirror of sayings, or Dialogue between day and night*], *Nadiroba* 3/120 (2015) 4; 4/121 (2015) 4-5

K'učuxiże, 'Mep'e poetebi' [The poet kings], pp. 131-8

T. Rogava, 'Nat'lisa da bnelis tropika T'eimuraz meoris *Dġisa da ġamis gabaasebaši'* [The themes of light and dark in T'eimuraz II's *Dialogue between day and night*], *Soxumis saxelmcip'o universitetis šromebi* [Sokhumi State University Works] 8 (2010-11) 279-91

T. Rogava, *T'eimuraz meoris 'Sarket'k'mult'as' bibliuri cqaros zogiert'i aspek'tisat'vis* [Aspects of the biblical origins of T'eimuraz II's 'The mirror of sayings'], *Klasikuri da t'anamedrove k'art'uli mcerloba* [Classical and contemporary Georgian writing] 10 (2006) 41-9

Menabde, *XVI-XVIII saukuneebis k'art'uli literatura* [16th-18th century Georgian literature], pp. 179-94

Kekeliże and Baramiże, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria* [A history of Old Georgian literature], pp. 440-4

G. Anč'abaże, 'K'art'uli lashkris sabrżolo cqoba da brżolis carmoebis xerxebi t'eimuraz II-is *Sarke t'k'mult'a anu dġisa da ġamis gabaasebis* mixedvit' [The deployment of the Georgian army and the execution of battle strategies according to *The mirror of sayings or Dialogue between day and night*], *Sak'art'velos ssr mec'nierebat'a akademiis moambe. Istoriis, ark'eologiis, et'nograp'iis at'axelovne bis istoriis seria* [Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR. History, Archaeology, Ethnography and Art Series] 2 (1984) 93-9

E. Lort'k'ip'aniże, 'T'eimuraz meoris didak'tikuri šexedulebani' [T'eimuraz II's didactic viewpoint], *Žurn. 'spola da c'xopega'* 2 (1982) 39-45 (concerning 'The mirror of sayings' or 'Dialogue between day and night' and 'Timsariani')

Baramiże et al., *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, t. 2. *12-18 ss* [A history of Georgian literature, vol. 2. 12th-18th centuries], pp. 617-30

B. K'ik'oże, *Gabaaseba żvel k'art'ul literaturaši* [Dialogue in old Georgian literature], Batumi, 1952, pp. 137-48

Baramiże, *Narkvevebi k'art'uli istoriidan* [Essays from the history of Georgian literature. vol. 2, 15th-18th centuries], pp. 466-72

E.S. Takaishvili, *Opisanie rukopisei 'obshchestva rasprostraneniia gramotnosti sredi gruzinskogo naseleniia'* [Description of the manuscripts of the Society for the spread of literacy among the Georgian population], Tbilisi, 1902-8, vol. 1, p. 300

Saba Metreveli

Abraham III, Kretatsʻi

Abraham Kretatsʻi, Abraham of Crete, also known as Rodostʻotsʻi (from Rodosto) or Tekirdaghtsʻi (from Tekirdagh)

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Crete
DATE OF DEATH 18 April 1737
PLACE OF DEATH Echmiadzin

BIOGRAPHY

Few details are known about the life of Abraham Kretatsʻi, other than that he was born in Crete to a Greek mother, and that he was prelate of the Armenians of Trakia (Thrace), i.e. Rodosto or Tekirdag (to the west of Istanbul) from 1709 to 1734, hence his also being known as Rodostʻotsʻi (from Rodosto) or Tekirdaghtsʻi (from Tekirdagh). It is known that during this time he spent two years in Jerusalem (1719-20). He was catholicos of Armenia from 1734 until his death in 1737.

In 1734, Abraham went on a pilgrimage to Echmiadzin and other holy sites in eastern Armenia. This territory, which had previously been part of Iran, had been occupied by the Ottomans since 1724, after the fall of the Safavid dynasty in 1722. During his time there, Catholicos Abraham II of Khoshab (r. 1730-4) died, and the Ottoman pasha in charge of the region urged Abraham, who was an Ottoman subject, to assume the position of catholicos. In 1735, the Iranians, under the leadership of Nādir Shah Afshār (referred to as Ṭahmāsp Quli Khan), pushed the Ottomans out of the southern Caucasus. Since the Armenians of Yerevan province had helped Nādir Shah in the battle of Yeghvard, he went to Echmiadzin, presented a number of gifts and paid his respects to the catholicos. A year later, Abraham was invited to witness Nādir's coronation as the new shah (r. 1736-47). Abraham died in Echmiadzin and is buried there.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Kondak i veray Tekʻirtaghu', *Sion* (1877) 50-3, 73-7

G. Galamk'earean, *Kensagrut'iwn Sargis ark'ep.-i Sarafean ew zhamanakin hay kat'oghikeayk'*, Vienna, 1908, pp. 160-6

Secondary

G.A. Bournoutian, art. 'Abraham of Crete', in *EIr*

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1520-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 88, 261

Abraham Kretats'i, *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, ed. and trans. G.A. Bournoutian, Costa Mesa CA, 1999

H.D. Papazyan, *Abraham Kretats'i Patmut'iwn*, Yerevan, 1973

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Patmut'iwn of *Kat'oghikos Abraham Kretats'i*, 'The chronicle of Abraham of Crete'

DATE 1737

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The *Patmut'iwn* of *Kat'oghikos Abraham Kretats'i* is a primary source for the events that occurred from April 1734 to November 1736 in the south Caucasus with the arrival of Nādir Khan (Ṭahmāsp Quli Khan), later Nādir Shah Afshār (r. 1736-47).

Abraham wrote his *Chronicle* in 1736-7, and it exists in many MSS. It was first published in Calcutta in 1796. In Bournoutian's annotated English translation it is 160 pages long, and all references to the text that follows are to this edition.

The *Chronicle* records the terrible conditions in the southern Caucasus and northern Persia following the Ottoman invasion in 1723 (p. 125). It describes Nādir Khan's arrival in eastern Armenia, his expulsion of the Ottomans, his visit to the Armenian Holy See of Echmiadzin, the assembly (*qurultai*) in the Mughan Steppe, and his election as the new shah of Iran in 1736 (pp. 56-118). No other source provides such details on the council and the ceremonies. The two main contemporary Persian sources, *Jahān-gushā-yi Nādirī* and *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Nādirī*, have only a few pages on this gathering.

In the *Chronicle*, Abraham reports that in 1734 he was forced by the Ottoman rulers of Yerevan to become catholicos of the Armenian Church. He describes being taken to the chief magistrate (*ra'is*) of Yerevan, who said, 'Since your caliph is dead, and since you were close to him and were

loved by him, all the members of the congregation wish you to take his place. I shall inform the pasha that you are the new caliph.' Abraham protested, setting out the procedures for choosing the new catholicos by consulting Armenians in Istanbul and Isfahan, but he was forced to accept the role (pp. 24-6).

Abraham records what occurred when Nādir Khan arrived in Echmiadzin. His failure to go to greet and escort Nādir Khan into the city was seen as a serious breach of protocol and it left Abraham in danger of losing his life. He explained, 'My Khan, I am from Rum. It is known that I am not familiar with the customs here. If you have to execute someone, execute me.' This turned Nādir Khan's wrath from Abraham to his own staff and resulted in Abraham being honoured with a *kal'at* (turban, robe and girdle), confirmation of his role as patriarch and agreements concerning the income from properties belonging to individuals taken to New Julfa by Shah ʿAbbās. This income had been given to Echmiadzin, and had been subsequently seized by the Ottomans. Other matters referred to include confirmation that Armenians who converted to Islam would lose their inheritance rights, and that no one could become a monk without the khan's permission. Abraham also reports on Nādir Khan's interest in the cathedral (pp. 31-3).

Abraham travelled with Nādir Khan, who showed respect for his position and age, sending him back to his monastery and telling him to pray for them (p. 43).

In 1735, Nādir Khan summoned Abraham to Tbilisi, where he entrusted the Holy See to the Khan of Yerevan, saying, 'Make sure you do not insult or distress the caliph [the catholicos] for he prays [for us] and is our *tevachi* [prefect] ... [The Armenians] have served me sincerely ... Do not dare to oppress the Armenian people or to harm them, for I shall punish those that do severely. If you do not wish [my wrath], all taxes, save for the *jizya*, should be evenly divided between the Armenians and the Muslims' (p. 47).

In the lengthy account of the assembly (*qurultai*) (pp. 56-118) Abraham reports various events. One of these occurred during a Christmas celebration, in the course of the ceremony for preparing holy water by pouring the holy *meṛon* (anointing oil) into the River Arax and dipping a cross into it in the presence of more than 300 Armenians and Muslims. Here, after the cross was removed from the water, Abraham notes that the Muslim Persians took the water mixed with the *meṛon* and anointed their faces with it (pp. 58-9).

Abraham also describes how Nādir Khan celebrated *Ramadhan-bayram* (*Īd al-fiṭr*) with prayers and an audience (*salam*) for the people, ending with a decree setting out the differences between how Ottomans and Persians pray and that they should cease abusing each other (pp. 80-91).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Chronicle of Abraham of Crete* offers a perfect example of Christian-Muslim relations in eastern Armenia in the 18th century. Both the Ottomans and the Iranians regarded the catholicos as the caliph of the Armenian people and treated him with great respect. Both sides issued decrees affirming the tax-exempt status of the Armenian Church and its property. During the years of occupation and wars (1724-35), when Muslim troops frequently oppressed the Armenians, the catholicos acted as an intermediary and often petitioned the Muslim khans or pashas to halt such actions or to release captives and hostages. The text clearly demonstrates that Abraham was successful in establishing good relations with the Muslims. Abraham was the only Christian, besides the Russian envoy, to be an official guest at the assembly and the coronation.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 7130; chs X-XXI (1737; autograph copy)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 1674 (complete text supervised by Abraham himself, used for the Vagharshapat edition – see below)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 5026 (copied after 1736)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 2616 (prepared after 1767)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 2722 (copied in 1797; no title)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 5974 (unknown date later in the 18th century)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 2622 (copied by Hovhannes T`agvorean in Constantinople in 1856. Title: *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 1387 (the encyclical or *kondak* – included in the Vagharshapat edition – see below)

MS Jerusalem, Archives of the Armenian Patriarchate – 959 (transcribed in Erzurum in 1775)

MS Jerusalem, Archives of the Armenian Patriarchate – 699 (transcribed by Ter-Hovhannes in Smyrna in 1821)

MS Vienna, Library of the Armenian Mkhit'arist Congregation – 616
MS Vienna, Library of the Armenian Mkhit'arist Congregation – 840 (no title)
Paris, BNF – (19th-century copy)

Abraham of Crete, *Patmut'iwn antsits tearn Abrahamu srbazan kat'oghikosin hayots' Tek'irtaghtswoy ar Natrshah ark'ayin parsits'* [The history of Abraham of Tekirdagh, the Armenian catholicos and Nādir Shah, the king of the Persians], Calcutta, 1796
Abraham of Crete, *Patmagrut'iwn antsitsn iwrots' ew Natr-Shahin parsits*, Vagharshapat, 1870[2] (This edition also includes *Patmut'iwn Ani kaghak'in* ['History of the city of Ani'] and an encyclical [*kondak*])
M.-F. Brosset, 'Mon histoire et celle de Nadir, Chah de Perse, par Abraham de Créte, Catholicos', in *Collection des historiens arméniens*, St Petersburg, 1876, vol 2, pp. 257-335 (French trans.; includes the history of the city of Ani and the encyclical)
A. Sepanta and S. Hanayan, 'Montakhabati az yad-dashthay-e Abraham Katoghikos khalife-ye 'azam-e aramane' [Selections from the memorial writings of Abraham, the Supreme Catholicos and Caliph of the Armenian People], *Vahid* (1969) (Persian trans. of selected passages)
N. Falsafi, 'Cegune Nader Qoli Nader Shah shod' [How did Nādir Qoli become Nādir Shah?], *Hur* 10-11 (1972) (Persian trans. of selected passages)
Abraham of Crete, *Povestvovanie* [Chronicle], ed. and trans. N. Ghorghanyan, Yerevan, 1973 (Russian trans.)
Abraham of Crete, *Patmut'yun* [History], ed. N. Ghorghanyan, Yerevan, 1973[3] (critical edition using all the MSS; also includes the encyclical)
Abraham of Crete, *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, ed. and trans. G.A. Bournoutian, Costa Mesa CA, 1999 (English trans.; annotated edition based on the Vagharshapat edition and the Armenian and Russian critical editions)
Abraham of Crete, *Tarikh-e Abraham-e Kreti*, trans. F. Orouji, Tehran, forthcoming 2018 (Persian trans. of Bournoutian's edition)

STUDIES

G.A. Bournoutian, 'Introduction', in *Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, 1-9
G.A. Bournoutian, 'Commentary', in *Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, 149-61

L. Babayan, 'Abraham Kretatsi', *Patma-banasirakan handes* 4 (1977) 115-25
S. Ter-Avetisyan, 'Abraham Kretasu Hishtakarane (tzotsi tetrake). Abraham Kretatsu Hishatakarani patmakan arzhek'n u nshanakut'yune', *Ereveani petakan hamalsarani gitakan ashkhatut'yunner* 13 (1940) 285-309
'Dzeragir t'iw 1749: Pamut'iwn Ani k'aghak'i', *Ararat* (1888) 85-9

George Bournoutian

Abraham Erewants‘i

Abraham of Yerevan

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

No biographical details exist about Abraham. It appears that he was the son of a certain Hovhannes, who lived in Yerevan, the centre of Persian defences against the Ottomans in the south Caucasus. His writing style is not that of a member of the clergy, but he was literate, and therefore not a peasant. His knowledge of European words and the frequent use of military terminology, as well as his detailed description of numerous battles and tactics, suggest that he may have been either a soldier or proficient in a trade that was utilised by the army.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

G.A. Bournoutian, art. ‘Abraham of Erevan’, in *EIr*
K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1520-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 87-8, 260-1

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Patmut‘iwn paterazmatsn 1721-1736 t‘.t‘
‘History of the wars 1721-36’

DATE after 1738
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Two manuscripts of the *History* exist, both held by the Armenian Catholic Mkhit‘arist Library, San Lazzaro, in Venice. MS 2717, dated to after 1738, has no chapter headings, is written in a poor hand with numerous spelling and grammatical errors, and contains many Persian and Turkish

words. The narrative begins with the Afghan invasion of Iran in 1721 and ends with the conquest of Qandahar by Nādir Shah Afshār (r. 1736-47) in 1738. This manuscript consists of 90 folios in three different sizes, and is entitled *Patmut'iwn t'agah[v]ori Parsits'* ('History of the Persian kings'); the library received it before 1750. MS 2681 contains another version, rearranged and corrected by Fr Matt'evos Garagashean of Evdokia, and was probably copied after 1750. This manuscript is divided into 21 chapters with descriptive headings; it omits the post-1736 events, and has the new title *Patmut'iwn paterazmats'n* ('History of the wars').

In 1928, an Armenian historian, Leo, made a copy of MS 2681 and took it to Soviet Armenia; this version, the first to appear in print, was published in 1938. The fact that the text in MS 2681 had been rearranged and misses out all the events after 1736 means that this edition is no longer regarded as satisfactory (see Jemjemian, 'Abraham Erewantsi'; Abraham Erewantsi, *Patmut'iwn paterzmats'n*, ed. Jemjemian). The 1999 English version, translated and annotated by Bournoutian, is 86 pages long; all references here are to this 1999 edition.

Abraham's motive in writing his *Patmut'iwn paterazmats'n* was undoubtedly the sudden and violent end of the long period of tranquillity in both his homeland and Persia with the Afghan invasion of 1721. The terrible suffering and devastation, which continued uninterrupted for some 15 years, must have left a deep impression on him. Abraham witnessed the Ottoman invasion of eastern Armenia and the siege of Yerevan, where, as he indicates in the last paragraph of Chapter 18 (pp. 84-5), his entire family was killed or enslaved by the Turks. It is not surprising that he displays strong pro-Persian feelings and great disdain for the Turks and Afghans.

The opening chapters, 1-5 (pp. 11-35), describe in detail how the Ottoman armies besieged and captured Yerevan, after the Persian governor had left the Armenians to defend themselves and withdrawn to the citadel. When an Armenian embassy to the Ottoman forces failed, the surviving member is reported as saying, 'Woe be to us Christian brothers, there is no hope. Our sins have been great and made us unworthy of God's benevolence' (p. 29). The city fell and Abraham explains that this defeat was the consequence of the Armenian Christians, especially the clergy, having 'neglected the commands of God … preferring to take care of only the physical aspects of life' (p. 30).

The Armenian Catholicos Astuatsatur negotiated the surrender of the citadel to the Ottomans and reassured the Khan of Yerevan, who

said, 'Caliph, I am scared', on the arrival of the Ottoman pasha. As the Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian Church, the catholicos was regarded by the Muslims as the caliph of the Armenian nation (p. 34).

Chapters 6-9 (pp. 35-52) concern Ottoman attacks on Tabriz and Hamadan, and Afghan retaliation. Abraham reports that wealthy Armenian merchants in Hamadan successfully interceded with the pasha on behalf of the Armenian captives. They said, 'We are Christians and shall ransom the Armenian captives.... Our people have from olden days always been servants and tributaries of your State. You have been masters and guardians of our people and we have been proud to be your subjects and serve you' (p. 45).

Chapters 10-14 (pp. 52-67) relate how Nādir Khan helped Shah Ṭahmāsp regain Isfahan, and then recapture Tabriz from the Ottomans. Abraham relates that, when Nādir Khan was in Hamadan, he confiscated a group of Armenian traders' goods, but allowed them to live, saying, 'I will not kill you. You are free to go anywhere you please. I will not, however, return your goods, for God has given them to me' (p. 60).

Chapters 15-21 (pp. 67-95) record how Nādir Khan tricked Shah Ṭahmāsp out of his throne and took power himself, and tell of his campaigns and recapture of Yerevan. In his narrative of the recapture of Yerevan, Abraham recounts the tale of how the Blue Church was spared because water sprang up, preventing its being taken by Shah ʿAbbās. When ʿAbbās enquired who lived there, he was told Christian monks who 'day and night pray to God', to which ʿAbbās replied, 'If they are engaged in prayer, I have nothing against them' (p. 89).

Chapter 22 (pp. 95-7) is a codicil recording Nādir Khan's campaigns after becoming shah in 1736.

SIGNIFICANCE

Abraham's account offers an example of Christian-Muslim relations in the 18th century. The narrative details the cooperation of the Christian Armenians with the Muslim Shīʿī Persians in defending the city and the fort of Yerevan against their common enemy, the Sunnī Ottomans. It describes how even the gypsies of the town joined in this defence. Seldom, if at all, are there any previous accounts of Armenians (both clergy and lay) during this period wielding guns and swords or engaging in hand-to-hand combat against Muslims. It is also interesting to note that Armenian troops were present in both the Persian and Ottoman armies. A few had converted to Islam, but most of the others served in separate Armenian battalions, as noted in Chapters 9 and 17. While it is

true that non-Muslims were exempt from military service by paying the *jizya*, sources indicate that Christians living on the frontier regions were occasionally recruited and excused from paying the *jizya* for the duration of their service.

Until 1970, Abraham's *Chronicle* was the only known eyewitness account of the Ottoman siege and capture of Yerevan. In 1970, another account in Ottoman Turkish by a Turkish military commander, Kamani Mustafa Agha, was located in the former Ottoman Archives and published in Istanbul as the *Fath-name-ye Iravan* (The conquest of Yerevan). This work was later translated into Persian and published in Tehran in 2014. Mustafa Agha presents the battle of Yerevan from the Ottoman point of view, while Abraham's account presents it from the Iranian and Armenian perspective.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Venice, Armenian Catholic Mkhit'arist Library, San Lazzaro – 2717 (autograph, after 1738)

MS Venice, Armenian Catholic Mkhit'arist Library, San Lazzaro – 2681 (probably after 1750; rearranged and corrected version by Fr Matt'evos Garagashean of Evdokia)

Abraham of Erevan, *Patmut'yun paterazmats'n 1721-1736 t'.t'*, ed. S.V. Ter-Avetisyan, Yerevan, 1938 (Garagashean's text; includes Introduction, and minor notes in modern orthography)

Abraham of Erevan, *Istoriia voin 1721-1736 g.g.*, ed. and trans. S.V. Ter-Avetisyan, Yerevan, 1939 (Russian trans.; Garagashean's text)

Abraham of Erevan, *Omebis istoria*, ed. and trans. L.S. Davlianidze, Tbilisi, 1976 (Georgian trans.)

Abraham Erewants'i, *Patmut'iwn paterzmats'n 1721-1736 t'owi*, ed. S. Jemjemian, Venice, 1977 (critical edition using both manuscripts; includes an appendix for the years 1736-8)

Abraham of Erevan, *History of the wars, 1721-1738*, ed. and trans. G.A. Bournoutian, Costa Mesa CA, 1999 (English trans.; annotated critical edition plus an appendix with events from 1736 to 1738)

Abraham Erewants'i, *Tarikh-e jangha: Gozaresh-e nabardha-ye Iran va Osmani pas az soghut-e Safaviye* [History of the wars. A report on the Irano-Ottoman wars after the fall of the Safavids], trans. F. Orouji, Tehran, 2014 (Persian trans. of Bournoutian's trans.)

STUDIES

T. Sinclair, Book review: '*History of the wars (1721-1738)*, ed. and trans. George Bournoutian', *BSOAS* 64 (2001) 412-13

Bardakjian, *Reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 87-8, 260-1

G.A. Bournoutian, 'Introductory notes', in Abraham of Erevan, *History of the wars*, ed. and trans. Bournoutian, 1-10

S. Jemjemian, 'Abraham Erewants'i ev ir patmut'iwne', *Bazmavep* 3-4 (1974) 278-305; 1-2 (1975) 107-31; 3-4 (1975) 284-98 (articles discussing Garaghashean's changes to eight chapters of Abraham's *History*)

George Bournoutian

Vakhushti Bagrationi

DATE OF BIRTH 1696
PLACE OF BIRTH Tbilisi
DATE OF DEATH 1757
PLACE OF DEATH Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Vakhushti Bagrationi (Batonishvili), was born in 1696 in Tbilisi, an illegitimate son of King Vakht'ang VI of K'art'li (r. 1716-24). He was raised by the royal family, and received a good education. He studied widely, and was dedicated to scientific research and literary translations.

He was actively involved in the political life of K'art'li and participated in military campaigns. In 1722, during Vakht'ang's visit to Ganja, Vakhushti was appointed interim governor of K'art'li, commanding an army ordered to deal with rogue feudal lords, and he successfully marched against the enemies of the state all around K'art'li. He was involved in creating the book of laws, and also contributed to the establishment of the first printing house in Tbilisi.

In 1720, Vakht'ang VI successfully established political-military relations with the Russian Tsar Peter I (r. 1682-1725). They decided to march together against Iran. In 1722, Peter launched a campaign towards the Caucasus and successfully annexed Dagestan's coastline on the Caspian Sea and Derbent, but he stopped there and returned to Astrakhan. Vakht'ang waited for the Russian army for three months, but in vain because Peter had decided to make concessions to the Ottoman Empire and gave up territories to the north-west of Iran, including eastern Georgia. In 1723, the Ottomans conquered Tbilisi, which marked the start of one of the darkest periods of Ottoman rule. In 1724, Vakht'ang VI was forced to seek exile in Russia, along with his high-ranking officials and his family, including Vakhushti Bagrationi.

This period in Russian history was characterised by cultural enlightenment. Vakhushti Bagrationi contributed to the establishment of the State University of Moscow. During his time in Russia, he wrote his major academic work *Description of the Kingdom of Georgia*, which traces the history of Georgia from ancient times down to the 18th century. For this, he pioneered the use of a research method of checking, auditing and

commenting on sources, and he was also the first scholar to perceive the history of Georgia in its global context. To depict the everyday customs and habits of Georgians, Vakhushti used ethnographic techniques, effectively originating Georgian ethnography. In *Geographical description of Georgia*, Vakhushti was the first scholar to describe Georgian geography in great detail. The map of Georgia it includes matches its modern counterparts.

Vakhushti was also interested in literary works. He made translations from Russian, and also participated in the making of a Georgian-Russian dictionary. In addition, he composed a verse form of *Visramiani*, a Georgian version of the old Iranian love story *Wīs and Rāmīn*.

Vakhushti Bagration died in Moscow in 1757, and is buried at the Donskoy Monastery.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

M. Janashvili, *Vaxushti da misi Shroma* [Vakhushti and his work], Tbilisi, 1904

Iv. Javaxishvili, *Żveli kʻartʻuli saistorio mcerloba* [Old Georgian historical writings], vol. 8, Tbilisi, 1945

A. Javaxishvili, *Vaxushti Bagrationi. Gamochenili kʻartʻveli geograpʻi* [Vakhushti Bagrationi – an outstanding Georgian geographer], vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1947

'Kartʻveli mecnierebi' [Georgian scientists], Tbilisi, 1951

Secondary

M. Ġaġaniże, *Żveli da axali saqartʻvelos mijnaze* [On the boundary of old and new Georgia], Tbilisi, 2010

R. Metreveli and Z. Tatashiże, *Vaxushti Bagrationi, didi mecʹnieri da mamulishvili 300*, Tbilisi, 1997

K. Kekeliże, *Żveli kʻartʻuli literaturi istoria* [History of old Georgian literature], vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1981

A. Baramiże and L. Maruashvili, *Qartʻuli sabchotʻa encʻiklopedia*, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1979

V. Gabashvili, *Vaxushti Bagrationi*, Tbilisi, 1969

L. Maruashvili, *Sakʻartʻvelos geograpʻiuli shescavlis pʻużemdebeli Vaxushti Bagrationi* [Vakhushti Bagrationi, founder of geographical study of Georgia], Tbilisi, 1956

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Aġcera samep'osa Sak'art'velosa, 'Description of the Kingdom of Georgia'

DATE 1742-54
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Vakhushti Bagrationi's work *Aġcera samep'osa Sak'art'velosa* ('Description of the Kingdom of Georgia') was written in Moscow between 1742 and 1754, although the full text was not printed until 1973 in the fourth volume of *Kartlis tskhovreba* ('The Georgian chronicles'); it runs to 1,102 pages.

Vakhushti Bagrationi's work includes the history of Georgia from ancient times to the modern era. Ivane Javakhishvili and Valerian Gabašvili argue that a work as vast and all-encompassing as this must have taken more than three years to complete, so that Vakhushti must have started his research for it much earlier.

Description of the Kingdom of Georgia includes geographical analysis, the ancestry of the Georgians, a history, and stories of incidents and people. In the foreword, Vakhushti writes that the history of civil society must be constructed on the basis of these four factors.

In the first part, Vakhushti describes the geography of Georgia in great detail, including the customs of the people. In the historical part, he synthesises facts about former times from *Kartlis tskhovreba* ('The Georgian chronicles') and fills in the gaps, and relates Georgian history from the 15th to the 17th century with great care and in remarkable detail. He includes multiple stories of battles between the Georgians and the Ottomans and Persians, and does not omit to mention the nobles and members of the royal house who attempted to weaken the throne, or set up links with the Persians and Ottomans, or participated in the slave trade. He describes how the Persians tried to assert control over eastern Georgia (K'art'li, Kaxet'i) by destabilising and weakening the king, always condemning the Persians and their rule either because of their dominance in Georgian politics or because of their influence on everyday life and customs.

For Vakhushti, Christianity represented one of the major pillars of Georgian identity. During the era of Islamic expansion, fighting for Christianity represented fighting for freedom. The occupying power

asserted dominance over the country not only by their sword but also by introducing their customs. Thus, Vakhushti mentions that conquered Georgians, like their conquerors, started to sit on rugs instead of chairs, gave up knives and forks and used their hands to eat, kept their hats on in church, and engaged in polygamy. As a counter to this, Vakhushti includes examples of Christian martyrs, such as Gobron in the 10th century at the hands of Arabs, and Queen K'et'evan in the 17th century at the hands of the Persians.

SIGNIFICANCE

Vakhushti Bagrationi's work shows no generosity towards Muslims, and they are depicted in a negative manner. This is understandable when almost every conqueror, whether Arabs, Turks, Ottomans or Persians, was Muslim. For this reason, despite Georgian culture partially assimilating Eastern culture and adopting some of its traditions, Muslims are viewed prejudicially, and regarded as the enemy.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tbilisi, National Archives of Georgia – A-103 (before 1754; autograph)

MS Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts – H-934 (date unknown; full text)

M.-F. Brosset (ed. and trans.), *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'an 1201 jusqu'en 1755*, St Petersburg, 1841 (French trans., extracts)

Vakhushti Batonishvili [Bagrationi], *Ġeoġrap'iuli aġcera Sak'art'veloisa batonishvili Vaxushtis mier*, St Petersburg, 1842 (full text)

Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Sak'art'velos istoria*, part 1, ed. Z. Bagradze, Tbilisi, 1885

Vakhushti Bagrationi, 'Imeret'is ist'orias' [History of Imeret'i], ed. Z. Chichinadze, Tbilisi, 1902 (selections)

Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Aġcera samep'osa Sak'art'velosa. Sak'art'velosa geograp'ia*, Tbilisi, 1941

Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Aġcera samep'osa Sak'art'velosa. K'art'lis c'xovreba*, vol. 4, ed. S. Qauxčišvilis, Tbilisi, 1973

Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Sak'art'velos samep'os aġcera. K'art'lis C'xovreba*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 2012 (modern Georgian edition)

STUDIES

Ġaġaniże, *Żveli da axali saqart'velos mijnaze*

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 142-3

G. Meliqishvili (ed.), *Vaxushti Bagrationi. Istorikosi da et'nografosi, eżġvneba Vaxushti Bagrationis dabadebidan 300 clist'avs*, Tbilisi, 1997
Metreveli and Tatashiże, *Vaxushti Bagrationi*
Kekeliże, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturi istoria*, vol. 2
Baramiże and Maruashvili, *Qart'uli sabchot'a enc'iklopedia*, vol. 4
Gabashvili, *Vaxushti Bagrationi*
Javaxishvili, *Żveli k'art'uli saistorio mcerloba*, vol. 8

Ani Letodiani

Sēfērołli T‘okat‘c‘i

DATE OF BIRTH First half of the 18th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Presumably in or near T‘ok‘at‘
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably second half of the 18th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author designates himself as T‘ok‘at‘c‘i, indicating his association with the central Anatolian city of T‘ok‘at‘ (Eudocia). He mentions his father’s name was K‘earam and gives his profession as an *ašuł* (*aşık*) or oral bard.

The only direct source of information regarding the author is the information he provides in the course of the poem *Malat‘ac‘i nor nahatakin vray* (‘On the neomartyr from Malatya’).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
H. Ačaŕyan, *Hayoc‘ anjnanunneri baŕaran*, Yerevan, 1946, vol. 4, p. 471

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Malat‘ac‘i nor nahatakin vray T‘xat‘pr or martiros əław. T‘xat‘c‘i Sēfērōtłovēn K‘earami, ‘On the neomartyr from Malatya who became a martyr in T‘ok‘at‘ by Sēfērołli T‘okat‘c‘i, son of K‘earam’

DATE Around 1755
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The work is a poem of 12 four-line stanzas of 11 syllable lines, with caesura after the fifth or sixth syllable, featuring a rhyme scheme abcb, dddb that was typical of the medieval Armenian tradition, the b rhyme throughout being constituted by an apostrophe to the protagonist Yōhannēs. The work is followed by a codicil stanza of four lines, the first two of

seven syllables, followed by two further lines of eight syllables, featuring a rhyme scheme aaba characteristic of Persian quatrains. It requests prayers from readers or listeners and promises divine recompense for those who heed this plea. The poem presents a simple, unvarnished account of events in the form of a literary prayer.

The single known text of the poem is found in MS W442 in the library of the Mkhit‘arist Congregation of Vienna. The shelf-list number designates a box of fragments of varied date and provenance, among which the component containing this poem is classified as 13.4.

Yōhannēs from the city of Malatya came to T‘ok‘at‘ and worked there for three days. He was seized by rowdy elements who took him away, said inappropriate things to him, and made fun of him. After a few days he was brought to court, where he stated to the *qāḍī* and mufti that his Muslim neighbour had forcibly circumcised him, though he remained committed to his faith. The result of his confession was that he suffered 400 lashes and was subjected to other forms of torture and placed in prison. At his next court appearance, he was offered various inducements to apostasise, but repeatedly rejected them. This affirmation resulted in the pronouncement of the death penalty, after which he was escorted to the market in a procession led by the town crier, where he was executed.

The Christian community gathered there to view the scene as if on a pilgrimage, and they shed tears. This was in contrast to the martyr who, as the poet emphasises, had not wept at any point under torture. As the *qāḍī* did not initially grant them permission to take the body away for burial, the martyr remained exposed for three days, at which point a heavenly ray like a column illuminated his remains, to the amazement of both the Armenian and Turkish populations. Finally, the magnates gained his release through a costly bribe and had him interred. The work concludes with an official documentation of the date of the martyrdom and underscores the rejoicing it brought to the Armenian community.

SIGNIFICANCE

Yōhannēs had presumably moved from Malatya to the larger urban centre of T‘ok‘at‘ to take up employment as a *panduxt*, perhaps with the intention of earning enough money to get married or to pay off family debts. The city had a large Armenian population, which was active in various artisan crafts (e.g. coppersmith, goldsmith, cobbler, sericulture) and maintained around seven churches, of which one, devoted to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, was selected for Yōhannēs’ burial, at which the author states ten priests officiated.

The poem reveals several typical elements of *ashuł* or bardic compositions. Towards the conclusion of the work in the *takhalluṣ* or self-naming convention, the author refers to himself by his professional name Sēfērołli, which would normally have been given him by his master on completion of his training. Moreover, as this bardic tradition, which was inaugurated in the 16th century mainly in Anatolia and Caucasia, developed primarily in a Turkic language milieu, many Armenian students apprenticed themselves to Turkish practitioners and wrote many of their poems in Turkish. Here, Sēfērołli's linguistic register is close to the vernacular with a significant admixture of Turkish borrowings.

Most references to *ashuł* lore are found in the codicil verse where the author acknowledges his personal experience of the love this performance art was meant to embody, his reception of divine inspiration, and his devotion to St Karapet (John the Baptist), the patron of Armenian *ashuł*s, whose monastery in Mush west of Lake Van became the site of annual bardic competitions on the saint's feastday. Particularly significant in this context is the author's remark that the Virgin Mary appeared to Yōhannēs while he was in prison and that this spread by word of mouth among *ashuł*s, since bardic apprentices were supposed to see a dream in which they were introduced to a beautiful woman who would become the inspiration for their future compositions. This vision was the authentification of their calling as poets, after which they would be permitted to perform alone. The implication is thus that the Virgin's appearance to Yōhannēs is meant to reinforce his vocation as a martyr.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vienna, Mkhit‘arist Library – W442, fragment 13.4 (about 1755; for further details, see J. Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, vol. 1, p. 913)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač‘aṙean, *Hayoc‘ nor ṿkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałarshapat, 1903, pp. 569-71 (critical edition)

S. Peter Cowe

Verse martyrologies of Xanum Vkayuhi

Tał i veray srbuhwoy kusin or anun nora kočʻi Xanum, ‘Tał poem on the Holy Virgin whose name is called Xanum’
‘Martyrology of Xanum’

DATE 1755
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION
The poem consists of nine verses embodying a structure quite popular in 17th-18th century Armenian verse. Each stanza is composed of a set of four octosyllabic lines in monorhyme with caesura after the fourth, followed by a recurring refrain comprising a first line in eight syllables, a second in five, and third in six, with a rhyme scheme bcc. It is plausible that the work was set to music employing a different melody for the verse and refrain. The first syllable of the opening line of each verse forms an acrostic inscribing the author’s name ‘Pōłos the elder’. The full title is *Tał i veray srbuhwoy kusin or anun nora kočʻi Xanum, or i tʻuin Hayocʻ ṘMD. in ew i amsoyn mayisi G, ōrn čʻorekʻshabatʻi nahatakecʻaw vasn anuann Kʻristosi ew i gawaṙin Bagrewandu or Vałarshakert, or ayžm asi Alashkert* (‘Tał poem on the holy virgin whose name is called Xanum, who was martyred for the name of Christ in the year 1204 of the Armenian era [= 1755 CE] on the third of the month of May, which was a Wednesday, in the district of Bagrewand which is Vałarshakert, now called Alashkertʻ).

As writers of martyrologies are usually fairly closely in place and time to the events they describe, one may surmise that the priest Pōłos ministered to an Armenian community within the vicinity of Alashkert.

The poem is preserved in two manuscripts in the library of the Mkhitʻarist Congregation in Vienna, W156 fols 63r-64r and W412 fols 71v-73r. The critical edition published in 1903 is three pages in length.

The work is cast in the genre of a literary prayer, each verse apostrophising the saint as it recounts the sequential phases of her martyrdom, culminating in a plea for her intercession for her coreligionists. The location is noted in the elaborate title, which cites the region by the name it was given in the time of the historical Armenian state of Greater Armenia

as Bagrewand, which is largely coterminous with the Ottoman district of Alashkert, a term that itself derives from the city of Vałarshakert built in the second century by the Armenian King Vałarsh on the site of an earlier Urartian settlement.

The focus and panegyrical tone adopted provide only indirect reference to the details of Xanum's story, suggesting that the specifics were already well-known to the community for whom this was written. Nevertheless, the contours of events follow a common pattern. This begins with an overture to Xanum by certain Muslims to join their religion and share their glory, honour and renown, which elicits her refusal and testimony to Christ. Brought to the place of execution, she rejects various inducements to convert, after which she suffers severe torture before being presented with a second appeal to renounce her faith, which she likewise declines. This leads to her punishment, in which the first executioner strikes her on the ribs, while the rest of the team set about dismembering her limbs. The narrative concludes with a brief reference to the event's psychological effect on the town, reinforcing the wavering resolve of Christians, while evoking sorrow among the Muslims.

In a study of the broader region, Sargis Haykuni affords additional data concerning the course of the martyrdom. He indicates that Xanum had fled from home so as not to come under pressure from her mother, who had accepted Islam. When her mother sends a group in pursuit, she throws herself into the nearby River Aracani, which carries her some way downstream to Manazkert. Her mother brings the matter before local shaykhs, who summon Xanum to a tribunal, during which she offers steely responses to their interrogation. Consequently, they torture her one night and dismember her body. The following night the Christian community come to gather her relics for burial, and observe a radiant light illuminating her remains.

Haykuni concludes with the remark that in his own time women would still utter a prayer as they passed by her grave, which was marked by a pile of stones in a nearby cemetery (Sargis Haykuni, *Bagrewand ǰrabashx gawaṙ* [Bagrewand hydraulic district], Vałarshapat, 1894, pp. 58, 60-1).

SIGNIFICANCE

The author openly parallels Xanum's martyrdom with that of St Hřipsimē and her attendant virgins, who were put to death in the early 4th century on the orders of Trdat III of Greater Armenia (r. 287-330) in conformity with the policy of his Roman suzerain Diocletian. In that connection, a

number of the images applied to the protagonist, such as her being the 'boast' of Christians, taking up her cross, enduring many hardships and tortures, and ultimately entering into the glory of sainthood, are drawn from the famous hymn on the Hṙipsimeank' composed by Catholicos Komitas Ałc'ec'i in 618 for the inauguration of a church built in honour of the saints to replace the earlier martyrium that had been burned down in the Persian War of 591-607. That poem had plausibly likened the virgin martyrs to the wise virgins of the parable in Matthew's Gospel (25:1-13), who ensured their lamps were full of oil as they awaited the bridegroom's coming, while describing their total devotion to Christ in martyrdom in terms of Old Testament sacrificial lore as a whole burnt offering. Here Pōłos combines the metaphors in portraying Xanum as radiating like a torch aflame with love for Christ and 'following the virgins' into the heavenly wedding feast. Similarly, continuity between her martyrdom and the crucifixion is heightened by the allusion of the chief executioner striking her rib with his sword, which recalls the centurion's piercing Christ's side (John 19:34). Also, in contrast to the sense of dynamic transformation characteristic of the early period of the establishment of Christianity in Armenia, the poem depicts the current period as the 'final era' preparing for the Second Coming, characterised by declining faith and lack of fervour. In this way, the saint is portrayed as reviving a community described as 'parched' and 'drained'.

As is typical of the genre, the initiators of the process of torture and perpetrators of its concluding acts appear in negative hues. The initial group of Muslims who seek to unite Xanum to their religion is marked by the term 'foreigners', probably identifying Kurds, who settled there in Ottoman times. Similarly, references to the 'glory' of Islam become more frequent in martyrologies from the 16th century onward, commensurate with the significant expansion of Sunnī power and authority under the new sultanate. Finally, the executioners are collectively reified as a 'barbarian evil beast' unleashing its fury against the martyr.

The formula of intercession in the last verse also develops that contained in the addition to the Trisagion hymn as sung in the Armenian office of Vespers, where appeal is made to the Mother of God to offer the petitions of the faithful to her son, to whom the main hymn is devoted (*Žamagirk' Hayastaneayc' S. Ekełecwoy* [Breviary of the Holy Armenian Church], Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 441-2). Here pleas are directed to the saint to intercede for the community before both Jesus and his virgin mother.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vienna, Mkhit'arist Library – W156 fols 63v-64r (1758)
MS Vienna, Mkhit'arist Library – W412 fols 71v-73r (1765)
(For details, see J. Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 1, Vienna: Mkhit'arist Press, 1895, pp. 458-61, 862-7)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aŕean, *Hayoc' nor ṿkanerə* (*1155-1843*), Vałarshapat, 1903, pp. 562-5 (critical edition)

Tał i Vkayuhi surb Xanum Nahatak i T'oprak' K'alē, 'Tał poem on the Holy Martyr Xanum at Toprakkale'

DATE Terminus post quem 1755
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The poem is composed of six verses of 11 syllables, with a caesura after the fifth or sixth syllable and a common rhyme scheme of aaaa, bbba, the rhyming word in the final line of each verse that contributes to the poem's unity being an apostrophe to the martyr. Apart from its genre as a literary prayer, this work reveals a number of other indications of dependence on the priest Pōłos' composition. These include the prominent use of the epithet 'ineffable' at the end of line 2, which occupied the same position in the final line of each stanza in the earlier poem as well as the transformation of a pivotal metaphor of love.

The poem is two pages long in the critical edition published in 1903. This is based on the first edition published in 1858 by Łewond Alishan, who according to his usual practice does not provide details concerning the manuscript from which the work derives.

As noted above, Pōłos had employed the image of Xanum being aflame with love for Christ as the motivation behind her self-giving. In contrast, this composition presents the saint as having rendered the author aflame with her love (for Christ?) or love of her. This expression at the beginning of the poem seems deliberately polyvalent in order to permit the inclusion of several tropes drawn from medieval love lyrics in praise of the beloved. This treatment of male and female saints, often at some distance from their place and time of origin, is a feature of 17th-18th

century poems. That this work may fall within that category is perhaps implied by the poet's referring to himself as being enchanted by her fragrance 'from afar'. Another significant factor in support of a later dating is the close approximation of the language to the current vernacular.

Despite this poem's implied dependence on the one discussed above, its narrative of events diverges at some points, suggesting access to independent sources. One of these relates to Xanum being enclosed and out of contact with society, which may allude to the period of her flight from home after exiting the river and before her mother re-established contact with her. This existence is then further described in terms of her having led a quasi-eremitic life, singing hymns and engaging in fasting, prayer and ascetic practices. Moreover, the note that her grave is depicted as a source of healing appears to rely on the tradition reflected in Haykuni's study.

SIGNIFICANCE

As hinted above, the poet devotes each of the stanzas to a different lyrical trope that has been at least partially accommodated to the circumstances of the martyr. The first striking element is the appeal to the senses, beginning with sight in the first verse, where, in continuity with the Persian love theme of the rose and the nightingale, Xanum is portrayed as a rose. As such, she is endowed with a face of rare beauty, dazzling eyes and jet back eyebrows, which in lyric poetry would be depicted as a bow firing arrows into the heart of the beholder. Here, in contrast, the significance of the colour red is underscored to connote the sacrifice of her blood. The second sense is that of sound, relating to her voice, a typical aspect of the poetic depiction of female attraction. Here, she is typically aligned with the dove, a prime embodiment of love, though the continuation characterises her as a member of the angelic choir. The likening of the beloved to flowers automatically introduces the Persian image of the walled garden. Whereas in lyric this is associated with the woman's inaccessibility, which might give rise to a lament for her to have compassion and appear to the lover, in this setting it relates to the martyr's seclusion and attention to the ascetic practices adduced above. Discussion in the final vignette turns to the theme of wedding and the marriage crown. In this context, Christ, portrayed as the king of heaven, is the bridegroom, while Xanum, as bride, is presented as removing her floral fillet metaphorically in favour of ascetic labours. Moreover, the next verse sustains the image of the crown with regard to Xanum's additional roles as virgin and martyr.

The work also features nuanced scriptural allusions such as the reference to being purchased or redeemed with blood. In the New Testament, this is normally envisaged as occurring through the operation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross (Ephesians 1:7; 1 Peter 1:18-19). Here, however, the martyr is depicted as achieving this through the shedding of her own blood.

PUBLICATIONS

Łewond Alishan, *Tał i Vkayuhi surb Xanum Nahatak i T'oprak' K'alē", Bazmavēp* 17/3 (1859) 70 (first edition)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aŕean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə* (*1155-1843*), Vałarshapat, 1903, pp. 565-6 (critical edition)

S. Peter Cowe

Timote Gabashvili

Timotʻe Gabashvili

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1703
PLACE OF BIRTH Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 10 August 1764
PLACE OF DEATH Astrakhan

BIOGRAPHY

The exact date and place of Timote Gabashvili's birth, and details of his childhood and education, are unknown. It is believed that he was a student of Catholicos Besarion (d. 1737), and until about 1729 he worked with him at the Monastery of John the Baptist in the Gareji desert. Later, he moved to the Imeretʻi region, where he was made archbishop.

In 1737, he went to Russia as head of a diplomatic mission sent by King Alexander V of Imeretʻi (r. 1720-41, 1741-52) to secure support against the Ottoman threat. He presented to the Empress Anna (r. 1730-40) the king's letter, which set out the political and military state of affairs in western Georgia in great detail and proposed a joint military plan. He presented a detailed map of western Georgia, containing geographical, geological, historical, cultural and military information.

Timote received a response to King Alexander's letter in 1740. However, he did not return to Georgia due to the growing Ottoman threat, but requested asylum. He was assigned to the Donskoy monastery in Moscow but he refused to stay there, deciding instead to return to Imeretʻi. Before he could reach his destination, he was captured by Circassians, but successfully escaped and returned to Imeretʻi.

Between 1742 and 1747, Timote took over the eparchy of Kutaisi, though the increasing dominance of the Ottomans in Imeretʻi made it dangerous for him as a pro-Russian to remain there. He is mentioned in historical works from Kʻartʻli from the year 1749. Sometime around 1753-5 he became archbishop of Kʻartʻli and was actively engaged in the country's social and cultural affairs.

Between 1755 and 1759, with help from the kings of Kʻartʻli and Kaxetʻi, Timote travelled to Jerusalem. His journey was of political and diplomatic as well as religious benefit, because he was able to build good relations with the sultan's viziers and the patriarchs of Constantinople

and Jerusalem. However, the king was not satisfied with his diplomatic achievements, and when he returned to K'art'li he was not given any eparchy. It is thought that he went to the Davit-Gareji Monastery.

In 1761, Timote left for Russia, arriving in Kizlyar in 1762, intending to obtain the right to remain in Russia. He was given permission to remain at the Monastery of the Transfiguration of Jesus in Astrakhan, where he died on 28 July 1764.

Timote Gabashvili was a writer, historian, geographer/cartographer, diplomat, traveller, painter and calligrapher. During his journey through Turkey and Palestine, he wrote a collection of texts called the *Timotiani*, which include a foreword and three stories. *Mimoslva* ('To-ing and fro-ing') describes everyday practices of various societies, their politics, economy, religion and culture. *Gardamotsemuli* ('Narrated') is a polemical work dealing with various heresies and religions with a special focus on Islam. *Dghesastsaulistvis* ('For holidays') is strongly anti-Muslim, with clear nationalist tendencies.

Timote wrote a historical/polemical work entitled *Martsukhi* ('Tongs') describing ecumenical church assemblies, regulations and the opposition between Orthodox and heretical believers. He also contributed to Catholicos Anton I's works, writing the foreword and epilogue to *Mzametqveleba*, a dogmatic/polemical work against Monophysitism, and the foreword to Anton's philosophical text *Spekali*. Timote also copied Catholicos Besarion's work *Grdemli* ('Anvil').

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS xpaniashchixsia v Arxive sviateĭshego pravitel'stvuiushchego Sinoda – *Opisanie dokumentov I del*, vol. 18, delo no. 156 (1738)

Gruzinskie dela, 5 April 1739, no. 1

MS St Petersburg, Russian State Historical Archive – 796 (1762)

Pl. Ioseliani (ed.), *Moxilua cmindat'a da sxuat'a aġmosavlet'isa adgilt'a, Timot'esgan k'art'lisa mt'avar-episkoposisa*, Tbilisi, 1852, pp. 5-8

M.-F. Brosset, *Perepiska na inostrannykh iazykakh gruzinskikh tsareĭ s rossiĭskim gosudarimi*, St Petersburg, 1861

A. Khakhanov, *Ocherki po istorii gruzinskoi slovesnosti* [History of Georgian literature], vol. 3, 1901, p. 301

F.D. Zhordaniia, *Opisanie rukopiseĭ Tiflisskogo tserkovnogo Muzeia*, 1903, no. 119

I. Mmelik'-Begi, 'Kut'at'el Timot'e Gabashvilis biografiisat'vis', *Ssrk Mecnierebat'a Akademiis Saqart'velos P'ilialis Moambe* 1 (1940) 638

I. Batonishvili, *Kalmasoba*, Tbilisi, 1948, vol. 2, p. 196
Timot'e Gabashvili, *Mimoslva*, ed. E. Metrevelma, Tbilisi, 1956, pp. 77-135

Secondary
N. Sulava, 'Timot'e Gabačvili Rust'avelis shesaxeb', *Mcignobari* 16 (2016) 10-27
A. Boluč'ava, 'Imeret'is samep'osa da ruset'is imperiis urt'iert'obis istoriidan. (Timot'e Gabačvilis elč'oba ruset'shi)', *Svetitskhoveli* 2 (2015) 155-63
K. Xaraže, *Timot'e Gabačvilis geograp'iuli memkvidreoba* [Geographical-cartographical heritage of Timote Gabashvili], Tbilisi, 2012
V. Kiknaže, 'K'ut'aisisa da k'art'lis mt'avarepiskoposi Timot'e Gabačvili (diplomatiuri mogzauroba da t'eologiuri nashromebi), maqvlovani samt'avros cminda ninos dedat'a monastris perioduli gamoc'ema', *Mc'xet'a* 10 (2011) 20-3
D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], p. 143
T'. F'anjikiže, 'Cminda adgilebisa da sicmindeebis ġvt'ismetqvelur-et'ikuri p'unk'c'ia', *Mcignobari* 9 (2009) 167-81
G. Mčedliže, 'Timot'e Gabačvili. K'ut'at'eli mt'avarepiskoposi', *K'ut'aisis Saxelmcip'o Istoriuli Muzeumis Shromebi* 18 (2008) 48-50
L. Menabde, *XVII-XVIII saukuneebis k'art'uli literatura*, Tbilisi, 1997, pp. 213-30
K. Kekeliže, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1960, pp. 354-60
S. Qubaneishvili, 'Timot'e Gabačvili ruset'shi', in A. Baramiže et al. (eds), *Saiubileo krebuli. Sak'art'velos mec'nierebat'a akademiis akademikoss mec'nierebis damsaxurebul moġvaces prop'esor Korneli Samsonis že Kekeliżes dabadebis 80 clist'avis aġsanishnavad*, Tbilisi, 1959, 339-52

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mimoslva, 'To-ing and fro-ing'

DATE 1755-9
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION
Numerous manuscripts of Timote Gabashvili's *Mimoslva* ('To-ing and fro-ing') are extant, including up to 20 catalogued copies in the archives of the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts. In addition, there are two copies in the Kutaisi Museum of History (nos 415, 48) and three at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (E-31, E-13, E-68). Three versions of *Mimoslva*, H-842, Q-80 and S-3244, in the State Museum of Georgia are written in the most recent Georgian *Mkhedruli* alphabet. Another, E-31, at the Science Academy Institute of Oriental Studies, in *Nuskhuri*, an older version of the Georgian alphabet, was written by Timote himself.

It is not possible to identify the title of the work from MS Tbilisi – H-842, as the beginning of the manuscript is lost. Timote describes this collection as a 'book similar to an epistle, containing stories of sacred monasteries of the sacred mount, about how and by whom they were built'. The autograph MS Tbilisi – Q-80 also lacks the beginning. Here, in addition to the description of the 'sacred mount' (Mount Athos), the author also included his depictions of Jerusalem's 'sacred places' and ancient Georgian monuments. The autograph version MS Tbilisi – S-3244 is preserved in its complete form, but without a title. It is believed that the only true title of the work must be the longer version from the autograph MS Tbilisi – Q-80 (see *Mimoslva*, ed. Metreveli; this edition is used in this entry): *Metʻrpeni ganshorebad da utskhoebad da momislvad utskhota adgilta da utskhoebasa shina tkhovad tʻkʻiviltmoqʻvarebit ghmrtisagan, rata uvneblad daitsvas da satsʻadelsa tŭissa ghirs qʻos da ikhilvnes samartʻvironi da nishnebshemosilni adgilni tsʻmidatani, da mun khilulni da smenilni aghetsʻerebod erta sargeblad da aghsasheneblad sulta mortsʻmuneboded erta sargebelad da aghsasheneblad sulta mortsʻmunetasa, amistŭis tsʻignsa amas etsʻodebis ezo* ('Beloved for departing, and for becoming strangers, and for visiting alien places whilst pleading to God, through praising heavenly pain to protect and deem worthy of one's own purpose to visit sacred places crowned with signs of martyrdom and to document everything heard and seen for the benefit of nations and for strengthening the souls of believers, and for this purpose this book shall be named Courtyard'). Metreveli, the editor, places this after the introduction as in the original, but shortens it to *Mimoslva* on the title page. Nowadays, the work is best known by this short title.

Timote's journey lasted from the spring of 1755 to the spring of 1759. During this time, he travelled through many parts of the Ottoman Empire, including Constantinople, Mount Athos, Sinai and Jerusalem. He was interested in Christian monuments, and in Jerusalem he made efforts to discover the history of the Georgian population and the part they played in the life and history of the city. He also showed a keen interest in Ottoman military positions and strategic placements around the capital and major cities.

Timote's anti-Muslim tendencies appear incidentally rather than in any systematic refutation of Islam or condemnation of Muslims. He denounces the seizure of Hagia Sophia in Trabzon (p. 8), and asserts that Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is now in the hands of the 'barbaric government' of 'Agarians' because of Christian sinning, and has become

a 'haven for evildoers' (p. 52). He lists instances of vandalism against Christian sites, such as the destruction of the grave of the Prophet Jonah (p. 66) and Christian churches in ancient Philadelphia (p. 8), the church of John the Apostle (p. 10), and the church of Sardeon (p. 10). He also says that the church in Jaffa, on the site where Tabitha was revived by St Peter, has been damaged (p. 93) and that the grave of St Athanasius was partially dug up because someone had reported to the sultan that it contained the treasure of kings, though one of the treasure-hunters injured his hand and so the others gave up (p. 25). He relates that Nicholas Dvali was captured by the 'unfaithful', who demanded that he should abandon Christianity, but he insulted Islam and was beheaded (p. 83), and also that Luka Mukhishvili-Abashidze was beheaded because he refused to accept Islam (pp. 83-4). At the Dionysiou Monastery he met a Georgian nun who told her story of being abducted by criminals from Dagestan and sold in Constantinople. She was forced to convert to Islam after being tortured, but she was able to escape (pp. 40-1).

SIGNIFICANCE

Timote Gabashvili's *Mimoslva* is a profoundly interesting and important work of its time. It has become a primary source for the many stories and historical facts contained in it. These make it a crucial work for specialists in numerous fields.

With regard to Christian-Muslim relations, it contains many stories and incidental references of how Georgian Christians were treated by the Ottomans because of their faith, though Timote is scrupulous in recording how well he himself was treated by the Ottoman authorities and the assistance he was given during his travels. Its narrative both demonstrates the casual hostility between followers of the two faiths throughout society, and contributes to constructing and confirming the story of hostility for future generations.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tbilisi, Georgian State Museum – H-842 (before 1759; autograph)
MS Tbilisi, Georgian State Museum – Q-80 (before 1759; autograph)
MS Moscow, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Department of Georgian Manuscripts – E-31 (before 1759; autograph)
MS Tbilisi, Georgian State Museum – S-3244 (before 1759; autograph)
MS Moscow, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Department of Georgian Manuscripts – E-13 (late 18th-early 19th century; copy by Rector David)

MS Moscow, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Department of Georgian Manuscripts – E-68 (date unknown)

MS Kutaisi, Museum of History – 415 (date unknown)

MS Kutaisi, Museum of History – 48 (date unknown)

Timote Gabashvili, *Moxilua cmindat'a da sxuat'a aġmosavlet'isa adgilt'a, Timot'esgan k'art'lisa mt'avar-episkoposisa*, ed. Pl. Ioseliani, Tbilisi, 1852

Timote Gabashvili, *Mimoslva*, ed. E. Metreveli, Tbilisi, 1956, pp. 77-135

STUDIES

K. Kharaże, *Timot'e Gabachvilis geograp'iuli memkvidreoba* [Timote Gabashvili's geographical-cartographical heritage], Tbilisi, 2012

A. Nikoleishvili, *Timot'e Gabashvilis ierusalimuri sht'abechdilebebi*, Tbilisi, 2008, pp. 24-32

Menabde, *XVII-XVIII saukuneebis k'art'uli literatura*, pp. 213-30

G. Baramiże, 'Timot'e Gabashvili – "Mimosvla"', in G. Baramiże (ed.), *K'art'uli literaturat'mc'odneobit'i mc'ire ant'ologia*, Tbilisi, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 112-14

K. Kharaże, 'Timot'e Gabachvilis Mimosvla', in K. Xaraże (ed.), *XVII-XIX saukuneebis k'art'veli mogzaurebi* [Georgian travels from 17th to 19th centuries], Tbilisi, 1987, 19-25

Kekeliże, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 1, pp. 354-60

Timot'e Gabashvili, *Mimoslva*, ed. E. Metreveli, 'Introduction'

Sh. Amiranashvili, *Istoriia gruzinskogo iskusstva*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1950

I. Matureli, *Imeret'is mep'is alek'sandre V-is ruka*, K'ut'aisi, 1949

L. Melikset-Beg, 'Novyĭ vzgliad na proiskhozhdenie nazvaniia', *Iveria* 24 (1916)

Nana Gonjilashvili

Simeon of Yerevan

Simeon Erevantsi Catholicos

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Yerevan
DATE OF DEATH 1780
PLACE OF DEATH Yerevan

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Yerevan, Simeon received his religious education at Echmiadzin (*Ējmiatzin*) and became a *vardapet* (doctor of the church) in 1747. He rose to the rank of bishop in 1754. As nuncio, he was sent to visit the Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire. He was elected the *Kat'oghikos* (Catholicos), or Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian Church, in 1763 and served in that post until his death in 1780. He reorganised the administration of the Holy See of Echmiadzin, restored its spiritual authority and increased its wealth and political influence.

In 1771, Simeon not only established a printing press in Echmiadzin, the first ever in Armenia, but also built a paper mill and organised, for the first time, the archives of the Holy See, which contained numerous land deeds and official decrees from Muslim rulers and local governors. In addition to writing a number of religious and historical works, Simeon devised a church calendar. His most important work was *Jambṛ* or *Chambr*.

Simeon's tenure came at a critical time. Catherine the Great (r. 1762-96) had just assumed the throne and soon after, by recognising Echmiadzin as the sole representative of the Armenians in Russia, she ended the claims over them of the Armenian See of Gandzasar in Karabagh. Meanwhile, the See was within Iranian territory and subject to the whims of its rulers and other Muslim officials. Simeon therefore had to tread carefully not to antagonise either power. In fact, throughout his tenure he tried to maintain friendly relations with the Muslims. So much so, that he ordered the burning of a pamphlet written by Armenian liberals in Madras, called *Vorogayt parats* ('Snare of glory'), which advocated an independent Armenia, free from Muslim rule. Documents issued by Muslims indicate that his policy proved beneficial to Christian-Muslim relations in eastern Armenia. Simeon used the royal decrees and numerous

documents certified by the Muslim religious authorities granted to the church from the 15th to 18th centuries peacefully to argue his case against Muslim litigants. In this manner, he managed to form an understanding between the two faiths at an important juncture of Armeno-Iranian and Armeno-Turkish relations.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Simeon Erewantsi, *Girk handisut'eants tonits kayserakanats* [Calendar of feast days], Echmiadzin, 1771

Simeon Erewantsi, *Girk' aghot'its' [v]or kochi zbosaran hogewor* [Book of prayer], Echmiadzin, 1772

Simeon Erewantsi, *Tagharan p'ok'rik* [Book of hymns], Echmiadzin, 1772

Simeon Erewantsi, *Karg taghman hayrapetats', episkoposats' ew k'ahanayits* [Burial rituals], Echmiadzin, 1777

Simeon Erewantsi, *Gitk's [v]or kochi partavchar*, Echmiadzin, 1779-83

'Ep'rem Catholicos, Hishatakaran Simeon kat'oghikos', *Ararat* (1875) 333-40

'Tsutsak dzernadrelotsn i Simeon katoghikose', *Ararat* (1876) 171-7

'Lutzmunk'artak'nots', *Ararat* (1888) 155-8

'Simeon katoghikosi kensagrut'iwne', *Ararat* (1896) 495-500 (biographical colophon)

Secondary

G. Bournoutian, 'The Armenian Church and Czarist Russia', in B. der Mugrdechian (ed.), *Between Paris and Fresno. Armenian studies in honor of Dickran Kouymjian*, Costa Mesa CA, 2008, 429-44

K. Kostikyan (ed.), *Matenadarani Parskeren vaveragrere*, 2 vols, Yerevan, 2005 and 2008 (printed collection of the Persian documents collected by Simeon, which reveal the relations of the church with the Muslim overlords)

K. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 91-2, 503-4

K. Mkasoudian, *Chosen of God. The election of the Catholicos of all Armenians*, New York, 1995

'Mejberumner Simeon Erevantsi katoghikosi matenagrakan vastakits', *Ejmiatzin* 12 (1972) 18-20

H. P'apa'zyan (ed.), *Matenadarani Parskeren vaveregrere*, 3 vols, Yerevan, 1956, 1959 and 1968 (printed collection of the Persian documents collected by Simeon, demonstrating the relations of the church with its Muslim overlords)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Jambṛ
Chambr, 'Archival chamber'

DATE 1765-76
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION
Simeon gathered all the documents and manuscripts that had been left rotting in the various dusty corners of the Holy See and, after examining them, wrote *Jambṛ*. The title comes from the French *chambre*, because Simeon saw it as an archival chamber or repository. The original text is found in a manuscript (MS 978) consisting of 598 two-sided folios, with several blank folios, and there is also what seems to be a rough draught (MS 4592), consisting of 43 two-sided folios. These are held in the Matenadaran Archives in Yerevan (Bournoutian, 'Translator's introduction', p. 36, n. 5). *Jambṛ* was first published in Armenian in 1873 in a 292-page volume. The 2009 English version, *Jambṛ. Archival chamber*, translated and annotated by Bournoutian, is 400 pages long, and all references from *Jambṛ* are to this edition.

Simeon's objective in saving and cataloguing these documents was to prove ownership or the tax-exempt status of the various properties that belonged to the church. He used the documents repeatedly against attempts by local governors (Persian khans or Ottoman pashas) and other litigants to usurp these properties or to tax them. The book lists the mills, oil and wine presses, vineyards, arable land, houses, pastures, streams, irrigation canals and other properties that belonged to the church, as well as all of the numerous monasteries under the jurisdiction of Echmiadzin.

In the Preface (pp. 47-51), Simeon sets out the aim of the book and his purpose in making the collection. He makes reference to how 'I have noted all the *ghabala*s [*qabāla*, deed of purchase] and *vakhmnama*s [*waqf-nāma*, charitable trust certificates] written in Armenian and Persian ... indicating when and by who they were acquired ... the number of exemptions and all circumstances related to them'. The Armenian Church in Persia took full advantage of the *waqf* status, in order to retain tax exemption (p. 50 n. 2).

Chapters 1-12 (pp. 52-194) describe the history of the various Catholicosates within the Armenian Church, and the gifts received from various

places, as well as the rituals that should follow the death of a Catholicos and the election of his successor.

In this section, Simeon explains how, following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, 'from then on, all officials were appointed from the Muslims, and all affairs of the Christians, spiritual as well as secular, were decided by verbal or written orders of the Muslims' (pp. 84-5). Later, Simeon relates how some Armenians became Catholics and that he, as Catholicos, had written about this to Constantinople in 1765 and 1767 and received three *raqam*s from Sulṭān Muṣṭafā (r. 1757-73). The pasha acted on them and subjected the converts to heavy punishment and fines (pp. 116-19).

Chapters 13-19 (pp. 195-329) detail rents and income from villages and lands, water rights and tax exemptions for the Holy See. In Chapter 13, Simeon relates that in 1764 documents that had been confirmed by the *shaykh al-Islām* in Isfahan were used to obstruct the 'nasty Mirza Shafi … the *divangir*' of Yerevan who tried to prevent the church from receiving legitimate income (pp. 202-3).

Chapters 20-21 and 24 (pp. 330-72, 398-420) list *raqam*s, *ḥujjats*, *sharṭ-nāma*s, *qabāla*s, *waqf-nāma*s and other important documents issued by Persian rulers and their officials. Simeon explains the importance of these documents: 'although the individuals who gave [these documents] are foreigners and enemies of our religion, their land *qabāla*s and *raqam*s are useful in civil matters and guard us [from harm]. Hence, we managed to obtain medicine from poisonous snakes in order to cure various diseases' (p. 330). The restoration of churches destroyed under Ottoman rule is recorded, in a *raqam* of Shah ʿAbbās II (r. 1642-66) dated 1644, 'If they wish to restore their churches … no one should hinder them, for they are our subjects. Let no one meddle in their religious affairs' (p. 334; see also pp. 340-3). Freedom to practise their religion following Armenian rites, contrary to Muslim practice, is given in a *raqam* of Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94), confirming a *sharīʿa* court ruling in 1669 that 'When … various Armenian churches, according to their laws, openly bury their dead, perform weddings, sing loudly in the churches, ring their bells, and perform similar ceremonies, they should not be forbidden, for they pay taxes to the Shah' (p. 343).

Several *raqam*s record that Armenians who have converted to Islam cannot file a suit against their relatives (pp. 342, 360). Several *waqf-nāma*s are listed giving details donated property, including vineyards and shops, and where the income should go (pp. 420-1).

Chapters 22-23 (pp. 373-97) list *fermans* and other important documents issued by Ottoman sultans, pashas and *shaykh al-Islāms*. Simeon explains that, when a new Catholicos 'was elected, the petition of his confirmation was sent to the sultan in the name of the people, ... [who] gave a *berat-farman* confirming the Catholicos in his post' (p. 373). The various confirmatory *fermans* are detailed (pp. 376-84; 387-8).

The work ends with a list of the conditions of the monasteries within Yerevan province (Chapter 25, pp. 421-49).

SIGNIFICANCE

The collection of these documents issued by Muslim rulers, both Persian and Ottoman, which gave the Armenian church privileges in the collection of income and exemption from taxes, demonstrates the good relations that the Armenian Catholicos Simeon had with Muslim rulers.

With the intention of protecting the Armenian people and church, Simeon made use of Muslim statutes such as *waqfs* to their benefit, and demonstrated that this was based on agreements ratified by early Ottoman and Safavid rulers and confirmed by their successors.

Although half a century later the Holy See, which was under Russian rule after 1828, was generally spared the kind of harassment it suffered from the Ottomans and Persians (with the exception of the period 1903-5), Simeon's efforts created the valuable Archives of the Catholicosate, which in Soviet times were transferred to the Matenadaran State Archives.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 4592, fols 1-43 (probably before 1776; seems to be a rough draft)

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Archives – 978, fols 13-598 (1776; includes several blank folios)

Simeon Erewantsi, *Jambṛ/Chambr*, Vagharshapat, 1873

Simeon Erewantsi, *Dzhambr*, trans. S. Malkhasiants, Moscow, 1958 (Russian trans.)

Simeon Erewantsi, *Jambṛ*, ed. V. Hambartsumyan, Yerevan, 2003 (modern Armenian)

Simeon Erewantsi, *Jambṛ. Archival chamber*, ed. and trans. G.A. Bournoutian, Costa Mesa CA, 2009 (annotated English trans.)

STUDIES

G.A. Bournoutian, 'Translator's introduction', in Simeon Erewantsi, *Jambṛ. Archival chamber*, 1-40

Maksoudian, *Chosen of God*

'Vkayut'ynner Simeon Erevantsi katoghikosi masin', *Ejmiatzin* 12 (1972) 8-17

A. Hatityan, 'Simeon Erevantsi', *Ejmiatzin* 12 (1972) 21-34

P. Gevorgyan, 'Simeon katoghiko Erevantsu jank'ere hayots ekeghetsu miasnut'yan ev hay zhoghovrdi azgapahpanman gortzum', *Ejmiatzin* 12 (1972) 35-41

G. Aganeants (ed.), 'Hishatakaran' [Journal], in *Diwan Hayots' Patmut'ean* [Archive of Armenian history], Tbilisi, 1894, 1908, 1913, vols 3, 8, 9

George Bournoutian

Catholicos Anton I

T'eimuraz Bagrationi

DATE OF BIRTH 17 October 1720
PLACE OF BIRTH T'elavi
DATE OF DEATH 1 March 1788
PLACE OF DEATH Tbilisi

BIOGRAPHY

Catholicos Anton I, born T'eimuraz Bagrationi, is regarded as both a church and state figure. He was catholicos of Eastern Georgia in 1744-55 and 1763-88, and also a writer, scholar and public figure. He was the son of King Iese of K'art'li (r. 1714-17) and his mother, Elene, the daughter of King Erekle I of K'art'li (r. 1688-1703), was a descendant of the Kaxet'i branch of the Bagrationi royal house. Opinions differ as to Anton's date of birth, which is recorded as 17 October 1720. Based on evidence provided in one manuscript, he was born on 12 October, while according to Korneli Kekeliże he was born on 11 November. From 1727, T'eimuraz was raised at the royal court, where he received a solid theological and secular education, in preparation for a secular career.

In 1735, T'eimuraz's intended bride was kidnapped during an incursion led by the shah of Iran, T'amaz Khan (Nādir Shah, r. 1736-47). In response, T'eimuraz decided to move to the David Gareji Monastery, and later, in 1738, he made monastic vows at the Gelat'i Monastery, taking the name Anton. Before becoming a monk, he lived first in Imeret'i, and then in Russia.

In 1739, Anton became the superior of Gelat'i Monastery, and then in 1740, metropolitan of Kutaisi. In 1744, he was elected catholicos-patriarch of Eastern Georgia. He embarked with enthusiasm on the task of strengthening the Georgian Church, which had been left devastated by invasions from Ottoman Turkey and Persia. He restored churches and monasteries, and sought to encourage educated men into the clergy.

Catholicos Anton had close relations with Catholic missionaries, who at that time were living in Tbilisi and parts of Georgia. This resulted in a group of opponents accusing him of recognising papal primacy, which led to his dismissal from the position of catholicos in 1755. In 1756, Anton moved to Russia. At the court session of the Holy Synod held on 16 March

1757, he pleaded not guilty to the charge of conversion. He was acquitted and in 1757, by order of Empress Elizabeth of Russia (r. 1741-61), he was appointed archbishop of Vladimir.

Anton enjoyed the patronage of Erekle II (king of Kaxet'i 1744-62, king of K'art'li and Kaxet'i 1762-98). In 1763, Erekle invited him to return to his home country, and the synod re-elected him catholicos-patriarch of eastern Georgia. He remained in this post until his death in 1788, acting as intermediary with Russia for Erekle II, which led to the Treaty of Georgiesvk in 1783.

Through Anton's efforts, theological seminaries were established in Tbilisi and T'elavi, and the typography established by King Vakht'ang VI (r. 1716-24) was renewed. Anton authored numerous scholarly and literary works: amongst others, *Mzametqveleba* ('Ready discourse') a work directed against Monophysitism; *K'art'uli Ġramatika* ('Georgian grammar'); *Cyobilsityvaoba* ('Ordered discourse'), containing discussions of works by Georgian poets and representatives of philosophical literature; *Spekali* ('Gemstone'), an introduction to Aristotle, Plato, John of Damascus and others; *Sak'art'velos mokle istoria* ('Brief history of Georgia'), and *Ġvt'ismetyveleba* ('Theology') in four volumes, which is considered to have been written on the pattern of the French theological encyclopaedia.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

N. Mt'varelishvili, 'Anton I sak'art'velos kat'olikozi' [Anton I Catholicos of Georgia], *Iveria* 9-10 (1879) 40-66

F. Zhordania, 'Antoniĭ I, Katolikos Gruzii I Arxiepiskop Vladimirskiĭ I ieropolskiĭ' [Anton I, Catholicos of Georgia and Archbishop of Vladimir and Yeropol], *Duxovniĭ Vestnik Gruzinskogo Ėgzarxata* [Theological Herald of the Georgian Exarchate] 1- 2- 4- 5- 8- 10- 11- 14- 16; 19 (1891); 1-2-4 (1892) (in Russian)

P. Karbelašvili, *Ierarqia sak'art'velosi* [Hierarchy of Georgia], Tbilisi, 1900, pp. 140-57

A. Xaxanov, *Ocherki po istorii gruzinskoĭ slovestnosti.Vyp. 3. Literatura XIII-XVII vv.* [Essays on the History of Georgian literature, vol. 3. Literature of the 13th-17th centuries], Moscow, 1901, pp. 242-73 (in Russian)

A. Xaxanashvili, *K'art'uli sitqvierebis istoria* [History of Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1904, pp. 547-53

Secondary

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 140-2, 336

Art. 'Antoniĭ I', *Pravoslavnaya ėntsiklopedia* [Orthodox encyclopaedia], Moscow, 2008, vol. 2, pp. 656-8 (in Russian); http://www.pravenc.ru/text/116046.html

M. Berženisvili, *Masalebi XIX saukunis pirveli naxevris kʻartʻuli sazogadoebis istoriisatʻvis* [Materials for the history of Georgian society of the first half of the 19th century], Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 147-9
Art. 'Antonii I', in E. Babunashvili et al. (eds), *Kʻartuli sabčota enciklopedia* [Georgian Soviet encyclopaedia], Tbilisi, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 497-8
K. Kekeliże and A. Baramiże, *Żveli kaʻrtʻuli litaraturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1969, pp. 448-9
K. Kekeliże, *Żveli kʻartʻuli litaraturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1966, pp. 372-85
V. Mačaraże, *Aspinżis brżola* [Battle of Aspinża], Tbilisi, 1957, pp. 127-30

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cigni Martirika, Cigni da istoria Kʻristestʻvis vnebultʻa mocametʻa kʻartʻueltʻa da sxuatʻa, 'Martyrikon, book and history of Georgian and other martyrs martyred for Christ'

DATE 1768-9
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION
Martyrikon is a collection of hagiographical works that contains accounts of the martyrdoms of 20 Georgian Christians from different periods. These include Queen Shushanik (5th century), Ražden (5th century), Evstatʻi Mcʻxetʻeli [Eustace of Mcʻxetʻa] (6th century), Abibos Nekreseli [Abibos of Nekresi] (6th century), Abo (Habo) Tpʻileli [Abo (Habo) of Tbilisi] (8th century), King Archʻil (8th century), David and Konstantine (8th century), Konstanti Kaxi (9th century), Gobron (10th century), the Hundred Thousand Martyrs (13th century), Shalva Axalcʻixeli [Shalva of Axalcʻixe] (13th century), Biżina, Elizbar and Shalva Eristʻavi [Dukes] (17th century), Queen Kʻetʻevan (17th century), and King Luarsab (17th century). Manuscripts of the work are preserved at the Korneli Kekeliże Georgian National Centre of Monuments: Q-78 (680 pages) and S-1272 (828 pages).

As with all martyrological works, these texts describe the devotion and steadfastness shown by Christians in their belief, the pressure they were under to abjure Christianity, and how they preferred to sacrifice their earthly life rather than succumb. In style, the writing largely observes the traditions characteristic of hagiographical literature – saints are compared to Jesus Christ, their positive personal traits are presented and their works praised. In composing *Martyrikon*, Catholicos

Anton drew on various historical sources. He relies directly on, and offers re-interpretations of, *Cminda Shushanikis martviloba* ('The passion of St Shushanik') by the 5th-century Georgian writer Iakob C'urtaveli ('Jacob of C'urtav'), as well as *Cmida Abo Tp'ilelis martviloba* ('The martyrdom of St Abo of Tbilisi') by the 8th-century Georgian writer Ioane Sabanisże ('John son of Saban'), *Cminda Konstanti Kaxis martviloba* ('The martyrdom of St Konstanti Kaxi') by an unknown 9th-century author, dedicated to this saint who was martyred by the Arabs, along with many other hagiographical and historical testimonies. He also makes reference to church traditions.

Catholicos Anton's *Martyrikon* is regarded as different from other Georgian hagiographical collections in one respect, this being that it does not have a liturgical purpose, i.e. was not composed to be read out during the liturgy. The texts include passages that show the author to be an academic historian.

Among the lives of martyred saints, are those martyred by Muslims: Abo Tp'ileli, Gobron, King Arch'il, Konstanti Kaxi, David and Konstantine, Biżina, Elizbar and Shalva Erist'avi, Queen K'et'evan, King Luarsab, among others. In addition to presenting accurate accounts of how these Christians bore witness to Christ, the narrative generally displays specific features characteristic of the homiletic genre, praising the saints, holding up their lives as examples, and explaining numerous theological questions, often accompanied by quotations from the Bible and the works of the great Church Fathers. The texts contain a stream of dogmatic-theological and philosophical passages.

Although Anton was highly educated and well acquainted with Islam, his work contains little by way of theological and philosophical polemic. He rarely engages in debate on individual theological issues, and Islam is referred to as 'infidelity, godlessness, barbarism...', though there are some instances of anti-Islamic polemic on specific theological questions: in an episode from *Konstantis martviloba* ('Martyrdom of Konstanti'), for example, where Konstanti Kaxi argues with a Muslim debater that Mary gave birth to the Son of God, and that Jesus Christ is the 'Word' of God. But on the whole, it appears that Anton deliberately refused to engage in debate, perhaps wishing to demonstrate that Islam, as a profoundly weak religion, was neither worthy of nor necessitated any discussion or debate on theological and philosophical questions. In contrast, Anton regularly includes heated arguments against branches of Christianity that were unacceptable to him, demonstrating a thorough knowledge of theological and philosophical systems.

A further characteristic of *Martyrikon* is that, when Anton recounts episodes from early history, he sometimes alludes to the contemporary political situation. Thus, when relating the martyrdom of Abo of Tbilisi, he includes a negative description not only of the Arabs but also the Persians and Turks, although there was no link between the Persians and Turks and St Abo, who was martyred at the hands of the Arabs. Anton's revised version of Ioane Sabanisże's 8th-century account refers to both the Turks and the Persians as infidels, presumably because during Anton's lifetime it was Ottoman Turkey and Persia that were regarded as a source of threat and aggression, while the Arabs no longer presented any danger. In the 8th century, K'art'uli was under Arab rule.

Anton provides very negative representations of a number of historical figures who directly participated in martyring Georgian Christians. These include the ʿAbbasid general Bugha al-Kabīr al-Sharābī (Bugha the Turk, died 862/8), the ruler of the Khwarazmian Empire Jalāl al-Dīn Menguberdī (r. 1220-31), the Central Asian conqueror Tamerlane (1336-1405), and Shah ʿAbbās I of Iran (1571-1629).

SIGNIFICANCE

During a period when the Georgian people were suffering incessant aggression from Persia and Ottoman Turkey, activity within the Georgian Church was of utmost importance to ensure that the Christian and national spirit did not weaken. Georgian identity over the centuries had been closely associated with Christianity, with the terms 'Georgian' and 'Christian' in most cases regarded as synonymous. Therefore, devotion to Christianity was equated with Georgian patriotism, a tendency that could already be clearly perceived in the 8th-century *Cmida Abo Tp'ilelis martviloba* ('The martyrdom of St Abo of Tbilisi') by Ioane Sabanisże. The accounts contained in Anton I's *Martyrikon* thus serve a dual purpose of upholding the Christian spirit while at the same time contributing towards a strengthening of patriotism.

By retaining Christianity, Georgia remained within the European cultural sphere, with proximity to Europe facilitating its cultural and scientific progress. Catholicos Anton remained throughout interested in close contact with Europe, and in this respect, his *Martyrikon* also made a contribution.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekeliże Georgian National Centre of Monuments – S-1272 (1768-9)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekeliże Georgian National Centre of Monuments – Q-78 (1769)

Anton I, *Martirika. Żveli K'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebi vyp 6* [Martyrikon. Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographic literature, vol. 6], ed. E. Gabiżashvili and M. K'avt'aria, Tbilisi, 1980

STUDIES

E. Gabiżašvili (ed.), 'Anton I-is hagiograp'iuli t'xzulebebi "*Martirikashi*"' [Hagiographical works by Anton I in *Martyrikon*], in E. Gabizašvili (ed.), *Shromebi* [Works], Tbilisi, vol. 1, 2010, 396-422

Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, pp. 140-2

M. K'avtaria, 'Anton Kat'alikosi da misi "*Martirika*"' [Catholicos Anton and his *Martyrikon*], in M. K'avtaria (ed.), *Mcignobroba K'art'uli* [Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 2008, vol. 4, 277-499

B. Balxamišvili, *Zogierti K'ristologiuri debulebis interpreta c'iisat'vis Anton I-is 'Martirikashi'* [On interpretation of some Christological theses in *Martyrikon* by Anton I], in N. Sulava (ed.), *Literaturuli meditac'iebis samqaroshi* [In the world of literary meditations], Tbilisi, 2001, 53-60

B. Balxamishvili, 'Metap'ora Anton Kat'alikosis *"Martirikashi"*' [Metaphor in *Martyrikon* by Catholicos Anton], *Literaturuli Żiebani* [Literary researches] 21 (2000) 146-52

E. Gabiżasvili and M. K'avtaria, *Anton Bagrationi da misi 'Martirika', Żveli K'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis żeglebivyp 6* [Anton Bagrationi and his *Martyrikon*, Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographic literature, vol. 6], Tbilisi, 1980, 420-586

Gocha Kuchukhidze

Hazar erku hariwr t‘vakan

‘In the year 1200’
‘Martyrology of T‘uxman Manuk Tigranakertc‘i in 1784’

DATE 1784
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION
This is a *tał* poem comprising ten strophes of four octosyllabic lines with stanzaic rhyme, in the tradition of solemn occasional narrative verse. It has been transmitted without a distinct title and is therefore typically referred to by the *incipit*. The first section provides a third-person description of events, while the remainder affords a direct apostrophe to the saint, interpreting the theological significance of his action.

The sole witness to the text is MS W304 (fol. 18v) in the library of the Mkhit‘arist Congregation in Vienna. The poem was added by a very unskilled hand on a folio left blank by the original scribe who copied the manuscript in Constantinople in 1678. Orthographical errors in the work suggest this is not the authorial autograph. The *terminus ante quem* for the addition is 1845, by which point the codex had already been accessed by the Mkhit‘arist collection.

The first verse sets the tone for the work, officially recording the date, whetting the reader’s curiosity by defining its subject as beyond regular human experience, and foregrounding the topic’s universal appeal. Next, the author introduces the protagonist, a youth named T‘uxman who hailed from ‘this land of Tigran’, by which he designates the city of Tigranakert, the more recent Armenian appellation for Diyarbakir, with which the hagiographer, too, is presumably associated. The account also begins arrestingly with the youth’s powerful testimony to Christ and condemnation of Islam delivered to an audience of magnates and judges, which earns his seizure and exposure to severe torture by bastinado. As this treatment is unable to overcome his resolve, he is incarcerated to reflect on the situation, but this does not cool his ardour either, and the author attributes to him a speech in which he repeats his affirmation of Christ and repudiation of Islam. This confession then triggers the ruler’s

command to administer the death penalty, and he is immediately decapitated in front of one of the city's churches. The final section expatiates on the martyr's stalwart qualities, devotion and entry to heaven by his act of self-sacrifice.

The poet is clearly concerned to evoke the language and imagery of older models, hyperbolically depicting the readership as 'nations and peoples' and the protagonist's speech as 'radiating like the morning star', while referring to his being 'cudgelled' by means of a rare compound verb. At the same time, he lacks the facility of a bygone age, displaying much licence in applying grammatical rules and avoiding inflections, as well as creating artificial forms to accommodate the metre and rhyme.

Diyarbakir was one of the most important cities in south-eastern Anatolia, the administrative capital of a province with the same name, and a crucial military base against Iran. In consequence, it possessed a considerable Armenian community heavily engaged in artisan crafts together with a Syrian Christian contingent that engendered such interreligious tension that it periodically expressed itself in martyrdom, such as that of the Armenian farrier Putax in 1524. In addition, since the city was an important producer of honey, the later reference to the saint's having acquired the sweetness of honey may convey local connotations in addition to stereotypical biblical allusions.

Although the progression of events follows a fairly standard pattern, the opening is unusual in portraying the youth's harangue before city notables as occurring 'one day unexpectedly'. Normally, such a gathering would be summoned by some Muslim citizens to present charges against the protagonist for some unwarranted statement or conduct, at which juncture he would be asked to defend himself and give an account of his actions. Otherwise, one might imagine the assembly as being convened at a major Muslim festival, which the protagonist had selected to voice his protest, but this, in turn, one would likewise expect to be introduced by an indication more specific than 'one day'.

Commensurate with intimations of the wondrous and awesome at the outset of the work, the author sustains an ambience of paradox and contrast through his selection of imagery to arouse amazement in the reader. As traditionally, the clash of religions is depicted in terms of light and darkness. The theme of luminosity inaugurated in T'uxman's simile of the morning star is sustained in his speech, in which the radiance of one creed is paralleled by the darkness and dimness of the other. Meanwhile, paradox permeates the discussion in the final part of the poem in

which the martyr's imbibing the 'cup of death' in succession to Christ is juxtaposed with the effluence of his blood like a stream. Similarly, the poles of the earthly and heavenly realms and the roles of body and soul are invoked, as well as the crux of dying and entering into eternal life.

SIGNIFICANCE

While many of the images used are widespread in ecclesiastical literature, it is striking that the writer diverges from earlier precedent in his depiction of the efficacy of the martyr's death. Whereas traditionally such an event was perceived within the broader context of salvation history as furthering and renewing the impact of Christ's salvific death on the cross for all believers, here the perspective is extremely individualised. The martyr's offering of his flesh becomes the redemption of his soul, while his death becomes a key for him (not the faithful in general) to unlock the gate of paradise.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vienna, Mkhit'arist Library – W304, fol. 18v (before 1845)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałarshapat, 1903, pp. 605-6 (critical edition)

STUDIES

H. Ačaṙyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1946, p. 369

M. Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople, 1927, col. 3619

S. Peter Cowe

Samuēl Anetsʻi and his continuators

DATE OF BIRTH Samuēl Anetsʻi: around 1110; Continuators: mid-12th-early 18th centuries
PLACE OF BIRTH Samuēl Anetsʻi: Ani, Armenia; Continuators: various locations
DATE OF DEATH Samuēl Anetsʻi: early 1180s; Continuators: late 12th-late 18th centuries
PLACE OF DEATH Samuēl Anetsʻi: Ani, Armenia; Continuators: various locations

BIOGRAPHY

The *Zhamanakagrutʻiwn Samuēl Anetsʻi ew sharunakoghner* ('Chronicle of Samuēl Anetsʻi and continuators') was started by Samuēl Anetsʻi. Also known as Samuēl Erētsʻ, he was a married priest and native of Ani who lived in the 12th century and recorded events up to 1163, around 20 years before his death. Information on him is very scarce, but it is known that he was born in Ani in about 1110, and became the senior pastor of the mother cathedral. He is mentioned as one of the promising students of his famous teacher and predecessor, and the founder-director of the seminary, Yovhannēs Sarkawag Imastasēr (deacon philosopher, d. 1129).

Following the example of his teacher Yovhannēs, Samuēl focused on the study of various calendars (*tomar*) and wrote a treatise in question-and-answer form entitled *Meknutʻiwn tumari zor arareal ē Samuēli kʻahanayi i khndroy Stepʻanosi imastasiri* ('Interpretation of the calendar by pastor Samuēl at the request of Stepʻanos the philosopher'). At the time, the *Kʻnnikon'* of Anania Shirakatsʻi (c. 610-80) was considered a model for works of this kind. Samuēl began composing the *Zhamanakagrutʻiwn* on the order of Catholicos Grigor III (r. 1113-66), whose life is recorded in detail as one of the most active personalities of the 12th century. In 1165, two years after finishing work on his chronicle, Samuēl edited/wrote another study on calendars. He died in early 1180s, leaving behind a generation of dedicated pastors.

Over the following six centuries, up to 20 other authors added material to the chronicle. Referred to by L. Khachʻikean as *Samuēl sharunakogh*s or 'Samuēl's continuators', some of these later authors were eyewitnesses to the events they recorded. Those who left a signature

of some sort are mentioned in the 2014 critical edition used in this study (Mat‘ewosean, *Samuēl Anets‘i ew sharunakoghner*). One anonymous continuator from the province of Taron, Ananun (anonymous) Tarōnets‘i, is noted by K. Mat‘ewosean for his direct and detailed information about the Shah i-Armans of the Emirate of Akhlāṭ in the province of Taron (on the west side of Lake Van) during the late 12th century (Mat‘ewosean, ‘Introduction’, p. 38). Hayrapet Vardapet, a continuator of the early 13th century, in turn added new information about the events of his time and inserted footnotes into Samuēl’s text. The next significant continuator is Het‘um Koṛikosts‘i Patmich‘, known as Hayton the Armenian. A nephew of King Het‘um I, an army general and travelling diplomat, he clearly had certain advantages over the other continuators, and also wrote in French. His works in Armenian are collected in MS Matenadaran – 1898, written in the hand of his secretary Vasil (Basil). This manuscript starts with Samuēl’s initial text. Part 2, from the birth of Christ up to 1294, is extensively edited, to the point that sometimes the original survives only in outline (Mat‘ewosean, ‘Introduction’, p. 42). Het‘um also adjusted and corrected Samuēl’s calendars, and most importantly, added fresh information on Cilicia and the Crusaders. The famous historian Step‘anos Ōrbelean (around 1250-1305), member of the prominent Ōrbelean clan, Archbishop of Siwnik‘, and the author of the monumental *Patmut‘iwn nahangin Sisakan* (‘History of the province of Sisakan’), is another famous continuator. Prior to his *magnum opus*, he prepared a chronicle based on Samuēl’s text, adding events that occurred between 1193 and 1290, both in the heartland and in Cilicia (Mat‘ewosean, ‘Introduction’, p. 44). Ōrbelean also edited and corrected Samuēl’s initial text. It is this version that the next continuator added to during the 14th-15th centuries (MS Yerevan 8481). Bishop Nat‘anayēl Hawuts‘t‘aṛets‘i (mid-14th century) has a colophon at the end of his version (MS Yerevan 3681). Sahak Erznkats‘i is a less-known continuator of the 16th century (MS Yerevan 1486). The last known continuator, Patriarch Ep‘rem Ghabants‘i of Istanbul, had two copies and added to both (MSS Yerevan 7717 and 2965). He lived in exile in Adrianopolis, then travelled to Echmiadzin (Mat‘ewosean, ‘Introduction’, p. 53). Perhaps the most interesting and intriguing ‘Samuēl continuator’ is an 18th-century historian, author of MS Jerusalem 3701. He started his additions to the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* anonymously but forcefully with events of 1242, and wrote what was practically to be the final entry, ending the chronicle with a sad episode that recounts the treachery of the Armenians of the city of Melitene in

the year 1776. He recorded and commented on the experiences of the Armenians over 534 years of history in the medieval and early modern Islamic world.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Samuēl Anets'i, Hawak'munk' i grots' patmagrats' yaghags giwti zhamanakats' ants'elots' minh'ew i nerkays tsayrak'agh arareal [Selections made from the collection of the writings of the historians from genesis to the present], complete manuscript prepared by A. Hayrapetean, Yerevan, 2011

K. Mat'ewosean (ed.), *Samuēl Anets'i ew sharunakoghner – Zhamanakagrut'iwn Adamits' minch'ew 1776* [Samuēl Anets'i and continuators – Chronicle from Adam to 1776], Yerevan, 2014

Secondary

K. Mat'ewosean, 'Introduction', in Mat'ewosean (ed.), *Samuēl Anets'i*, 5-76

K. Mat'ewosean, *Samvel Anets'u Zhamanakagrut'ean dzeṛagrerĕ ew norayayt lrats'umnerĕ* [The manuscripts of the Chronicle of Samvel Anets'i and recently discovered sections], Yerevan, 2009

K. Mat'ewosean, 'Samvel Anets'in Anii patmut'ean masin' [Samvel Anets'i about the history of Ani], *Echmiadzin* 2-3 (2006) 72-85

K. Mat'ewosean, *Ani*, Echmiadzin, 1997

A. Abrahamean, 'Samvel Anets'u tomaragitakan ew tiezeragitakan ashkhatut'iwnnerĕ' [The cosmological and calendar studies of Samvel Anets'i], *Echmiadzin* 1 (1952) 31

A. Tēr Mik'ēlean (introduction, notes and additions), *Samuēli K'ahanayi Anets'woy hawak'munk' i grots' patmagrats' yaghags giwti zhamanakats' ants'elots' minh'ew i nerkays tsayrak'agh arareal* [Selections made from the collection of the writings of the historians from Genesis to the present], Vagharshapat, 1893

M. Brosset, 'Samouel d'Ani. Revue de sa chronologie', *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences* 18 (1873) 402-42

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Samuēl Anets‘i ew sharunakoghner – Zhamanakagrut‘iwn Adamits‘ minch‘ew 1776, ‘Samuēl Anets‘i and continuators – Chronicle from Adam to 1776’
Zhamanakagrut‘iwn Samuēl Anets‘i ew sharunakoghner, ‘Chronicle of Samuēl Anets‘i and continuators’

DATE Initial Chronicle by Samuēl Anetsi‘ ended in 1163; continued to 1776

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn Samuēl Anets‘i ew sharunakoghner* (‘Chronicle of Samuēl Anets‘i and continuators’) is one of the most copied texts in medieval and early modern Armenian literature. The initial book by Samuēl Anets‘i, a native of Ani, was written on the order of Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (r. 1113-66) in Cilicia, hundreds of miles to the southwest of Ani. The catholicos also asked for a ‘briefest of brief’ (*karch i karchoy*) style of narration, as Samuēl Anets‘i reveals in his introduction. In the same context, Samuēl adds that, had it not been for Eusebius (of Caesarea), whose book (the *Chronicon*) he had ‘ready to hand’, he would not have been able to write his own history (Mat‘ewosean, *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 80; all references are to this edition). The original title of the book was *Hawak‘munk‘ i grots‘ patmagrats‘ yaghags giwti zhamanakats‘ ants‘elots‘ minh‘ew i nerkays tsayrak‘agh arareal* (‘Selections made from the writings of the historians from the time of creation to the present’).

Samuēl’s work starts with Genesis and ends abruptly with the events of 1163, almost two decades before his death. Over the course of the following 613 years, more than 20 authors, mostly anonymous but also including some prominent historians, copied and continued the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, which comes to an abrupt end again in 1776. It is written in a mixture of classical Armenian and, in the later sections, middle and colloquial Armenian.

The uncommonly long path to completion of the work may be due to the strictly Eusebian date-and-column format and brevity of narrative.

These features were novel, and clearly invited authors from many different locations and levels of scholarship to make copies of the work and continue it by adding information on events that had occurred in their own place and time, while also commenting on, correcting and improving the version at hand.

In Mat‘ewosean’s 2014 critical version, the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* is divided into three parts. Part 1, from Adam to Christ, covers 35 pages; Part 2, from the birth of Christ to 1163, and including the continuators’ comments and additional information, printed in a different font, covers 146 pages; Part 3, which is exclusively by the continuators, begins with the year 1164 and ends in 1776, thus covering a period of 613 years, over 202 pages.

Following the instructions of Catholicos Grigor III, Samuēl modelled Part 2 of the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. The text is contained in two parallel side columns, while the five narrow middle columns are reserved for the various calendrical systems, including the Armenian. Information relating to the respective dates is written in the corresponding lines in the two side columns. In addition to significant

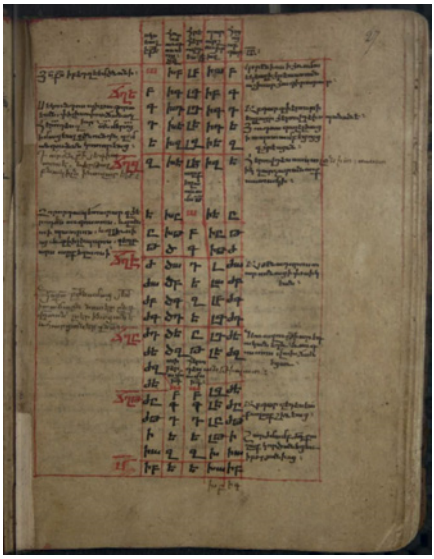


Illustration 11. Page from Samuēl Anets‘i, *Hawak‘munk‘ i grots‘ patmagrats‘ yaghags giwti zhamanakats‘ ants‘elots‘ minh‘ew i nerkays tsayrak‘agh arareal* (‘Selections made from the collection of the writings of the historians from Genesis to the present’), showing how the chroniclers added information to the grid

events, both Armenian and regional, Samuēl included lists of emperors, monarchs, bishops, catholicoi and caliphs with their periods of rule. He erroneously begins the Armenian era in 553 (the correct date is 552), so a year must be deducted throughout to obtain the correct date. His tables and accounts contain numerous inaccuracies.

Samuēl modestly considered his work to be a 'selection' taken from the histories of his predecessors. For the pre-Islamic period, he specifically mentions Agat'angeghos (4th-5th centuries), Eghishē (5th century), Ghazar P'arpets'i (5th-6th centuries), P'awstos Buzand (5th century), Movsēs Khorenats'i (5th-8th centuries) and, of course, Eusebius (4th century). For the 7th century to his own time, he mentions Sebēos (*Patmut'iwn Sebēosi Episkoposi i Herakln*, 'History of Bishop Sebēos of Heraclius', 7th century), Ghewond (*Patmut'iwn Ghewontay – Arshawank' arabats' i hays*, 'History of Ghewond on the Arab invasions of Armenia', 8th century), Shapuh Bagratuni (*Patmut'iwn Ananun Zruts'agri kartsets'eal Shapuh Bagratuni*, 'Anonymous history of Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni', later author for the events of the 7th century), Yovhannēs Draskhanakertts'i (*Patmagrut'iwn Yovhannu Kat'oghikosi amenayn hayots*, 'History of Catholicos Yovhan of all Armenians', 9th-10th centuries), and Step'anos Taronets'i-Asoghik (*Patmut'iwn tiezerakan*, 'Universal history', 11th century).

Samuēl also made extensive use of the papers of his teacher Yovhannēs Sarkawag Imastasēr. Strangely, he makes no mention of three other very important sources: *Patmut'iwn aghwanits' ashkharhi*, 'History of Albania', by Movsēs Kaghankatwats'i and Movsēs Daskhurants'i (10th century); *Patmut'iwn Aristakeay Vardapeti Lastivertts'woy*, 'History of Vardapet Aristakēs Lastivertts'i' (11th century), and the papers and epistles of Grigor Magistros (11th century).

Much information about Samuēl's book and aspects of his career can be found in the circumstances faced by the Armenians at the time, both in the broader areas they inhabited in the region and around Ani, the capital of the Bagratuni Kingdom of Shirak (884-1045). A comment made by Samuēl elucidates Grigor III's reasons for wanting very brief accounts, almost updates, of developments in the heartland, in the north-east of Cilicia. According to Samuēl, in 1120 the catholicos was hatching a secret plan to return the headquarters of the church to Ani from Tsovk' near Dluk in northern Syria, to where it had been moved temporarily in 1116. Following the forced annexation of the Bagratuni Kingdom to Byzantium in 1045, the catholicosate, which had settled there in 992, was dispersed between three locations. Up to the first decades of the 12th century,

the Armenians, deprived of all political institutions, spread over the entire region, moving among Georgians, Byzantines and Crusaders on the Christian side, and Arabs, Persians, Kurds, Seljuqs, Fāṭimids and heterodox factions on the Muslim side.

In about 1080, Ruben I (r. c. 1080-95) and his fellow cavalrymen occupied the fortress of Vahka and attempted to establish an independent enclave in eastern Cilicia, to the west of which were the Het'umians, working as Byzantine guards on the mountain passes. Finding the region completely devoid of stability, and without hope of forging alliances with fellow Christians, Grigor III negotiated with the Muslims, particularly with the Kurdish Shaddādid amir of Dwin, Abū l-Aswār, who at the time also controlled Ani. Samuēl explains that 'the holy pontiff … had an oath of love and friendship with Ablsuwar concerning moving his see here [Ani] with his consent' (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 208), although, according to the Cilician Smpat Sparapet Patmich' (general historian, 1208-76), an older brother of King Het'um I (1226-70), the Georgian occupation of Ani around 1124-5 delayed this move. A second failed attempt was made just before 1149/50 (Smpat, *Taregirk'*, in Mat'ewosean, *Ani*, pp. 61-2). In that year, Grigor III, probably convinced that acquiring a location near Cilicia was the only alternative, bought the fortress of Hṛomkla (Rumkale) on the Euphrates from the widow of Prince Jocelyn of Edessa (which fell to the Zangīs in 1144). This was on the peripheries of Cilicia, on Muslim-held land. Despite centuries of Byzantine-Chalcedonian, as well as Latin, pressures for church union, Grigor managed to maintain amicable relations with local Muslims, irrespective of their ethnic background. It is not clear exactly when he commissioned Samuēl to write a 'briefest of brief' Eusebian-style history, but he was in constant contact with the writer for updates on the situation in the heartland. Ani oscillated between being ruled by Georgians, Shaddādids and Seljuqs, all equally violent, until the rise of the Georgian-Armenian Zak'arid dynasty at Shirak (1201-c. 1350). In 1163, three years before the death of Grigor III and prior to the devastation of Ani by Alp Arslān, the 'sultan of the Scythians of Khorasan' (or the Seljuqs), as Samuēl put it, the *Zhamanakagrut'iwn* ends. Samuēl describes how in 1161-3 he witnessed the consecutive devastations of his city by the Georgians, the Shah-i-Armans, and finally Alp Arslān, who 'sold' the city to the Kurdish Shaddādids (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 218). In 1164, so almost immediately, the text was continued by anonymous authors to the year 1173, after which the book was made available for copying.

The *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* contains a number of references to Christian-Muslim relations. By 1163, when Samuēl stopped working on it, the majority of the Armenians had been spreading over many parts of eastern Asia Minor, al-Shām and Egypt for almost two centuries. They lived and interacted in various capacities with Muslims from all backgrounds and professions. From the 7th century onwards, most Armenian histories refer to the Muslims, their faith and generally their activities in the region, albeit often within partial and narrow parameters. In the cathedral library of Ani, Samuēl had access to all the available works, and, as mentioned above, he listed his sources. Together, these authors covered the period from the first Arab invasions to the 12th century.

However, Samuēl surprises the reader with a first, very brief entry about the arrival of the Arab armies in Armenia, without any reference to Islam or the Prophet Muḥammad. In 639, he writes, the ‘*tajik*s invaded Armenia where T‘ēodoros [Ṛshtuni] was presiding as the prince [governor] of Armenia’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 148). The continuator Het‘um Koṛikosts‘i-Patmich‘, who appears to have identified a gap in the information provided, adds the following, inaccurate, note for the year 621: ‘In this year appeared Mahmēt, the leader of the *tajik*s, and [thus] started the calendar of the *tajik*s’ (MS Yerevan 1898; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 146). Earlier, a much less informed anonymous contributor had noted for the year 611: ‘Reign of Mahmēt and the domination of the Arabs [*Arapkats‘*]’ (MSS Yerevan 7261 and 10202; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 146). Het‘um intervened again for the year 644: [in this year] ‘Mawi’ [the Umayyad Caliph Mu‘āwiya] the prince of the *tajik*s, invaded Cyprus, committed atrocities and desecrated the churches’ (MS Yerevan 1898; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 146).

Samuēl wrote his first, and most significant, comment on the Prophet Muḥammad and his ‘laws’ for the year 646: ‘At this time appeared the false prophet of the Saracens, [he was] from the heresies of Cerinthus and the Arians, his name was Mahmēt, from the race of Ismayēl, a son of Hagar. He became a disciple of a monk called Bkhira [Baḥīrā], from the sect of the Arians, [residing] in the desert of Sinai, where [much earlier] the descendants of Hagar had taken refuge after being chased away by Sarah. The first to rule the people of Ismayēl was someone called K‘aghart‘, who spoke of the divine word, and satisfied the people with the blood spilled by his sword … K‘ĕghĕrt‘ [different spelling] reached Damascus, then Mesopotamia and the city of Amit [Amida, Diyarbakır]. He dispatched his men in all directions and conquered many places.

This prince of the *tajik*s found an advisor called Mahmēt, the head of the Egyptian merchants, who was familiar with some of the laws of Moses, but in reality he was a follower of Arius and Cerinthus. He taught that paradise was physical, there was food and marriage there, and spoke of laws that contradicted both the Old and New Laws, and were worthless and shameful. Thus, teaching perversities, he defamed the Abrahamic oath. He ordered the circumcision of women as well, on the eighth day. In addition to many ridiculous and senseless practices, and as a sign of his repulsive covenant, instead of baptism he ordered constant washing with water. He [somehow] obtained the status of lawgiver and [divine] messenger, and [became army] general as well. They [his followers] invaded Bznuni and Aghiovit [in Armenia]. This Mahmēt prevented [the use of] the sword, and by counselling and advice made most of the world obey him. By a firm oath, he signed a pact with the Armenians to maintain their Christianity, and sold them their faith by taking from each house four *dirham*s, three *marzans* of barley, one rope [of hair] and one towel. The clergy, the nobility and cavalry were exempted from paying taxes' (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, pp. 149-50).

The history of the 13th-century author Kirakos Gantzakets'i (c. 1201-71) contains an almost identical paragraph. It is also repeated, with some additions, by the late 14th-century author Grigor Tat'ewats'i, who writes:

> Mahmēt [the Prophet] had signed and sealed a permanent oath to the Armenians known as the *Mets manshur* [Great decree] to freely hold their Christianity … and imposed a tax on each house consisting of four *dirham*s, three *marzans* of barley, one rope [of hair] and one towel. The clergy, the nobility and cavalry were exempted from this tax…. Another Mahmēt, who was said to have occupied Lake Sevan and its island, issued another *manshur*, known as the *P'ok'r manshur* [Little decree]. It reconfirmed the *Mets manshur* by allowing the Armenians to follow their faith freely, pay the fixed taxes, with the exemption of the clergy, nobility and the cavalry. (Grigor Tat'ewac'i, 'Enddēm Tachkats" [Against the Muslims], in Babgēn Kulesērean, *Islamĕ Hay Grakanut'ean mēj ew i K'ashunēn K'aghatsu* [Islam in medieval Armenian literature and excerpts from the Kashun], Vienna, 1930, p. 122)

With the exception of the part mentioning the decrees, the source of this paragraph is clearly Samuēl, with subsequent authors simply quoting him, often without mentioning the source. Samuēl concludes the section as follows: '… Those who ruled the world after him [Muḥammad] were called *amirmumnik'* [*amir al-mu'minīn*]. Twenty years after him ruled

Apupak‘r [Abū Bakr], Awt‘man [‘Uthmān], and Amr [‘Umar] for 38 years’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 150).

Mkhit‘ar Anets‘i (12th-13th centuries), copyist and continuator of MS Yerevan 3613, comments on this section containing the events of 646 as follows: ‘This profane Mahmēt was 40 years old when he launched his false laws; he reigned [despotically] for 23 years, and at 63, descending to hell, he paid for his despicable life. The *tajik*s are of four groups/divisions, Shafehi, Hanifi, Hambali, Malēk‘i’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 150-1).

In 648, writes Samuēl, ‘the Sassanian dynasty fell after 418 years. This was the 48th year of the dictatorship of Kĕghĕrt‘ and Mahmēt. The Sassanians were replaced by the Ismayēlites, [then came] Apupak‘r, Awt‘man and Amr [no mention of ‘Alī]’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 151). A continuator (MS Yerevan 1899) adds to this paragraph, again with many inaccuracies, the names of all the caliphs, or as he says, the ‘successors of Mahmēt’, up to the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Amīn (r. 809-13), whom he calls ‘Jabr’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 151). Samuēl mentions the Umayyad general Muḥammad ibn Marwān’s invasion of the Lake Sevan region in 702, but with inaccuracies (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 154). He also briefly recounts the visit of the ‘holy philosopher Yohan’ (Catholicos Yovhan Odznets‘i, in office 717-28) to Damascus in 721 by invitation of the ‘Amir-mumni Omaṛ’ [‘Umar II, r. 717-20]. However, he makes no mention of the formal renewal of the oath to the Armenians, known in the literature as the ‘Prophet’s oath’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 157). Under the events listed for 751, one continuator mentions the founding of Baghdad (MS Yerevan 1899), followed by a list of Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphs and their reigns, again with numerous inaccuracies (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 158).

For the year 848, Samuēl dedicates a very long passage to the religious persecutions carried out by the commissioners or *ostikan*s of the caliph ‘Jabr’ (presumably a reference to al-Mutawakkil), whom he describes as the ‘criminal *amirapet* [head-emir] of the Ismayēlite people’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 164-5). He is one of the very few authors to mention the famous ‘Abbasid general and governor of Egypt and Armenia, ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Armanī, whom he calls ‘Ali Armni’, without any reference to the general’s Armenian ethnicity. He writes that in 853, ‘Alī brought a crown from the caliph [who is none other than the ‘criminal *amirapet* Jabr’] to the Bagratuni ‘prince Ashot son of Smbat and granted him the title of prince of princes [*ishkhanats‘ ishkhan*]’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 166; see Dadoyan, *Arab period in Armīnyah*, pp. 95-6, 100, 152).

With the exception of the names of some caliphs, commissioners and emperors, Samuēl writes virtually nothing more on the topic of Muslims

and their activities until the arrival of Alp Arslān in 1042 and the invasion of Ani (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 185). He dates the beginning of 'Scythian' or Seljuq penetration from 'Khurasan' into Asia Minor to the year 901 (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 170). The next long passage is devoted to the annexation of Ani by Byzantium and the end of the Bagratuni dynasty in 1045 (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 187).

Among the Georgian-Armenian events listed for the year 1082, the anonymous continuator of MS Venice 511 adds: '[in this year] Libarid became a Muslim' (*Libaridn tajik eghew*) (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 197). This seemingly insignificant piece of information establishes the Georgian-Armenian provenance of the Baghwasi-Libarideans, known as the 'Dānishmandids' of Cappadocia (named after their ancestor-founder Tilu-Daylu Libarid, a tutor of Alp Arslān's children, and hence a '*dānishmand*' or knowledgeable person). Their dynasty lasted approximately from 1055 to 1173. The Dānishmandids were part of the Seljuq cluster of 'kingdoms' during the 11th and 12th centuries. Indeed, for the following year, 1087, Samuēl briefly mentions the fall of Antioch to the Seljuqs, and in particular the conversion of 'Filaṛtu' (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 198), who is Philaretus (Varajnuni), the Armenian of Mar'ash, from whom the Seljuqs took the city. Philaretus was an ally of the Dānishmandids and all other Armenian political converts in the region, who managed to enrol in the Seljuq advance, and were granted enclaves of their own in eastern Asia Minor, north Syria and Palestine (see Dadoyan, *Armenian Realpolitik*, pp. 33-64).

Writing about the death of 'Mlek'shah', the 'Scythian sultan of Khurasan', noted incorrectly in 1093 (it should be 1092), he speaks highly of him because of his 'love of the Christians' (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, pp. 198-9). Samuēl writes very little from then until 1113, the year that witnessed the election of his patron Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni, to whose praise he devotes a very long passage (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, pp. 203-4). The next and final entries describe the taking of Ani by King Georg of Georgia in 1161, followed by the Seljuq invasion in 1163 and the resulting extensive devastation and slaughter. At this point the text comes to an abrupt end.

The first continuator (MS Yerevan 1899) incorrectly dates the assassination of the Cilician Great Prince Mleh to the year 1164, rather than 1175, in what appears to be a copying error (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 220), as that author seems knowledgeable about the events relating to 'Salahatin' (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) and the 'Fṛangs' (Crusaders) (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*,

p. 220). Another continuator (MS Yerevan 5619), who first appears in 1179, praises Samuēl for his ‘fact-writing’ (*stugagrut‘iwn*), a term rarely used at this time or later. He also writes that, as of 1179, in addition to the calendar ‘which starts at the birth of Christ’, only the Armenian calendar (AD 552) will be noted (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p, 223).

So-called Ananun (anonymous) Tarōnets‘i (MS Yerevan 9796) describes the sacking and burning of Armenian churches and property in Taron in 1185, in particular the Church of St Karapet of Mush, a major pilgrimage site, by joint Kurdish and Turkish factions, who, he adds, were often allies against the Armenians (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 224-5). Another continuator (MS Yerevan 1486) tells of the conversion of a *tajik* guard at the fortress of Edessa in 1186. When he caught sight of a miraculous column of light leading to the bottom of a well, he followed it to its end and saw there the Holy Virgin on a throne, clad in red and holding the Christ child. On his way out he blessed her and Christ, and instantly converted to Christianity (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 227-8).

The fall of Jerusalem to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s ‘*tajik* armies’ in 1187 and the defeat of the ‘*fṛang* princes’ is related as a major event (MS Yerevan 1899). The ‘evil prince Salahatin tortured the Christian people’ of the city (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 228). There is no mention of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s famous Oath to the Armenians (Dadoyan, *Armenian Realpolitik*, pp. 168-72). Describing the fall of Acre to the Ayyūbids in 1190, he writes that ‘the lawless/faithless took Ak‘k‘ay from the Christians’. This continuator also places the first ‘Turkmēn’ attacks on Cilicia in the year 1190. As a consequence of the fall of Jerusalem, he writes, ‘the house of the Fṛangs shook’, although, as he also explains, the third crusade failed (MS Yerevan 1899; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 230-1).

The famous historian Archbishop Step‘anos of Siwnik‘ (Step‘anos Ōrbelean, d. 1305) decided to continue the *Chronicle* from the events of 1193 onwards (MS Yerevan 8481). He explains that, finding that everything written by Samuēl was ‘accurately explained’ (*chshtiw sahmaneal*), he would continue up to the events of his own time (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 231). Ōrbelean provides a detail that deserves further study within the context of Cilician-Zangī relations during the 1170s. He writes that Grigor Apirat was supposed to succeed Catholicos Nersēs IV Shnorhali in 1173, but the adolescent/young Grigor IV Tghay (in office 1173-93) rose to the throne ‘at the hands of Prince Mleh and under the orders and power of Nūr al-Dīn *amiray*. Grigor IV ousted Apirat and occupied the chair’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 231). Known for his pragmatic and

pro-Muslim politics, Grigor IV corresponded with Nūr al-Dīn. When the Georgian-Armenian Zak‘areans entered Ani in 1199 and established their semi-independent Armenia, Orbēlean wrote: ‘Zak‘arē took Ani from the *tajik*s (*i tajkēn ēaṛ zAni*), he then cleansed Dwin of them in 1201’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 245). In 1217, wrote Ōrbelean, the ‘blood-thirsty beast of the nation of the arrow-men Ch‘ankz Ghan arrived’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 239). In fact, rarely if at all does the term Mongol appear in medieval Armenian literature; the common term is *tat‘ar*s of ‘Khorasan/Khurasan’. The continuators of most manuscripts from these periods dated the beginning of the Ottomans or the ‘Osmants‘ik‘’ (after their leader Osman) to 1241 (MSS Yerevan 7261 and 10202; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 245).

The anonymous continuator of MS Jerusalem 3701, a late 18th-century author, started in 1242 with a single ominous sentence: ‘The t‘at‘ar dominated the entire world’ (*tireats‘ t‘at‘arn ashkharhin*). The next significant, and equally knowledgeable, continuator is Het‘um Koṛikosts‘i Patmich‘ (MS Yerevan 1898), who for the year 1253 described the journey, lasting until 1256, of the Cilician King Het‘um I to Karakorum to meet ‘Manko Khan’, also implicitly representing the case of the Christians of the Near East. He also mentions the capture of Alamut from the *hashishets‘i* (Assassins/*Hashshāshūn*) and Baghdad from the ‘*khalifay*’ without specifying any dates (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 249-50). Another active continuator (MS Yerevan 1899) adds news of the Mamlūks, beginning in 1266 with the story of the first large-scale invasion by the ‘*msrts‘i*’ (Egyptians) or Mamlūks of Cilicia (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 253), a word that is also used in MS Venice 1253. The Mamlūk sultan is referred to as the *msray sultan* (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 256).

Ōrbelean simply uses the word *tajik* to refer to the Seljuqs (MS Yerevan 8481). He writes: ‘The great archbishop [also ruler] of Erznka [Erzinjān] Sargis and his son were murdered by the *tajik*s in the year 1276’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 256). Describing the same event, another continuator writes that ‘lawless/faithless (*anawrēn*) Hagarians killed Sargis’, and refers to the Seljuqs of Iconium, or Rūm Seljuqs, as the ‘Turks of hoṛom’ (MS Venice 1253; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 256).

The capture and sacking of the catholicos’s fortress of Hṛomkla (Rumkale) in 1292/3 by the Mamlūks is recorded in two manuscripts. In MS Jerusalem 3701, we read, ‘They took Hṛomklay and drove the Catholicos Lord Step‘anos as a slave to Egypt’. MS Yerevan 1899 describes how ‘in the year 1293 the sultan of Msr Melik‘ Ashraf arrived at the head of his

troops at Hṛomklay, besieged it for many days until he took it and captured the Catholicos Lord Step'anos and the right hand [relic] of the Holy Illuminator and took them to Msr [Egypt], together with many bishops, priests and populace. He [Step'anos] remained there for a year then died' (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 267).

The frequent Mamlūk invasions of Cilicia, the persecutions of the Christians and the precarious situation of the Armenians in the various Greek, Crusader, Mongol, Seljuq and Arab conflicts are subsequent themes. The continuator in MS Yerevan 3701 focuses on the conversion of the Mongol leaders to Islam. Het'um Patmich' picks up on diplomatic and military aspects of Christian-Muslim conflict at the time, mentioning the visit of King Het'um II to Damascus to meet Ghazan Khan in 1301. For 1304, the continuator in MS Yerevan 3701 notes: 'In this year *satakets'aw* [a word used to describe the passing away of animals and evil creatures] Khan Ghazan, who denied Christ, while his ancestors and people were Christians of the Nestorian faith, according to Vardan [Areweltsi Patmich' or historian, 1198-1271]' (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 270). He discusses in some detail the segregational measures and persecution of Christians by Ghazan's successor Khar Banda Khan [the Il-Khan Kharbanda, or Khūdabanda, also called Muḥammad, brother of Ghazan, r. 1304-16]:

> ... Kharbanday Khan of the nation of the arrow-men [Mongols], who deeply hated the Christians, was fascinated by the dark magic of sorcerers and heretics and collaborated with the devil. They [the Mongols] began attacking Christ's faith. They issued a decree for the Christians in the entire world under their control to either convert into the erroneous faith of Mahmēt or pay the *kharj* [*kharāj*] head-toll of eight *dahekan* [*dirham*], and be slapped and spat in the face, have their beard cut off and carry a black patch on the right shoulder, all in offence to Christ. His evil emissaries attacked the Christians everywhere like bloodthirsty beasts ... but the rational subjects [*banawor hotk'*] remained patient and accepted all hardship, giving him all he wanted. When the lawless and impious Khar Banda Khan saw that he could not take over the Christians, he increased his blows, and proclaimed that the Christians had either to accept being castrated and/or give away one eye, or convert to the religion of Mahmēt. Thus, thousands perished in the name of Christ and rejected their [the Mongols'] faith. (*Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, pp. 271-2)

The continuator of MS Yerevan 1899 provides a brief account of the journey of Catholicos Kostandin Lambronats'i (r. 1323-6) to Egypt in 1323.

The king, Lewon IV (r. 1320-42), was an adolescent at the time, and the catholicos assumed some of his duties. He signed a 15-year pact of ‘love and peace’ with the Mamlūk ‘Sultan Nasr’ (Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, during his third reign, 1310-41). In 1333, the Mamlūks ‘imposed blue ensigns on the Christians’ (MS Jerusalem 3701; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 276) and the peace agreement did not last. He describes the Mamlūk-instigated raid on Cilicia in 1335 by the governor of Aleppo (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 276). In the following year, 1336, the ‘Ismayēlite people’ invaded Cilicia, he reports with obvious irony, while the king had gone to the ‘assistance of the Fṛangs’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 277). The eventual fall of the fortress of the Cilician capital Sis to the ‘sultan of Msr’ is told in MSS Yerevan 7261 and 10202. In MS Jerusalem 3701, we read that in 1374/5: ‘This year the *tajkunk‘* [a colloquial form of plural of *tajik*] took Sis and killed Vardapet Kech‘eghak [magpie ?], who was a student of scripture’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 281). It reports that, after the arrival of Tamerlane in 1384, the *t‘urk‘mn*s replaced the *tat‘ar*s. The brutal assassination of Catholicos Zak‘aria of Aght‘amar in the city of Vostan in Vaspurakan, east of Lake Van, is recounted in detail in several manuscripts. MS Yerevan 726 offers a very rare piece of information for 1413, less than four decades after the fall of the kingdom. This concerns a mass exodus by boat of almost 30,000 Christian ‘houses’ (families) from Cilicia to Fṛankstan (France), more generally the ‘country of the Franks’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 288).

The beginnings of the ‘kingdom of the *Osmanis*’ or *Osmants‘ik‘* is dated to 1449, and in 1453 *Stampol* is noted as being taken by ‘sultan Mahmat’ (MS Yerevan 5889; *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 292). In 1441, a new see was established at Echmiadzin, then under Ottoman rule, and to that date an iconic site for the Armenian Church. The position of catholicos in the heartland was based on bribes and had to be ‘purchased’ (*ghapal*) from the Ottoman, and later Persian, authorities, as is noted in MS Jerusalem 3701 (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 291). The same continuator relates that in 1461, in order to defend the city and the churches, Catholicos Karapet (Karapet I Ewdokats‘i, r. 1446-77) in Sis formed an alliance with the *tajik*s of the city against the Turkmens, but without much success (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 293). Sis remained a target for successive attacks. He also recounts the story of a *tajik* who witnessed the gathering together of hundreds of Christian male children in a field in 1464, compelled by the ‘king of the *tajik*s’ or Turks. Despite the efforts of intermediaries at the sultan’s court, these children were dispatched to Istanbul to be converted and recruited (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 295).

Events from the world at large tend to be mentioned by most continuators. For example, the discovery of ‘Amerigay’ (America) in 1495, the building of the Forty Martyrs Cathedral in Aleppo in 1500, even the ‘launching of the heresy of Mart‘in Lut‘er’ in 1515, are related in MS Jerusalem 3701 (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 302, 303, 306). In 1605, as well as earlier and later, the great deportation or *surku* (Turkish for ‘forced expulsion’) of almost half a million Armenians from Julfa, Vaspurakan, and other locations into Isfahan, and the construction of New Julfa are recorded in MS Jerusalem 3701 (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 325-6). As some continuators write, it seems that Shah ʿAbbās made several attempts through various channels to move the catholicosate to Isfahan, where it would be under his immediate control. In 1614, he even ordered that the relic of the right hand of the Illuminator, as well as some ‘holy stones’ from Echmiadzin, should be brought there (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 328).

In MS Yerevan 7261, we find the exact date of the death of Stepanos Lehats‘i recorded as 1689. Originally from Lvov, Poland, Stepanos Lehats‘i produced the first translation of the Qur’an from Latin into Armenian (Dadoyan, ‘Stepanos Lehats‘i’, pp. 631-3). According to the *Zamanakagrut‘iwn*, he ‘translated many books of the fṛangs into Armenian’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 347).

The continuator of MS Yerevan 3701 ends the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* with four stories. For 1725, he writes: ‘In this year the *osmants‘i* people gained great power and devastated many places … A certain *aylazgi* [Muslim] Turk witnessed the slaughter of Christian children and told us’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, pp. 351-2). For 1754 he writes: ‘In this year at Caesarea a certain *aylazgi tajik* converted to the faith of Christ, the Son of God, and all the *tajiks* [of the city] said that he was deranged. They took him to the fortress and put him in prison for a while. Despite pleas and threats, they failed to convert him back [to Islam] and cease his witness. They then issued a death sentence, strangled him at the fortress and got rid of the body, so that they [the Christians] would not honour his remains’ (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 354). The next story is about the conversion of the Church of St James (Surb Yakob) at Sis into a mosque by a certain *tajik* called Yonuz (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 355). The last story constitutes the final paragraph of the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*: ‘In the year 1776, the impious Armenians, who were the inhabitants of Melitinē [Melitene], bribed the [Turkish] despot of their city to assassinate their prelate. The latter agreed, and just like P‘iladus [Pontius Pilate], he hanged the *vardapet* on a pole [like Christ], his name was Step‘anos and

was a native of the city, [this was] in the month …’. The sentence is left unfinished (*Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, p. 357).

SIGNIFICANCE

Written in the library of the cathedral of Ani, and mysteriously interrupted in 1163, the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* had no precedent or parallel in medieval or early modern Armenian literature. As some scholars emphasise, there are similarities between the circumstances in which it was composed and those in which Step‘anos Taronets‘i Asoghik wrote his *Universal history*, over a century earlier, again by order of the incumbent catholicos (Sargis I Sewants‘i, r. 992-1019) at Ani.

The strictly Eusebian column-table format and the almost primitive immediacy of Samuēl’s style are unique, and proved to be attractive to many continuators over the following six centuries. Eusebius had always been highly regarded as an author in medieval Armenian literary circles, and the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* was in effect the first text to follow it, seven centuries later. The common denominator between Asoghik and Samuēl was a shift in sponsorship of historical texts from the aristocracy, as had been the case to the end of the 10th century, to the church. Samuēl’s *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* marked and consolidated this development, which also left an impact on the content and orientation of the texts. Previously, most, if not all, the authors had been spokesmen for aristocratic families, and were often members of them, as was the case, amongst others, for Sebēos (7th century), Ghewond (8th century), T‘ovma Artsruni (840-909), Catholicos Yovhannēs Draskhanakertts‘i (around 850-929), Movses Kaghankatwats‘i and his editor-continuator Movsēs Daskhurants‘i (mid-10th century).

By the middle of the 11th century, when both the aristocracy and the church were exiled to the west of the heartland, searching for alternative places to settle, there was a lull in historical writing. The historical work composed by Aristakēs Vardapet Lastivetts‘i (d. 1090) had a relatively narrow scope. The last ‘universal’ (*tiezerakan*) history was the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* written by Matthew of Edessa (Mat‘ēos Uṛhayets‘i), the abbot of the Red Monastery or *Karmir Vank‘* at Keysum near Mar‘ash, who was killed during the Zangī capture of Edessa in 1144. This work covered the events of 952-1137, with the first part based on the history of Yakob Sanahnets‘i (d. 1085), and the rest covering the Crusader, Armenian and regional history during the period. Neither of these authors were connected to or sponsored by any aristocratic house or figure.

After Samuēl’s *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn*, the church was in a sense the only institution to produce and shape national history up until the middle of the 19th century. Samūel’s immediate successors, Mkhit‘ar Anets‘i (12th/13th century, author of the longest and most elaborate account of the Prophet Muḥammad and Islam), Vardan Arewelts‘i (1198-1271), Kirakos Gantzakets‘i (1200-71), and Step‘anos Ōrbelean (1250-1303/5) were primarily associated with the church. Smbat Sparapet (1208-76) and Het‘um Patmich‘ (1265-1320) were members of the Cilician pro-Latin ruling class.

This situation arose partly from the fact that, up to and even beyond the modern period, the Armenian clergy were the only literate class, with inevitable consequences. The first major historical work was written in 1662 by Aṛak‘ēl Dawrizhets‘i (1590-1670, from Tabriz), a *vardapet* at Echmiadzin, and again on the orders of Catholicos P‘ilippos I Aghbakets‘i (r. 1633-55). The work covered only the previous six to seven decades. A history by Mik‘ayel Ch‘amch‘eants‘ (1784), a Mkhit‘arist, was written from a Jesuit and nationalist perspective, and deliberately emulated the style and language of the 5th century, harking back to the golden age. Almost half of the work deals with the history of the church and clergy. There was a regression of sorts from the Eusebian tradition, but Ch‘amch‘eants‘ forcefully consolidated and legitimised the role of the church (Dadoyan, ‘Mik‘ayel Ch‘amch‘eants‘’).

From a purely methodological perspective, Samuēl Anets‘i’s *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* established the importance of chronology and of contextualising events within their regional circumstances and spatial and temporal framework. Most subsequent authors referred to and praised Samuēl’s style. Thus, the primary significance of the *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* lies in how it transformed the way in which events and other elements were organised and presented in chronological terms. Moreover, the straightforward, almost impersonal, style of reporting inspired many continuators who preferred to remain anonymous, possibly due to the nature and style of the information they were providing. The anonymous continuator of MS Jerusalem 3701, who meticulously and diligently covered 534 years of history, is a paradigm case.

The *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn Samuēl Anets‘i ew sharunakoghner* stands as the record of whatever seemed important at any given time. It brought historical writing closer to contemporary journalism and reporting. From the 14th century to the 17th century, three centuries during which almost no significant historical texts were produced in all Armenian-inhabited

areas and the heartland, the text begun by Samuēl Anets'i continued to grow as a living narrative. Continuators, mainly anonymous, often wrote spontaneously using their own vocabulary, from their own place and time. The relatively small space taken up by the *Zhamanakagrut'iwn* provides a researcher of Christian-Muslim relations with vibrant and at times raw material to follow the evolution of concepts, dispositions, vocabulary, literary traditions, images of the 'law-giver Mahmet' and the Qur'an, pacts, wars, segregational measures and taxes for almost ten centuries, from the 7th century to the last quarter of the 18th century.

PUBLICATIONS

The critical edition of the *Zhamanakagrut'iwn* by K. Mat'ewosean (Yerevan, 2014) includes a list of the 20 major manuscripts that were used in the edition, their contents in brief, and the dates that each covers (Mat'ewosean, 'Introduction', pp. 55-73).

There are 71 known manuscripts of the *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, of varying lengths, in several locations (see the list below). Most of the oldest copies were made at Ani and the monasteries nearby such as Kamrjadzor and Hoṛomos. Following the Mongol invasion of Ani in 1236, many manuscripts that were located in the cathedral were taken to Cilicia, and several copies of the *Zhamanakagrut'iwn* were among them. The later 16th-18th-century copies were made in various Armenian communities, including in some East European Armenian centres such as Lvov in Poland.

The oldest and most important copies are MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 5619 (initial copy started at Kamrjotzor in 1176, ends at the year 1523), and MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 3613 (initial copy started at Hoṛomos in 1177, ends at the year 1400).

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 481, 482, 1483, 1484, 1486, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1770, 1865, 1869, 1897, 1898, 1899, 2965, 3072, 3613, 3681, 3965, 5120, 5596, 5613, 5619, 5889, 6331, 6354, 6483, 6684, 7261, 8481, 9795, 9796, 10200, 10202, 10485, 10983 (36 manuscripts)

MS Jerusalem, Monastery of St James (*Surb Yakob*) – 69, 169, 343, 743, 783, 1051, 1221, 1288, 1553, 1801, 2170, 3397, 3701 (13 manuscripts)

MS Venice, Mkhit'arist Library – 288, 511, 721, 869, 911, 959, 1023, 1227, 1246, 1253, 1734, 1769, 2261 (13 manuscripts)

MS Vienna, Mkhit'arist Library – 65, 89, 167, 465 (four manuscripts)

MS Bzemmaṛ, Armenian Catholic Monastery, Lebanon – 207

MS Paris, BNF – 192

MS Tübingen, University of Tübingen Library – 93 (see Mat'ewosean, 'Introduction', p. 71, n. 202)

MS Vatican City, Vat – Codices Armeni bibliotheae Vaticanae Borgiani Vaticani Barberiniani Chisiani, Rome, 1928, 3

MS St Petersburg, Library of Oriental Manuscripts – B280

Samuelis praesbyteri Aniensis.Temporum usque ad suam aetatem ratio e libris historicorum summatim collecta, ed. and trans. Angelo Mai and Yovhannēs Zohrabean, Mediolani, 1818, repr. 1857; Rome, 1939[2] (Latin trans.; published together with the *Chronicon* of Eusebius of Caesarea [in a single volume]; five unsatisfactory and partial manuscripts were used for this edition)

M. Brosset (ed. and trans.), *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, St Petersburg, 1876, pp. 339-483 (French trans.; a 17th-century manuscript from the Royal Academy of St Petersburg was used for this version; Part 1 was removed for being 'not original', Part 2 with texts of continuators ends at the year 1346; see Mat'ewosean, 'Introduction', pp. 31-2)

A. Tēr Mik'ēlean (ed.), *Samuēli K'ahanayi Anets'woy hawak'munk' i grots' patmagrats' yaghags giwti zhamanakats' ants'elots' minh'ew i nerkays tsayrak'agh arareal* [Selections made from the collection of the writings of the historians from Genesis to the present], Vagharshapat, 1893 (first Armenian edition with introduction, notes and additions; based on a MS copied in 1676, now MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 1899; later additions to the year 1665 are annexed to the main text)

Gēworg Tēr Vardanean (ed.), *Samuēl Anets'i, Hawak'munk' i grots' patmagrats' yaghags giwti zhamanakats' ants'elots' minh'ew i nerkays tsayrak'agh arareal* [Selections made from the collection of the writings of the historians from Genesis to the present], complete manuscript prepared by A. Hayrapetean, Yerevan, 2011 (critical text of the *Zhamanakagrut'iwn* based on three of the oldest and most authentic manuscripts: MS Yerevan 5619 and 3613, MS Jerusalem 1719. For the first time the texts of the continuators were separated from the initial text of Samuēl, and their names recorded whenever available)

K. Mat'ewosean (ed.), *Samuēl Anets'i ew sharunakoghner – Zhamanakagrut'iwn Adamits' minch'ew 1776* [Samuēl Anets'i and continuators – Chronicle from Adam to 1776], Yerevan, 2014 (critical edition based on 20 manuscripts)

STUDIES

S.B. Dadoyan, 'Mik'ayel Ch'amch'eants'', in D. Thomas and J. Chesworth (eds), *Christian-Muslim relations, a Bibliographical history 1500-1900*, Leiden (forthcoming – a 19th century volume)

S.B. Dadoyan, 'Step'anos Lehats'i', in *CMR* 10

Mat'ewosean, 'Introduction'

S.B. Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the medieval Islamic world fourth-fourteenth centuries. Paradigms of cultural-political Interactions*, vol. 2. *Armenian Realpolitik in the Islamic world and diverging paradigms.The case of Cilicia, eleventh to fourteenth centuries*, New Brunswick NJ, 2012

S.B. Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the medieval Islamic world fourth-fourteenth centuries. Paradigms of cultural-political interactions*, vol. 1. *The Arab period in Armīnyah, seventh to eleventh centuries*, New Brunswick NJ, 2011

Mat'ewosean, *Samvel Anets'u Zhamanakagrut'ean dzeṛagrerĕ ew norayaytlrats'umnerĕ*

Mat'ewosean, 'Samvel Anets'in Anii patmut'ean masin'

K. Mat'ewosean, 'Yovhannēs Sarkawagi cortsunēut'iwnn Anium' [The career of Yovhannēs Sarkawag at Ani], *Ējmiatsin* 7-8 (2005) 59-72

M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum* [National history], Echmiadzin, 2001, vol. 1

Ṛ. Vardanean, *Hayots' tōnats'uyts'ĕ* [Armenian calendar of feasts], Yerevan, 1999

G. Brutean, *Ōrats'uyts' hayots'* [Armenian calendar], Echmiadzin, 1997

Mat'ewosean, *Ani*

R.W. Thomson, *Bibliography of classical Armenian literature to 1500*, Turnhout, 1995

Mkhit'ar Anets'i, *Matean ashrhavēp handisaranats'* [Book of world histories], ed. H. Margarean, Yerevan, 1983

L. Babayan, *Drwagner Hayastani zargats'ats feudalizmi darashrjani padmagrut'ean* [Episodes from the high period of feudalism in Armenia], Yerevan, 1981, p. 176

S.T. Melik'bashkhean, *Hayots' patmut'ean aghpiwragitut'iwn* [Source-studies for Armenian history], Yerevan, 1979, p. 173

N. Pogharean, *Hay groghner* [Armenian writers], Jerusalem, 1971, p. 240

M. Abeghean, *Erker* [Collected works], Yerevan, 1970, vol. 4, p. 94

Smbatay Sparapeti taregirk' [The Yearbook/Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet], Venice, 1956

A. Abrahamean, 'Samvel Anets'u tomaragitakan ew tiezeragitakan ashkhatut'iwnnerě' [The cosmological and calendar studies of Samvel Anets'i], *Echmiadzin* 1 (1952)

A. Zaminean, *Hay grakanut'ean patmut'iwn* [History of Armenian literature], Part 1, Nor Nakhijewan, 1914, p. 191

Tēr Mik'ēlean, *Samuēli K'ahanayi Anets'woy hawak'munk' i grots' patmagrats' yaghags giwti zhamanakats' ants'elots' minh'ew i nerkays tsayrak'agh arareal*

G. Zarbhanalean, *Patmut'iwn haykakan hin dbrut'ean* [History of ancient Armenian literature], Venice, 1886, pp. 600, 650-1

Gh. Alishan, *Shnorhali ew baragay iwr* [Shnorhali and his times], Venice, 1873, pp. 121-2

Brosset, 'Samouel d'Ani'

Seta B. Dadoyan

Davit‘ Guramishvili

DATE OF BIRTH 1705
PLACE OF BIRTH Guramiantkari, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 21 July 1792
PLACE OF DEATH Myrhorod, Ukraine

BIOGRAPHY

Davit‘ Guramishvili was born in 1705 in the village of Guramiant‘kari, eastern Georgia, where his ancestors, who were from southern Georgia, had settled at the beginning of the 15th century. Davit‘’s father, Giorgi Shioshis-dże Guramishvili, entrusted his son to a nurse in a peasant family who were so poor that the poet retained the memories of the hardship and hunger they experienced into his old age.

In summer 1728, Guramishvili was kidnapped by marauding north Caucasian tribesmen, who took him to Dagestan. Like all captives, he was kept in a pit, where he was treated badly, suffering hunger and cold, and denied even normal clothes. He escaped, but the marauders caught him and subjected him to physical abuse. As no one would pay a ransom for him, his captors decided to sell him. Guramishvili fled again and this time he was lucky, but it proved very difficult for him to reach a safe region. For 11 days and nights, hungry and with torn clothes, he steadily made his way to the northern slopes of the Caucasus. On the twelfth day, he reached a Cossack settlement in the Terek district from where he managed to reach Astrakhan, and then, via the River Volga, he found his way to Moscow.

Why did he not return to Georgia? The fact is that he was already regarded as an oppositionist at the Kart‘li royal court. In addition, the southern slopes of the Caucasus were full of marauding groups of Lezgins, and he may have feared being recaptured. Moreover, he hoped to find many of his relatives and friends among the retinue of King Vakht‘ang VI, the former king of Kart‘li, in the Russian capital. Thus, travelling to Moscow was perfectly understandable.

Guramishvili arrived in Moscow in 1729, and there he did indeed find a ‘little Georgia’. He was given a position in King Vakht‘ang’s retinue and the king appointed him *jabadarbash*, i.e. a supervisor of the *jabaxana* (armoury). He was soon faced with a political choice. Vakht‘ang had

arrived in Russia seeking military assistance, in the hope of regaining his throne with the help of the Russian authorities. However, the political situation had rendered this impossible, and the Georgians were given the option of either returning to their homeland or taking Russian citizenship. The majority of Vakht‘ang’s retinue remained in Russia, among them Guramishvili. He received estates in Ukraine, in Myrhorod and Zubovka, and joined the hussar regiment, which was formed in 1738 from members of Vakht‘ang’s retinue.

In 1739, the regiment took part in the Crimean War, with the aim of countering Ottoman attacks in the northern and western Black Sea area. Guramishvili fought valiantly in the war, and from an ordinary hussar he was advanced first to the position of quartermaster, and then to cavalry sergeant. He also fought in the Russo-Prussian War, and on 15 August 1758 he was captured in battle at Custrin. He spent a year in captivity in Magdeburg prison, until his release on 7 December 1759. On 15 March 1760, he officially retired from military service and returned to his estates in Myrhorod and Zubovka, where he began restoring his household.

During that same period Guramishvili began writing poems, although it can be assumed that he had written some works earlier. He compiled his complete works into his only book, *Davit‘iani*, which he sent to Georgia in 1787. Guramishvili died on 21 July 1792, and was buried in the Church of the Assumption in Myrhorod.

Guramishvili occupies a special place in the history of Georgian literature. He was the first poet to overcome the influence of Rust‘aveli and create a new style of Georgian verse.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

T‘. Zhordania, *Davit‘ Guramishvili da misi dro* [David Guramishvili and his time], *Iveria* 1/2 (1880); 2 (1882)

A. Xaxanashvili, *K‘art‘uli sitqvierebis istoria* [History of Georgian literature], vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1914, pp. 501-16

Secondary

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 128-33

S. C‘aishvili, *Shot‘a Rust‘aveli – Davit‘ Guramishvili* [Shota Rustaveli – David Guramishvili], Tbilisi, 1974, pp. 190-232

E. Maġraże, *Godeba (Davit‘ Guramishvilis c‘xovreba)* [Lamentation (Life of David Guramishvili)], Tbilisi, 1974

S. Ch‘ik‘ovani, *Rch‘euli cerilebi* [Selected letters], Tbilisi, 1963, pp. 50-121

G. K‘ik‘oże, *Rch‘euli t’xzulebani* [Selected works], vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1963, pp. 52-60
V. Dondua, *Davit‘ Guramishvili da Sak‘art‘velos istoria* [David Guramishvili and the history of Georgia], Tbilisi, 1959
G. Leoniże, *Davit‘ Guramishvilis c‘xovreba da moġvaceoba* [The life and activities of David Guramishvili], Tbilisi, 1956
S. Qubaneishvili, *Davit‘ Guramishvili k‘art‘vel husart‘a polkshi* [David Guramishvili in the Georgian hussar regiment], Tbilisi, 1955
K. Kekeliże and A. Baramiże, *K‘art‘uli literaturis ist‘oria* [History of Georgian literature], vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1954
A. Baramiże, *Davit‘ Guramishvili Ukrainashi* [David Guramishvili in Ukraine], Tbilisi, 1949
D. Guramishvili, *T‘xzulebat‘a sruli krebuli* [Complete works], Tbilisi, 1931
K. Kekeliże, *K‘art‘uli literaturis istoria* [History of Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1924, pp. 455-72

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Davit‘iani

DATE 1787
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION
The works of Davit‘ Guramishvili are brought together in one book under the title *Davit‘iani*, compiled by the author himself at the end of the 18th century. This title has a double meaning, on the one hand indicating the name of the author, while on the other, forming a reference to the Psalms of David, known in Old Georgian as the *Davit‘ni*.

Davit‘iani is divided into four parts, by analogy with the four Gospels. It is a multidimensional, polyphonic, systemic work, imbued with a medieval worldview. All four parts contain biblical reminiscences and parallels, and its poetic conception is a result of deep theoretical reasoning. As a faithful Christian, Guramishvili was manifestly influenced by medieval conventional poetry, so his personality and sense of creativity are imbued with the concept of symbolic cross-bearing, which at the same time forms the basis for the integrity and unity of *Davit‘iani*.

Guramishvili touches upon topics associated with Christian-Muslim relations in the historical cycle, which is conventionally referred to as *Kart‘lis chiri* [Woes of Georgia]. He employs a realistic method of description, known as the principle of ‘telling the truth’. This concept was not new, but was introduced into Georgian poetry by King Arch‘il

and his followers, who believed that a poet should describe historical, documented facts rather than imaginary and fantastic stories. Guramishvili shared this theory, but added to it a greater degree of acuteness and emotionality, which is demonstrated in the ethical pathos of national self-accusation.

The most acute manifestation of this self-accusation occurs in stanza 153 of *Kart‘lis chiri*, where the poet writes that the ‘Georgians (Christians) forgot Jesus Christ and became slaves of Muḥammad’. This is the most pointed reference to the relationship between Christians and Muslims, which in *Davit‘iani* has a symbolic character and applies equally to the moral as well as social and political spheres. In reference to King Konstantine of Kaxet‘i, who was forced to change his political allegiance, Guramishvili writes that the king discarded the robe granted him by the shah of Iran and instead put on an Ottoman coat. The poet does not make any mention of the fact that Konstantine was a former Christian who had converted to Islam. The question of religion is not of great urgency for him, as he is primarily interested in the military and political elements that derive these developments.

According to *Kart‘lis chiri*, the ‘actors’ in the military and political aggression against Georgia are the Ottoman Turks and the Persians, and along with them the mountain people living in the north Caucasus – the Lezgins, Ossetians, Circassians, Ingush, Didos and Chechens – all of whom, with the exception of the Ossetians, were Muslim. After the capture of Tbilisi by the Ottoman Turks and the imposition of their jurisdiction, Guramishvili was kidnapped by the Lezgins. He suffered immensely during his year spent in captivity, although he makes no mention of physical pain in his writings; rather it is spiritual suffering that he experiences. In Book 1, verses 21-3, he represents the Muslim environment of Dagestan as a cold cloud covering the sun, which is a symbol of Jesus Christ. This is the only instance in which Guramishvili offers an assessment of the relationship between Christians and Muslims; in other sections of the work he does not touch upon this topic at all.

SIGNIFICANCE

Davit‘ Guramishvili displays tact in his references to Islam and never resorts to the stereotypes that had been traditionally present in Old Georgian literature and historical chronicles. In general, secular literature of the 18th century displays little interest in the religious elements of Christian-Muslim relations.

Guramishvili was the first Georgian poet to move beyond the influence of Shotʻa Rustʻaveli and create poetry that can be distinguished by the originality of his own writing. This is a qualitatively new phenomenon, shaped by the aesthetic values of the time, while simultaneously not breaking with traditional poetic culture.

Guramishvili's work only became known to readers relatively late, but it nevertheless had an impact on Georgian lyric poetry, as can be seen, for example, in the case of the Georgian classical author Vazha-Pʻshavela, who regarded Guramishvili as his predecessor.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts – 1598S, *Davitiani* (1787)

D. Kosariki, *Davitʻ Guramishvili Ukrainashi* [David Guramishvili in Ukraine], Tbilisi, 1949

G. Leoniże, *Gamokvlevebi da cerilebi* [Essays and letters], Tbilisi, 1958

V. Norakiże, *Davitʻ Guramishvili* [David Guramishvili], Tbilisi, 1980

David Guramishvili, *Tʻxzulebatʻa sruli krebuli* [Complete works], Tbilisi, 1980

STUDIES

T. Mosia, *Davitʻ Guramishvilis msoflmxedvelobis samqaroshi* [In the world of David Guramishvili's outlook], Tbilisi, 2010

Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, pp. 128-33

R. Tʻvaraże, *Tʻxutʻmetsaukunovani mtʻlianoba* [Integrity fifteen centuries old], Tbilisi, 1985, pp. 287-302

G. Mağularia, *Literaturuli portretebi* [Literary portraits], Tbilisi, 1982, pp. 3-65

R. Siraże, *Kʻartʻuli estʻetikuri azris istoriidan* [From the history of Georgian aesthetic thought], Tbilisi, 1978, pp. 279-96

Ivane Amirkhanashvili

Besiki

Besarion Gabashvili

DATE OF BIRTH 1750
PLACE OF BIRTH Georgia; presumably Tbilisi
DATE OF DEATH 24 or 25 January 1791
PLACE OF DEATH Iași, Romania

BIOGRAPHY

The poet Besarion Gabashvili, also known as Besiki, is thought to have been born in 1750, the son of Zakʻaria Gabashvili, father confessor of Tʻeimuraz II, king of Kʻartʻli (r. 1732-62), and a well-known writer and church figure of the period. Besarion Gabashvili was brought up and educated with the princes in the royal court.

Zakʻaria Gabashvili was engaged in a doctrinal dispute with Catholicos Anton I, who had the support of King Erekle II (r. 1762-98). This confrontation led to Zakʻaria being defrocked and excommunicated by the Church Council in 1764. He moved to Russia to join the descendants of Vakhtʻang VI, though his son Besiki remained in Tbilisi until 1776-7, maintaining close relations with the princes and under the direct patronage of the widow of Tʻeimuraz II, Ana (Ana-Xanum). Eventually, King Erekle started feeling distrustful of Besiki and the poet was forced to leave Kʻartʻli. It is often thought that this was the result of Besiki's love for a woman from the royal family, though a more convincing interpretation is that the reason for his banishment was political. The young poet found refuge in Imeretʻi. He was profoundly hurt by this turn of events, and eventually joined the camp of King Erekle's opponents.

At the court of King Solomon I of Imeretʻi (r. 1752-66, and 1768-84), Besiki was made a chancellor, and was then granted the title of prince and given estates. It is during this period that he first began his political activities. In 1778, he was sent on a political mission to Persia, and in 1787 he headed a diplomatic mission with the aim of concluding a treaty between Imeretʻi and Russia similar to the Treaty of 1783. This took him to Kremenchug (Ukraine) with Gregory Potyomkin, who was responsible for Russian-Georgian affairs. With the support of Russia, Imeretʻi hoped to reconquer the territories captured by Ottoman Turkey. In 1790, Besiki was in Iași. Having completed negotiations, he intended to return to his

homeland, but he died unexpectedly on 24 or 25 January 1791. He was buried in the local church, and his inscribed gravestone is preserved in Iași museum.

No contemporary portrait of Besiki has survived. Bearing in mind the motifs and character of his work, biographers assume that he must have been a handsome and elegant young man, cheerful and light-hearted, a merry-maker, attractive to women. Love was a creative stimulus for Besiki and resulted in poems such as *Sevdis bags shevel* ('I entered a garden of sadness'), *Me mivxvdi magas shensa bralebsa* ('I understood those your accusations') and *Dedop 'als Anazed* ('On Queen Ana') and others.

Besiki had a number of followers among the poets of the generation that came after him.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Besikisa da Sulxan Orbelianis mimocera' [Correspondence of Besiki and Sulxan Orbeliani], *Iveria* 5 (1879) 205-6

Z. Mt'acmindeli (Z. Čičinaże), *Besiki, t'. Al. Čavčavaże, t'. Gr. Orbeliani* [Besiki, Prince Al. Čavčavaże, Prince Gr. Orbeliani], Tbilisi, 1886, p. 64

Al. T'oraże, *Besarion Gabashvilis (Besikis) c'xovreba da shemo k' medeba* [Life and work of Besarion Gabashvili (Besiki)], Kutaisi, 1919, p. 48

S. Gorgaże, *Besik Gabashvilis axlad aġmoč'enili le k' sebi da avtograp'ebi* [Newly discovered poems and autographs of Besik Gabashvili], Tbilisi, 1924

A. Baramiże, 'Besikis garshemo' [Around Besiki], *T'su Shromebi* [Proceedings of Tbilisi State University (TSU)] 1 (1936) 151-8

A. Baramiże, 'Besiki', in A. Baramiże, *Narkvevebi K'art'uli literaturis istoriidan* [Essays from the history of Georgian literature], 1940, vol. 2, pp. 367-431

K. Kekeliże, 'Besarion Gabashvili', in K. Kekeliże, *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1941, vol. 2, pp. 608-20

G. Leoniże, *Besiki, dabadebidan 200 clis gamo* [Besiki, On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of his birth], Tbilisi, 1953, p. 118

N. Maisuraże, 'Mcignobar gabashvilt'a ojaxi' [The Gabashvili family of men of letters], *Kut'aisis Pedinstitutis Shromebi* [Proceedings of Kutaisi Pedagogical Institute] 14 (1955) 89-101

G. Leoniże, 'Besiki', in G. Leoniże, *Gamokvlevebi da cerilebi* [Studies and letters], 1959, 285-401

Secondary

A. Nikoleishvili, *Besiki, K'art'vel mceralt'a erovnul-politikuri mrcamsi* [Besiki, national-political creed of Georgian writers], vol. 1, Kutaisi, 2014

G. Kučuxiże, 'Besik Gabashvili (biograp'iuli narkvevi)' [Besik Gabashvili (biographical essay)], in *XVI-XVIII saukuneebis qart'uli literatura. aġmosavluri da dasavluri kulturul-literaturuli proc'esebis gzashesaqarze* [Georgian literature of the 16th-18th centuries at the crossroads of Eastern and Western cultural-literary processes], Tbilisi, 2012, pp. 359-6

G. Kučuxiże, 'Besikis shemok'medebis aġmosavlur-dasavluri aspek'tebis urt'iert'mimart'ebisat'vis' [On the interrelation of Eastern and Western aspects of the work of Besiki], *Literaturuli Żiebani* [Literary Researches] 31 (2010) 29-43

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 135-9

Z. Abzianiże, *Besarion Gabashvili (Besiki), literaturuli portretebi* [Besarion Gabashvili (Besiki), Literary portraits], Tbilisi, 2009

L. Żoceniże, 'Axali masalebi Gabashvilt'a ojaxis istoriisat'vis (Zak'aria, Ose, Besiki)' [New material for the history of the Gabashvili family (Zak'aria, Ose, Besiki), *Literaturuli Żiebani* [Literary Researches] 19 (1998) 171-89

K. Kekeliże and A. Baramiże, 'Besarion Gabashvili', in *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1987, 458-72

S. C'aishvili, 'Ġvacli Besarion Gabashvilisa' [Service of Besarion Gabashvili], in S. C'aishvili, *Cinamorbedni da t'anamedroveni (cerilebi da gamokvlevebi), (shemo k' medebit'i portretisat'vis)* [Predecessors and contemporaries (letters and studies), for a creative portrait], Tbilisi, 1986, 278-87

K. Kekeliże, 'Besarion Gabashvili', in K. Kekeliże, *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1981, vol. 2, pp. 661-78

V. Mačaraże, *Besiki diplomatiur sarbielze* [Besiki in the diplomatic arena], Tbilisi, 1968, p. 340

V. Mačaraże, 'Besikis dabadebis t'ariġi' [Date of birth of Besiki], *T'su Shromebi* [Proceedings of Tbilisi State University (TSU)] 78 (1963) 173-83

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Poetry

DATE Between 1770 and 1791
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Besiki continued the traditions of Old Georgian poetry. He was well versed in Persian language and literature, and drew on a virtual arsenal of the images, symbols and poetic metres of Persian poetics. His poems were not published during his lifetime, although manuscript copies circulated after his death, and it is possible that the titles and notes may have been made up by amateur copyists (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 139).

Besiki's work is thematically varied, and he made a great contribution to the development of the lyric genre. The leading motif in his work is love. His poetry is free from mystical and allegorical content and has a particular source of inspiration, thought to be Maia, daughter of Giorgi Erist'avi. The poet is at times a nightingale, a rose, or a moth burnt by the fire of his beloved. These classic images and symbols of the lover are derived from examples of Persian poetry, such as *Vardbulbuliani* ('The rose and the nightingale'), *Shamip' arvaniani* ('The candle and the moth') among others, which had been translated into Georgian by King T'eimuraz I in the 17th century.

In Besiki's work, love is accompanied by infinite sadness, which is caused not only by unrequited love but also by the state of his country and its political problems. As a diplomat, Besiki was directly involved in political processes. Some of his poems deal with patriotic and historical topics, such as the heroic poems *Ruxis brżola* ('The Battle of Ruxi'), which depicts the united attack of the Ap'xazians and the north Caucasian tribes on the Principality of Samegrelo in 1780, and *Aspinżisat'vis* ('On Aspinża'), which describes how King Erekle and the Russian commander Totleben, along with their combined troops, surrounded the Acquri fortress, which was under the control of the Turks. Totleben and his army unexpectedly abandoned the Georgians, although the Georgians finally won.

Besiki dedicated three odes to the poet and translator David Orbeliani, son-in-law of King Erekle, who was responsible for translating *Qaramaniani* from Persian: *Mnat'obt'admi* ('To the luminaries'), *Rac' miireca sop'elman* ('What this world destroys') and *C'remlt'a mdinare* ('River of tears').

Although Besiki's poetry is secular in character, his Christian worldview can clearly be observed in the themes, language, images and symbols he employs. In poems such as *K'eba Solomon mep'isa* ('Praise of King Solomon'), *Solomon mep'is epitap'ia* ('Epitaph for King Solomon') and *Samżimari* ('Condolence'), he glorifies the Christian God and the Mother of God, and also shows his attitude to Islam as the religion of the enemy.

It is clear that Besiki was an admirer of the non-Christian poetic culture that he knew. Together with Sayat-Nova, he introduced into Georgian poetry the form of the lyric poem and song tunes. Both poets probably also drew on the Turkish-Azeri branch of Persian literature. Persian and Turkish *muxambaz*es and *baiat'*s found their way into Georgia in the 18th century through literary as well as oral means. They were

especially attractive in *ashugh* (minstrel) society, with which Besiki was familiar. The poet would sing his *baiat'*s and *muxambaz*es accompanying himself on the *t'ari*, a nine-stringed oriental lute. Thus, the 'Persian tone' of eastern motifs exerted a powerful influence on his poetry.

Islam and Muslims appear in Besiki's work as political enemies and opponents in war. The fullest references are to be found in: 'Mahmadis mosavni' ('Having hope in Muḥammad') in *K'eba Solomon mep'isa* ('In praise of King Solomon'); 'Agarian-osmanni' ('Hagarene-Ottomans') in *Solomon mep'is epitap'ia* ('Epitaph for King Solomon'); 'Ak'alo' ('Lezghians') in *Rac' miireca sop'elman* ('What this world destroys'); 'Izmaitelni' ('Ishmaelites') in *Samżimari* ('Condolence'); and 'Tatarni' ('Tatars') in *Aspinżisat'vis* ('On Aspinża'), against whom the Georgians had to fight constantly in order to defend their country and religion. Besiki is neutral towards Islam as a religion, however, as a result of his diplomatic stance and his love for Persian poetry and culture.

As though to avoid any particular ridicule, Besiki creates in his humorous poems equally caricatured portraits of both Muslim and Christian individuals. For example, in *Mirian batonishvils* ('To Prince Mirian'), he presents an ironic depiction of the Iranian ambassador he met in Kremenchug, while in *Gaios ark'imandrits* ('To Archimandrite Gaios'), he mocks the priest's gluttony.

Besiki's work demonstrates that, for him, the best mediator between the Christian and the Muslim worlds was poetry.

SIGNIFICANCE

Besiki's work brings the centuries-old era of Old Georgian literature to a close. He came to lead his own poetic school, and had numerous imitators, including Dimitri T'umanishvili and Elizbar Erist'avi. Traces of his influence have also been detected in the work of Alek'sandre Čavčavaże, one of the first representatives of Georgian Romanticism.

Later generations of Georgian poets have been raised on his work, with its interplay of influences from Persian prosody and poetic themes on the one hand, and depiction of Islam as the age-old enemy on the other. It continues to be viewed as a definitive example of the beauty of Georgian poetry.

PUBLICATIONS

Details of MS copies of Besiki's poetry can be found in I. Abulaże et al. (eds), *Sak'art'velos saxelmcip'o muzeumis K'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba, Q kolek'c'ia, a* [Description of Georgian manuscripts of the Georgian

State Museum Q Collection], Tbilisi, 1957, vol. 1, and E. Metreveli et al. (eds), *K'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba, qop'ili k'art'velt'a shoris cera-kit'xvis gamavrc'elebeli sazogadoebis (S) kolek'c'iisa* [Description of Georgian Manuscripts, (S) Collection of the former Society for Spreading Literacy among the Georgians], Tbilisi, vol. 1, 1959; vol. 2, 1961; vol. 7, 1973.

Z. Čičinaże (ed.), *Lek'sni t'k'mulni Besarion Gabashvilisagan* [Poems by Besarion Gabašvili], Tbilisi, 1885

Mt'acmindeli, *Besiki , t' A. Čavčavaże, t' G. Orbeliani*

S.R. Gorgaże (ed.), *Besiki, t'xzulebani* [Besiki, works], Tbilisi, 1912

Gorgaże, *Besik Gabashvilis axlad aġmoč'enili lek'sebi da avtograp'ebi*

Besiki, *T'xzulebani* [Works], ed. A. Baramiże and V. T'op'uria, Tbilisi, 1932

Besiki, *Lek'sebi* [Verses], ed. A. Baramiże, Tbilisi, 1940

Besiki, *Lek'sebi, odebi da poemebi* [Verses, odes and poems], Tbilisi, 1948

Besiki, *T'xzulebat'a sruli krebuli* [Complete collection of works], ed. A. Baramiże and V. T'op'uria, Tbilisi, 1962[6]

Arch'il Sulakauri (ed.), 'Besiki, Lirika' [Besiki, lyric poetry], *Nakaduli* (1983)

B. Sulakauri (ed.), *K'art'uli klasikuri mcerloba 10 tomad* [Georgian classical literature in 10 volumes], Tbilisi, 2011, vol. 5, pp. 11-26

T. K'itoshvili (ed.), *K'art'uli mcerlobis saunje 25 tomad* [Treasure of Georgian literature in 25 volumes], Tbilisi, 2011, vol. 8, pp. 9-23

Besiki, *Lek'sebi da poemebi, cerilebi* [Verses and poems, letters], ed. L. Nadareishvili, Tbilisi, 2013

STUDIES

Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, pp. 135-9

Leoniże, 'Besiki'

Kekeliże, 'Besarion Gabashvili', 1942, vol. 2, pp. 608-20

Baramiże, 'Besiki'

'Besikisa da Sulxan Orbelianis mimocera'

Lia Karichashvili

Sayatnova

Saatlama, Sayatnama, Savatlama, Arutina

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1711 and 1722
PLACE OF BIRTH Tbilisi
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly 1795 or around 1800
PLACE OF DEATH Tbilisi

BIOGRAPHY

Sayatnova is a pseudonym, derived from the word 'Seidnova' meaning 'patron of a poem'. The poet's real name is Arutina (which in Armenian means 'resurrection'): 'Sayatnova is my name, I am Arutina,' he writes in one of his poems (Baramiże, *Saiat'nova-K'art'uli*, p. 30).

Sayatnova was born between 1711 and 1722 in Sanahian or Tbilisi (Baramiże, *Saiat'nova-K'art'uli*, p. 93; Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 82; Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 6, 16, 31-2). His mother, Sara, was a local Armenian woman from Tbilisi, and his father, Karapet, was from Aleppo, an Armenian by descent and from a low social background, who had settled in Tbilisi (Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 83; Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 5-6; Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 133).

Sayatnova grew up in Tbilisi and learned to read and write at home; at the age of 12 he began learning a trade, although it is not entirely certain what trade it was – carpentry or possibly weaving. From childhood, apart from his native Armenian, he learnt Georgian, Azeri and Persian, as well as how to play eastern instruments and sing Armenian/Georgian/Tatar (Azeri and Persian) *bayati*. He very quickly became known as a brilliant *ashugh* (minstrel), who through his songs containing beautiful maxims and aphorisms encouraged people to moral purity and holiness.

He was *ashugh* to King Erekle II of Georgia (r. 1744-62) for several years, possibly from as early as 1744, and was much loved and appreciated by the king and his children. In his poems, he responded with special affection to Erekle's attention and patronage. Tbilisi also fell in love with the king's remarkable eulogist, a ruthless satirist and incomparable *ashugh*, though in 1759, following a disagreement, 'possibly a scandal of a romantic nature', King Erekle expelled Sayatnova from the palace (Hasrat'yan, *Sayat'-Nova*, p. xxv; Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 69, 76; Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 84). This dismissal caused him great distress,

and he became a priest, taking the name of Stephen. His wife died in 1768, and in the late 1770s he became a monk in the Haghpat Monastery (Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 84).

According to legend, Sayatnova died during Āghā Muḥammad Khān's invasion of Tbilisi in 1795. The Persians invaded and destroyed the monastery where Sayatnova was living, captured him and demanded that he convert from Christianity to Islam. The poet refused and he was tortured and then executed. This remains the romantic/tragic version of Sayatnova's biography, a legend that is thought to have been inspired partly by a couplet in his poem: 'I shall leave the Church, I shall not turn from Jesus ...' (Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 27, 35-7, 69; Hasrat'yan, *Sayat'-Nova*, p. xxxvi; Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 84). However, K. Kekeliże has suggested that Sayatnova was still alive during the reign of Erekle's son Giorgi XIII (r. 1798-1800; also known as Giorgi XII) and died in 1801 of natural causes. Kekeliże refers here to the historian Platon Ioseliani, according to whom Sayatnova met in Akhtapa Monastery the Georgian philosopher and theologian Iona Khelashvili, who was active during the era of both Erekle and Giorgi (Kekeliże, *Żveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria*, pp. 678-9; Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 37-8; Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 135).

In Georgian scholarship, Sayatnova is openly acknowledged as a great *ashugh* poet, who with his works belongs to all three peoples of the Transcaucasus: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, and their respective religious traditions (Georgians: Christian Orthodox; Armenians: Gregorian Christians; Azerbaijanis: Muslims). He wrote in all three languages, Georgian, Armenian and Azeri, and his poetry is rich in verses using oriental forms and vocabulary. As Melikset-Beg writes, 'Sayatnova is a kind of symbol of the relationships between the Transcaucasian people. He is that special weld which brings together Armenian, Georgian and Turkish-Persian literature' (Melik'set'-beg, *Saiat'novas vinaoba*).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

I. Grishashvili, *Saiat'nova*, Tbilisi, 1918, pp. 3-8

G. Leoniże, *Mgosani Saat'nova*, Tbilisi, 1930, pp. 3-59

L. Melik'set'-beg, *Saiat'novas vinaoba*, Tbilisi, 1930, pp. 21-65, 99-106

Secondary

D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia. A history*, London, 2010[3], pp. 133-5

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1520-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 83-5, 491-6 (includes extensive bibliography)
C. Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova. An 18th-century troubadour. A biographical and literary study*, Leuven, 1997
B. Arvelaże, *Saiat'nova*, Tbilisi, 1988, pp. 15-16, 27
K'art'uli poezia, vol. 16. *K'alak'uri poezia*, Tbilisi, 1985, pp. 8-19
K'art'uli sabčot'a enc'iklopedia, vol. 8, Tbilisi, 1984, pp. 660-1
K. Kekeliże, *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1981, pp. 678-9
K. Kekeliże and A. Baramiże, *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria (V-XVIII)*, Tbilisi, 1969, pp. 551-3
L. Menabde, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1966
A. Baramiże, *Saiat'nova-K'art'uli lek'sebi*, Tbilisi, 1963
M. Hasrat'yan, *Sayat'-Nova, hayeren, vratz'eren, adrbejaneren, khageri zhoghovatsu*, Yerevan, 1963
V. Briusov et al., *Pesni*, Moscow, 1939

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Poetry

DATE 18th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian, Armenian and Azeri

DESCRIPTION
Sayatnova wrote and performed his songs in several languages, Georgian, Armenian and Azeri, which was not unusual in Tbilisi. Others are known to have attempted to write songs in two or three languages, though their talent was nowhere near his. This is evidenced by the fact that other *ashugh*s who could have enjoyed great popularity at the time have remained in his shadow. According to Giorgi Leoniże, a 20th-century Georgian poet and Sayatnova researcher, he is the only *ashugh* of interest to literary scholars, as a master of this genre (Leoniże, *Mgosani Saat'nova*). Within Tbilisi urban poetry of the 18th century, Sayatnova created his own individual style, introducing street and market slang, the language of weavers, shopkeepers and bath workers whose sadness or joy, suffering or happiness he took to heart.

Ashugh is considered to be a creation of Tbilisi, an open city, where Christians, Muslims and Jews lived peacefully alongside each other, enjoying the right and means to live in accordance with their own laws and customs and freely express their opinions and protect their beliefs. It arose from direct contact with folk language and urban folklore, using these two to develop the resulting slang. Colloquial Georgian often used

Arabic/Persian/Armenian words, but these were always associated with Georgian as a living language. Tbilisi gave a distinctive slant to these diverse expressions and there the language of *ashugh* poetry, despite its Persian origins, became more Georgian.

We currently know of 35 Georgian, 65 Armenian and 81 Azeri poems written by Sayatnova. The autographs of his Georgian poems are not preserved; they were transmitted orally and then recorded by various individuals. Some of his Armenian poems were written down, probably by Sayatnova himself in 1765. The original manuscript is preserved in Yerevan, and a copy made by his son Ioane in 1823 is now in St Petersburg. However, most of his poetry was recorded after his death. Sayatnova initially wrote his poems in Georgian, and later, from the age of 30, in Armenian. This is attested by a note, written in Armenian using Georgian script, and appended to a poem: 'I, Arutina, the son of a pilgrim, from the time I was little to my thirtieth year, devoted myself to all forms of play, but by the power of the Holy Precursor I learned the *k'amanch'a* and the *ch'ongur* and the *t'ambure* Chianuri, Chonguri and Ambura, and now I wish to speak out in Armenian …' (Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 11-12).

The Armenian writer Akhverdyan published the first collection of Sayatnova's poems in Moscow in 1852. He explains that Sayatnova gained his popularity by writing Georgian poems, and only later began writing in Armenian. It is also possible that the reason his Georgian poems were better known was that he worked as a poet for King Erekle, so his main audience would have spoken Georgian

> Sayatnova's poems are primarily driven by romantic themes, but also contain social, philosophical and glorifying motives. He considered human dignity to include love for your neighbours friends and family, love in general, generous kindness, absence of envy, a sweet word. His poetry displays awareness of Muḥammad and Islam, as well as Persian influences. It makes use of Persian 'verse forms, e.g. the *ghazal*, and versification, e.g. *murabba'*. (Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 390-1)

His Azeri poems, many of which are mystical, make more allusions to Islam (Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 313-17). In one such poem he mentions 'lam', which can be understood as a reference to the opening of Q 98 (Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*, pp. 339-41). In these Azeri poems, he frequently declares his devotion to his Christian faith (Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 84).

SIGNIFICANCE

As Sayatnova came from a humble background, as well as being Armenian, his importance as a poet was initially overlooked (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 133). He is first mentioned in historical documents by Teimuraz Bagrationi (Batonishvili), and after him by Platon Ioseliani, Zakaria Chichinadze and others. Several poems were published in Ilia Chavchavadze's *Iveria* of 1877 (nos 28, 30), but Sayatnova remained forgotten until research conducted by Ioseb Grishashvili from 1914 onwards.

Sayatnova gave expression to Persian voices in many ways. His poems were taken as models by contemporary and later *ashugh*s such as Alaverda, Mirzajana, Sazandar Bishi Giorgi, Dabgishvili, Bulbula, Bechara, Machabeli, Chamchi Melko, Skandarnova and Ietim Guji. *Ashugh* poetry left its mark on the great Georgian romantic poets, and can be perceived in the works of Alexandre Chavchavadze and Grigol Orbeliani, and later Akaki Tsereteli.

PUBLICATIONS

Selected poems have been translated and anthologised – details can be found in Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 492.

MS Yerevan, Armenian Museum of Literature and Art – Sayat'-Novayi Fond 1 (1765)

MS St Petersburg, Institute for the Peoples of Asia – Georg 222 (1823; *Tetrak*, poems copied by Ioane, son of Sayatnova)

G. Akhverdyan (ed.), *Sayeat'-Nōva*, Moscow, 1852; AA0014395552 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Sayeat-Nova, azgayin ergich, Tbilisi, 1882

Sayeat'-Nōvay, Tbilisi, 1914; repr. Beirut, 1931

Sayeat'-Nōvay, Baku, 1914

Z. Boyajian (ed.), *Armenian legends and poems*, London, 1916, 1958, pp. 14, 35, 74, 85, 110 (English trans.; selected poems)

Grishashvili, *Saiat'nova*, pp. 120-4

Melik'set'-beg, *Saiat'novas vinaoba*, pp. 148-61

Sayat'-Nova. Hayeren ḥałeri žołovatzu, Yerevan, 1931

G. Levonyam, *Hayeren ḥałeri liakatar žołovatzu*, Yerevan, 1935

Briusov, *Pesni*, (Russian trans.)

R. Abrahamean, *Sayeat'-Nōvayi tałere*, Tehran, 1943

Matean imastur'ean, gełetskut'ean ew anmatoyts siroy, Alexandria, 1944

Hasrat'yan, *Hayeren, vratz'eren, adrbejaneren, khageri zhoghovatsu*

S. Harut'yunyan, *Sayat'-Nova, 1712-1762*, Yerevan, 1963
M. Gianascian (ed. and trans.), *Canzoniere di Sayath-Nova*, Venice, 1964 (Italian trans., selected poems)
Saiat'nova, *Somxuri lek'sebi*, Tbilisi, 1972, pp. 3-120
Sayat-Nova, *Quelques poèmes et pensées*, ed. and trans. M. Arsenian, Paris, 1977 (French trans. with Armenian texts)
Sayat-Nova, *Hayeren, vrats'eren, ew adrbejaneren khagheri zhoghovatsu*, ed. H. Bakhch'inyani, Yerevan, 1987 (collection of poems in Georgian, Armenian and Azeri)
Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova* (includes many poems with English trans.)
Saiat'nova, *Lek'sebi*, Tbilisi, 2005, pp. 35-198

STUDIES

Z. Tskhadaia and T. Tsitsishvili, *Ashugskaia poėziia v rusle gruzinskoĭ literatury*, Baku, 2017, pp. 47-8
Saiat'nova, *Lek'sebi*, Tbilisi, 2011, pp. 5-8
Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, pp. 133-5
Saiat'nova, *Lek'sebi*, Tbilisi, 2005, pp. 3-34
Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, pp. 491-2 (list of texts and translations)
Dowsett, *Sayat'-Nova*
Arvelaże, *Saiat'nova*, pp. 3-29
K'art'uli poezia, vol. 16. *K'alak'uri poezia*, pp. 5-55
Kekeliże, *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 2, pp. 678-87
Kekeliże and Baramiże, *Żveli K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, pp. 551-63
Menabde, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 2
Leoniże, *Mgosani Saat'nova*
Melik'set'-beg, *Saiat'novas vinaoba*, pp. 25-138
Grishashvili, *Saiat'nova*, pp. 9-119

Zoia Tskhadaia

South Asia, South East Asia,
China and Japan



Map 2. South Asia



Map 3. China, Japan and South-East Asia

Introduction: South Asia, South East Asia and China. 18th-century contexts

Douglas Pratt

This essay will give a brief contextual introduction with respect to India (South Asia), some of the main regions within Southeast Asia, and also China.[1]

India

The 18th century for India was a time of political decline and decentralisation, and so 'a period of far-reaching changes' across many aspects of social, economic and cultural life.[2] At the beginning of the century, the power of the Mughal Empire was at its zenith, though it was about to fragment and decline. Reappraisal of the turbulent first half of this century suggests this deterioration was more an 'emergence of regional dynastic rulers who initiated new cycles of growth and regeneration' than the final or outright collapse of the empire as such.[3] Nevertheless, Aurengzeb, who ruled from 1668, was the last of the great Mughal emperors who had wished to make India an Islamic state. He died in 1707 and within 40 years the empire was effectively finished.[4] Aurengzeb's son, Shah ʿĀlam, ruled to 1712. Little changed in terms of his father's Muslim exclusivism, but even though Shah ʿĀlam inclined more to compromise,

---

[1] See K. Koschorke, F. Ludwig and M. Delgado, *A history of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, Grand Rapids MI, 2007; J. Malik, *Islam in South Asia. A short history*, Leiden, 2008; S. Neill, *A history of Christianity in India. 1707-1858*, Cambridge, 2002; S. Neill, *A history of Christianity in India. The beginnings to AD 1707*, Cambridge, 2004; B.W. Andaya and L.Y. Andaya, *A history of Malaysia*, London, 2017; A. Cotterell, *A history of South East Asia*, Singapore, 2015; L.H. Francia, *A history of the Philippines. From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*, New York, 2014; M.A. Ricklefs, *A history of modern Indonesia since c.1200*, Basingstoke, 2008; D.L. Overmyer, *Religions of China*, San Francisco CA, 1986; J. Ching, *Chinese religions*, London, 1993.

[2] B.D. Metcalf, art. 'India', in J.L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of the modern Islamic world*, New York, 1995, vol. 2, 188-95.

[3] G. Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions of the West during the eighteenth century', Oxford, 1993, p. 3. (DPhil. Diss. University of Oxford; available online at: https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid%3Adacf23d8-28f4-40da-b781-4e7cb940828b). See also Khan's book, *Indian Muslim perceptions of the West during the eighteenth century*, Oxford, 1998.

[4] Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 1.

hostilities towards Sikhs continued and Hindus were largely treated with disdain.

While Islam had been present in India through a long-standing interaction between Indians and Arabs, who 'came to trade and not to conquer',[5] it was the emergence of the Mughal Empire in the 16th century that arguably had opened up a unique era of Christian-Muslim interaction in South Asia. Christians regarded as descending from the community of the Apostle Thomas had already been in India for at least 1,500 years, preceding the arrival of Islam by some eight or nine centuries. Firmly rooted in Indian soil, this Christianity had 'lived and maintained itself in constant action and reaction with the non-Christian world by which it is surrounded'.[6] However, it was the arrival of Catholic Christians from the West at the end of the 15th century that had spurred Indian interest, at least from some quarters, in this 'foreign' religion. Initially from Portugal, these Christians comprised secular priests and Franciscan and Dominican religious, who were followed in the 16th century by Jesuits. These were 'different from any other religious order',[7] for they pursued policies of acculturation and so 'won a number of high-caste converts'.[8] By 1765, the Catholic missions and presence were in relative decline, with the later suppression of Jesuits in 1773 marking a particularly low point.

The 17th century saw the arrival of Dutch, English, French and Danish Europeans. They came largely for commercial purposes, but missionaries also accompanied the traders. So it was that, as the life and reign of Aurangzeb was coming to an end, a new era of Christian presence – and so of Christian-Muslim interaction – was dawning, with the further arrival of 18th-century Protestant missions adding to the mix. In India, these 'began seriously in 1706'[9] with the arrival of a Danish Lutheran mission and German Pietists, who brought a form of Christianity that, in its emphasis on personal spirituality and piety, differed from the preceding Catholic, and especially Jesuit, presentation of Christianity. For a while, the Danish mission at Tarangambadi had some considerable impact and influence.[10]

---

5 Neill, *History of Christianity in India. The beginnings to AD 1707*, p. 63.

6 Neill, *History of Christianity in India. The beginnings to AD 1707*, p. xi.

7 Neill, *History of Christianity in India. The beginnings to AD 1707*, p. 134.

8 F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford, 1997, p. 827.

9 Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford dictionary of the Christian church*, p. 827.

10 See M. Frenz, 'Reflecting Christianity in depictions of Islam. The representation of Muslims in the reports of the early Royal Danish Mission at Tarangambadi, India', *Studies in World Christianity* 14 (2008) 203-13.

During the Mughal era, Persian had been the language of administration and scholarship. It was also the language of literature. But from the early 18th century, Urdu gained momentum, 'gradually replacing Persian as the medium of expression'.[11] The production of biographies and both regional and universal histories in this language grew considerably. There was also growth in Muslim writings concerning Christianity, such as the 'Islamic Christology' that was often incorporated within 'the universal histories' penned by Muslims.[12] Of particular note is the fact that 'one of the most profound thinkers in the history of Indian Islam, Shah Wāli Allāh Dihlawi (1703-62)', emerged during this century.[13] Shah Wāli Allāh was a significant figure. A Sufi-inspired scholar and leader, his advisory opinions (fatwas) played an important role in 'disseminating religious guidance and particular styles of interpretation to ever larger numbers of Muslims'.[14] It is said that his aim 'was to reach the whole of the Muslim world', so he wrote in Persian as well as Arabic.[15]

By the 18th century, there were some Muslim scholars 'who associated themselves with Christian scholars'[16] in order better to understand the variant forms of Christianity thus far known or encountered. Such scholars also showed interest in, and some knowledge of, the papacy – albeit framed and interpreted in particular ways: 'the Pope was perceived as a kind of priest-king whose unlimited religious authority enabled him to exercise enormous influence in politics'.[17] There was awareness of the 16th-century challenge to papal authority, but not of the full details of the Reformation and its outcome. Indeed, its origins were 'thought to have begun in England where Henry VIII revolted' against the pope.[18] Some Muslim writers clearly equated the Reformation with the beginnings of the secular retreat from religion that is a hallmark of Europe, even by the 18th century. The British, however, were regarded as more tolerant of other religions than the French.[19]

A British chaplain, John Ovington (1653-1731) arrived in India in 1689, and provided a first-hand description of the Muslims living in Surat, a port city on the west coast about 200 miles north of Bombay. He recorded

---

11 Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 10.
12 Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 162.
13 Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 18.
14 Metcalf, art. 'India', vol. 2, p. 189.
15 Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 18.
16 Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 168.
17 Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 187.
18 Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 187.
19 See Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', pp. 188-97.

detailed observations of various aspects of the culture of the Muslims, including his assessments of their religious beliefs and practices, especially during the month of fasting.[20]

The British East India Company was incorporated in 1600, gaining sole trading rights in India and playing a dominant role well into the 18th century. From early in the 16th century, the small state of Goa, one of India's main coastal trading ports, became an enclave of the Portuguese, whence their influence, both commercial and religious, particularly in the form of Jesuit missionary activities, extended for a time within both South and Southeast Asia. A decline in Portuguese fortunes occurred during the 17th century following the arrival of the Dutch in the region, and this decline continued throughout the 18th century, culminating in a rebellion against Portuguese rule in Goa in 1787. Meanwhile, the French made some notable, if modest, progress with trade in India during the 18th century. However, Anglo-French struggles featured around the middle of that century, reflecting circumstances and events in Europe. The first half of the 18th century was, for the British East India Company, 'a time of great prosperity'.[21] French influence gradually receded while British influence increased. Thus, in the course of the late 18th century, through military, commercial and diplomatic endeavours, the British incursion into, and hold upon, the Indian sub-continent steadily grew. Following a sequence of battles (including Plassey in 1757 and Buxar in 1764), the British had gained ascendancy in the Bengal region, and their victory in 1764 resulted in their taking responsibility for collecting taxes and administering justice in the region. As has been remarked, 'without realising it, they were … launched on the road that led to supreme power'.[22]

Indeed, what started out as a commercial venture evolved into a political one that culminated with Westminster taking over control of British India with the India Act of 1784 (though not all of India was under the sway, let alone control, of the British). This was followed by the establishment of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799 to enable Christian (Protestant) missionary work. Indeed, chaplains of the East India Company, such as Henry Martyn (1781-1812), were instrumental in paving the way for the significant work of CMS during the following century.[23]

---

[20] John Ovington, *A voyage to Suratt, in the year 1689*, London, 1696, pp. 235-75.
[21] Neill, *History of Christianity in India. 1707-1858*, p. 11.
[22] Neill, *History of Christianity in India. 1707-1858*, p. 16.
[23] D. O'Connor, *The chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858*, London, 2012.

'With the expansion of British political power (via the British East India Company) in the late 18th century, contact with Europe came to be identified with contact with Britain.'[24] Indeed, the 1780s saw a new development with respect to British political hegemony, and the beginnings of new forms of Christian presence. However, emerging British Orientalism tended to be derogatory of Islam and to hold dismissive views of Muslim identity – the use of the term 'Moor' to encompass all forms and ethnicities of Muslims is a case in point.[25]

Clearly, the growing political influence of European, especially British, colonialism was a key element in South Asia during the 18th century. This had an impact on religious encounters. For example, the British governor decided to implement Muslim law for the Muslims, and Hindu law for the Hindus. Consequently, British scholars such as Sir William Jones (1746-94) began studying Muslim law, along with Muslim history, poetry and more. Muslims were very involved in this project of transferring Eastern knowledge to the Europeans, both by recommending texts for translation and then in the translation work itself. Other Muslim scholars recorded their observations of the religion of the Europeans. For the most part, they continued to repeat the medieval interpretations of Christian history, but now with first-hand observations included. Thus, even by the late 18th century, Indian Muslim knowledge of Christianity was largely that of 'the traditional image of Christian faith defined in the Holy Qur'an', especially with respect to the person of Jesus, and the image of Western Christian identity and practice as mediated through interactions between Christians (Catholics, especially Jesuits) and Muslims that had taken place since the late 16th century.[26] Some Indian Muslim writers were intent on re-casting the Christian narrative, re-configuring it to coincide with their own interpretations of Islam and its grand narrative, in the course of which central Christian doctrines and practices were either redefined or discarded – such as the crucifixion, confession to a priest, statue and icon veneration, and so on.

[24] Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 1.
[25] Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 6.
[26] Khan, 'Indian Muslim perceptions', p. 159.

Southeast Asia

During the 18th century, Southeast Asia was a region far-flung from the great historical centres of Christianity and Islam. Relatively speaking, this region represented something of an 'edges of empire' context for both faiths. Islam was certainly present in the region by the 13th century and had 'expanded markedly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', and so was very well established by the 18th century.[27] Muslims, predominantly Sunnīs, arrived from various regions, but especially India and Arabia. From 1450, the expansion of Islamic commercial engagement, together with Sufi missionary outreach activity and its gentle spiritual paths of piety and the promotion of a devotional life, was also underway. This expanded out of India for the most part into Southeast Asia, especially the Malay Peninsula and archipelago, and then across to the Philippines, where Muslims encountered Spanish Catholic Christians carrying their particular expression of Christianity eastwards.[28]

For the Christian side, the Portuguese entered the region from the early 16th century, followed by the Spanish, the Dutch, and later the British. Patterns of European colonial and missionary endeavour emanating from the Old World expanded considerably from the 16th century onwards. This resulted, eventually, in the emergence of the so-called 'New World', including that of Southeast Asia. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Southeast Asian coasts hosted many European-controlled trading ports. It was from such coastal footholds that territorial expansion was undertaken by the Europeans. However, European rivalries and power-plays were reflected and played out in the region. The Dutch East Indies emerged as a colonial region, while Spain held the Philippines. Early colonial commercial enterprises gradually lost out to government colonial expansion, as was the case with the British experience in India. The expanding influence of the Dutch led to the handing over of political responsibility at the end of the century from the Dutch East India Company (VOC – *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) to the Dutch government. The British also operated within the region and, during the 18th century, the way was paved towards a division of spheres of

---

[27] F.R. von der Mehden, art. 'Indonesia', in J.L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of the modern Islamic world*, vol. 2, 196-202, p. 196.

[28] H. Goddard, *Christians and Muslims. From double standards to mutual understanding*, Richmond, 1995, p. 130.

operation and influence that settled down into a new pattern and era of activity early in the 19th century.

The Muslim world of Southeast Asia is complex in its languages and cultures. The 18th century saw the rise of the sultanates in Surakarta and Yogyakarta and the decline of the sultanate of Mataram, together with the gradual decline of the Sultanate of Aceh. Further, this century witnessed increasing arrivals of Arab scholars, especially from the Hadramawt,[29] reinforcing a process of reform that challenged a somewhat eclectic and tolerant form of Islam that had emerged in the Indies (as this region was generally known) as a result of peaceful, Sufi-influenced conversion. 'From the beginning, state and popular Islam continued to be imbued with a Hindu culture reframed within local traditions that had previously dominated the country.'[30] The Sufi dimension was reflected in the strength and appeal of both the Qadiriyya and Naqshbandiyya orders within Indonesia. Indeed, the presence of Sufism 'helped to frame the syncretic and eclectic nature of Indonesian Islam'.[31]

Literature on Islam in the Malay language includes chronicles of royalty, explications of the world, history (*hikayat*), and assertions of belief and dogma, which together provided 'simple guides for life, and a theory and justification of power in its forms and expressions'.[32] Much attention was paid to biographies and accounts of the life of Muḥammad and his Companions, together with 'apocryphal tales of individuals and kings in the Arabic and Persian worlds'.[33] At the same time, the region evinced 'a fondness for the mystical and speculative side of Islam, with a desire to find the outer permissible limits of doctrine'.[34] Up to and including the 18th century, Islam was made manifest in terms of 'an ideology of rule in the Malay speaking lands and the inspiration for an extensive and complex literature'.[35]

It was in the East Indies and the Philippines that Christian newcomers encountered the now established 'new world' of an Asian Islam. The Philippines is named after Philip II (r. 1556-98), king of Spain at the time of the 16th-century Spanish colonisation. Today, it is the largest predominantly Roman Catholic country in Southeast Asia. However, Islam has

[29] Von der Mehden, 'Indonesia', p. 197.
[30] Von der Mehden, 'Indonesia', p. 197.
[31] Von der Mehden, 'Indonesia', p. 197.
[32] M.B. Hooker, art. 'Islam in Southeast Asia and the Pacific', in Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of the modern Islamic world*, vol. 2, 284-9, p. 285.
[33] Hooker, 'Islam in Southeast Asia', p. 285.
[34] Hooker, 'Islam in Southeast Asia', p. 286.
[35] Hooker, 'Islam in Southeast Asia', p. 289.

had a notable presence since the 15th century, especially in the southern island of Mindanao and the nearby Sulu archipelago. In the 16th century, two sultanates were established and Islam was set to grow when the Spanish arrived. The Catholic Church in the Philippines grew in power, wealth and influence during the late 17th century and through the 18th century, with the goal of the Spanish being the full Christianisation of the Philippines and the assertion of the Spanish language.

China

Moving northwards, the Manchu, who ruled China from 1644 to 1911, took on a Chinese dynastic name, Ch'ing, hence this is the era of the Ch'ing dynasty. The 18th century marked a high point. It opened during the reign of the dynamic emperor, K'ang-his (d. 1722). During the reign of his successor, Yung-cheng (r. 1722-35), Chinese settlement in the south-west was promoted along with the integration of non-Han aboriginal groups into Chinese culture. Yung-cheng elaborated on the 17th-century Sacred Edicts, which articulated the principles of Confucian orthodoxy, and the seventh of the original 16 maxims, 'Wipe out strange beliefs to elevate the correct doctrine', impacted upon perspectives on foreign religions, and especially Christianity, during the 18th century, as will be seen below.

The power base of this dynasty was consolidated during the 1730s; indeed, the early Ch'ing dynastic advance reached its height in the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1735-96), who patronised the arts. However, he also squandered resources on military expeditions, such that the end of the 18th century was marked by a treasury deficit and uprisings among aboriginal groups, especially in the south-west. In essence, the Manchu continued the Chinese foreign relations policy of tribute, meaning that nations seeking to trade with China, such as those from Europe, needed to submit as vassals to the emperor, whom the Chinese regarded as the 'ruler of all under Heaven'. This submission involved performing the kowtow (full body prostration) before the ruler. Only the Japanese successfully resisted the kowtow tribute and were able to do so on economic grounds.

During the 18th century, Chinese society continued to be hierarchical, stratified and hereditary in form and structure with, at the bottom of the social ladder, the 'mean people', who suffered considerable ostracism and discrimination. They included some aboriginal groups. Others, including commoners and peasants, enjoyed the possibility of upward

social mobility through education. The most prestigious career was that of the scholar-official. This was particularly advocated and pursued during the prosperous years of the 18th century. Downward mobility was also possible and occurred widely, for this was a time of considerable social upheaval. The upper echelons of the literati were forbidden to mix scholarship with politics and turned their attentions to mathematics and astronomy, and in respect of these welcomed interaction with European scholarship – a context that enabled Jesuit scholars to flourish in China.[36]

Christianity had first appeared in China with the arrival of Syrian Nestorian Christians in the 7th century. It had waned by the end of the Táng dynasty but flourished again in the 12th and 13th centuries, only to fade away again with changes that took place in the 14th century. Around that time, there was an early, and relatively short-lived, incursion of Western (Catholic) Christian missionaries. But a solid Catholic presence was established with the arrival of Jesuits in the 16th century. Acculturation, including language, gave access and acceptability, especially with the appointment of Jesuits as court astronomers and mathematicians. 'They accepted ancestor worship and agreed that Confucius was a very wise man.'[37] The Jesuits paved the way for other Catholic missionaries, but the more conservative among these complained to the pope about Jesuit acculturation. The resultant abandonment of the initial policy of acculturation was to prove disastrous, despite that fact that the Jesuit mission flourished under the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty. Christians were banned and expelled, but a Chinese Catholic remnant remained. The first native Chinese bishop, Luo Wen Zao (1616-91), had been consecrated in 1685. Protestant missions did not appear until the 19th century.

One key issue that confronted the Christian mission in the 18th century had to do with problems associated with the translation of Christian theological terminology into Chinese (Mandarin). Another was Chinese Christian engagement in traditional Chinese rites (ancestral cult; veneration of Confucius). One view was that these were non-religious cultural matters, acceptable as part of the cultural adaptation of Christianity to the Chinese context. Jesuits favoured acculturation, taking a sanguine rationalist perspective on the rites, in line with the views of the Chinese elite. Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, and others who worked with the peasantry and who found there deeper superstitious beliefs and

[36] See L.M. Brockey, *Journey to the East. The Jesuit mission to China, 1579-1724*, Cambridge MA, 2007.

[37] Overmyer, *Religions of China*, p. 55.

attitudes applied to the ancestral cult and other rites, favoured the hard-line Christian abolition of them. This view predominated in what came to be known as the Chinese Rites Controversy with regard to the matter of acculturation, and how far it should go. 'In a decree of 1704, reinforced by a bull of 1715, Pope Clement XI banned the rites. And, in 1742, Pope Benedict XIV decided "definitively" in favour of those who opposed acculturation … (he) … condemned the Chinese rites and imposed an oath on all Catholic missionaries in China to oppose the rites.'[38] The official Church position on acculturation could not be clearer. In response, an imperial edict banning Christianity was issued and, with the temporary suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, this chapter of Christian missionary engagement in China was effectively closed.

The route of acculturation had also worked well for Buddhism following its arrival in the 1st century. Buddhism had similarly provoked conflict and controversy with its own missionary agenda, until it adjusted to the Chinese cultural environment. However, in contrast to the missionising impulses of Christianity – and before it, Buddhism – Islam, despite being identified as one of the great missionary religions of the world, emerged as the distinctive 'non-proselytising religion of an ethnic minority in China'.[39] As Ching notes, Islam 'arrived in China within a few decades of the Prophet's death, although knowledge about it was scant until the seventeenth century'.[40] In effect, Islam also went the way of acculturation, although not as far as Buddhism. Although 'Muslims became more and more Chinese through intermarriage and cultural adaptation, conflicts also took place between them and the majority population', which in the late 18th century led to a number of rebellions that the Chinese Manchu troops 'severely crushed'.[41]

Islam in 18th-century China was predominantly Sunnī. During the 18th century, public displays of Sufi practices were noted. Importantly, Ching stresses the distinction between the Christian missionary presence and the Muslim presence as one of a settler community. Indeed, she observes a general distinction in China 'between religions entering and remaining in China as the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities, and religions that went with missionary and proselytising intent'.[42] Ching avers that 'Islam survived in China as a religion identified with ethnic

[38] Ching, *Chinese religions*, p. 194.
[39] Ching, *Chinese religions*, p. 170.
[40] Ching, *Chinese religions*, p. 178.
[41] Ching, *Chinese religions*, p. 181.
[42] Ching, *Chinese religions*, p. 121.

minorities, without making inroads into the population of the Chinese *Han* majority' and that, on the whole, Muslims 'sought to *survive* in the midst of an alien culture'.[43]

In this context Islam and Christianity within China did not present themselves as rival foreign religions so much as two religious curiosities of external origin, with the former having a better track-record of cultural accommodation and less concern to effect the conversion of the host society. And the Christian presence, despite the acculturation record of the Jesuits, was dominated by missionising impulses which, on the whole, ignored the presence of a theological rival.

Conclusion

An underlying dynamic of relations between Christians and Muslims in South, Southeast and East Asia is that of engagement at the edges of empires, either at their own far-flung colonial extremities, or in encounters with each other within another's empire, as is the case particularly with China. In India, both Islam and then Christianity were at the apex of their influence when identified with ruling empires – the Muslim Mughal Empire followed by the 19th-century Christian British Raj arising out of 18th-century East India Company endeavours. In Southeast Asia, both faiths arrived on the back of commercial enterprises. While Islam gained the initial foothold, and arguably retained predominance, European Christianity in the form of colonising aggrandisement for a time gained a substantial presence and sphere of influence. In China, neither Christianity nor Islam predominated: each was equally 'foreign' in this context, and each faced similar issues and problems, very often with little if any contact between them as each sought to survive. Nevertheless, an interesting tale of Christian-Muslim engagement plays out within a realm in which neither side had dominance.

In effect, as each religion extended its reach beyond its homelands, often in the context of expanding empires with colonising ambitions, but also simply in the context of entrepreneurial commercial enterprises seeking new opportunities and markets, so new situations were encountered wherein the playing field of religious engagement might be levelled, relatively speaking, or at least the terms of engagement re-negotiated. Much of this is reflected in the bibliographical entries in this volume.

---

[43] Ching, *Chinese religions*, p. 184.

No (longer) fear, but control and care. Europeans and Muslims in South East Asia, 17th and 18th centuries

Karel Steenbrink

The VOC (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Dutch East India Company, 1602-1799) and its European partners were often seen primarily as a trade link between Europe and Asia. They brought Asian spices, and later also coffee, tea, valuable timbers, textiles, garments and other commodities to Europe, for which the Europeans initially paid in precious metals or diamonds and later also in goods produced by the developing European industries. One of the first Dutch traders to come to Aceh to buy spices, Frederick de Houtman, was glad to hear that the sultan was willing to sell great quantities of pepper, albeit on strict conditions, but a problem arose about the way in which the transaction was to be arranged. The sultan was not interested in the gold coins and diamonds the Dutch trader had brought and de Houtman was asked instead to pay for the pepper by attacking the Malaysian sultanate of Johor with his fast ships and powerful cannons. This would involve de Houtman in local Asian politics, against his instructions from the VOC. He therefore rejected this proposal, and as a consequence was taken prisoner, together with most of his crew. Several times the sultan invited him to join in his exploit, and also to convert to Islam and to marry, but de Houtman relates in his autobiography how he heroically rejected overtures, remained faithful to his Christian religion, and finally returned to the Netherlands with a good load of pepper. However, at least five of his staff converted and continued to live among the population of Aceh.[1]

In the 17th and 18th centuries, colonial relations developed into three quite distinct patterns, which Gerrit Knaap has called exterritoriality, suzerainty and sovereignty.[2] The least intense relation can be described as exterritoriality: local rulers allowed the VOC access for the purpose of trade. This was accompanied by special rights, such as immunity from

[1] For references see K. Steenbrink, 'Frederick de Houtman' in *CMR* 11, 321-31.

[2] G. Knaap, 'De "core business" van de VOC Markt, macht en mentaliteit vanuit overzees perspectief', Inaugural lecture, Utrecht University, 10 November 2014; here pp. 18-20.

local courts of justice for VOC staff, permits to build offices, and tax exemptions. In the 18th century, the VOC's most important exterritorial settlements were in Japan (Desima), China, Bengal, Surat and Persia.

In contrast, in territories under its suzerainty the VOC exercised supreme power, even though its actual presence was quite limited. It did not govern directly but ruled through vassals, local rulers who had the role and function of dependent functionaries in what was similar to a feudal system. In order to preserve the balance of power and to maintain the VOC's dominance in these areas, there were fortifications with an adequate military presence on land, and ships on patrol at sea to ensure the trade monopoly when necessary.

The third form of rule was absolute sovereignty in areas where there was no local ruler. This was first developed in the capital of the East Indies, Batavia (now Jakarta), conquered in 1619, and was the situation that pertained in Ambon that had been seized from the Portuguese in 1605 (in 1623 strengthened as a monopoly by executing all British citizens; in 1650-6 through wars against local enemies, Ternate and Makassar), and the island of Banda (from the 1620s). Major conquests in the second half of the 17th century were the victory over Makassar in 1667 and the reduction of Bantam to vassal status in 1684. The whole north coast of Java came under VOC sovereignty after the killing of the Chinese population of Batavia in 1740 and the subsequent social and political turmoil in the region between Semarang and Surabaya. Outside South East Asia, Ceylon and Cape Town had been areas where the VOC claimed sovereign power from the mid-17th century. This was only achieved with much violence. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Knaap says there were only seven years without actual war in one or more parts of the archipelago where the VOC was present.[3]

The first explorers, such as de Houtman, assumed that they would be able to develop friendly trade relations, but they were soon confronted with taxes imposed by local rulers who could fix and manipulate products and prices. In response, they tried to take the initiative and control the market. From being just subsidiary traders in the Asian market, where they were competitors with the Portuguese, British and other Europeans, they became political players in the archipelago and its networks. And, in addition to being traders between South East Asia and Europe, in response to market demand they also quickly developed into traders within the internal Asian network, from Japan to China and Indo-China,

[3] Knaap, 'De "core business"', p. 16.

and from Malaysia up to India, Ceylon, Persia and Arabian harbours such as Muscat and Mocha. Two leading 20th-century scholars, Jacob Cornelis van Leur and Marie Antoinette Meilink-Roelofsz, even consider that trade between these Asian countries formed the major part of the VOC's business, arguing that the VOC was a more or less powerful rival in the Asian trade networks and thus also a political player from the very beginning, through the small territories where they ruled independently, but much more through alliances with major Muslim states.[4] Religion often played a role here, but certainly not always a decisive role. It was noted above that de Houtman was asked to support the sultan of Aceh in his war against the (fellow Muslim) sultan of Johor, illustrating that political alliances could easily disregard religious affiliations. Nevertheless, this important role played by the VOC among the many Muslim sultanates and kingdoms of the Malay Archipelago had several religious implications, and they are the topic of this short essay.

Apartheid and dhimmī-style rulings. The boundaries of global religions

The complex presence of European groups in South East Asian societies gave rise to various responses, among which three very different reactions directly inspired by religious ideas and ideals may be identified. There was violence, sometimes involving killings; there were efforts to convert people; and there were regulations governing coexistence in quite separate social structures. This section will give some examples of these three reactions.

There were quite numerous violent incidents. There were religious curses and anathemas in the reciprocal propaganda that accompanied the wars that flared up in more and more territories as the Dutch tried to rule them directly or to control them through puppet rulers. Muslim authors involved in this offensive were eager to use religious terminology, while the Dutch preferred to insist on their 'legal rights' (such as monopoly of trade). A clear example of this is the history of the war of 1669-70 that resulted in the destruction of the Makassar sultanate. The Muslim chronicle of the war frequently describes the Dutch as 'infidels', 'devilish' and 'accursed of God', while actions to defend the Makassarese

[4] J.C. van Leur, *Indonesian trade and society. Essays in Asian social and economic history*, Bandung, 1960; M.A. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, 1962; M.A. Meilink-Roelofsz (ed.), *De V.O.C. in Azië*, Bussum, 1976.

are called jihad.[5] However, the Muslim Buginese people of Southwest Sulawesi, who fought on the side of the Dutch, used secular terminology to refer to their Muslims enemies.[6]

A clearly stated and strictly religious motive for an individual killing can be seen in the death of Ioan Pays, a citizen of Ambon who had a history of conversions to and from Christianity and Islam. As a 'Christian' village chief who had converted to the new religion, he had joined a Muslim-led rebellion against the Dutch, after which he declared himself to be a true Muslim. He was cruelly executed by the Dutch in about 1650 and his body exposed in public to show that, like the local Muslims, the Dutch considered apostasy a crime worthy of death.[7] Another, quite different, example is the case of Anthonij Paulo, a Dutch prisoner at the Javanese court of Mataram from 1631 until his death some years later. Among a large group of European prisoners, he led opposition to conversion to Islam, although a good number of prisoners did convert. He was sentenced to death by being fed to crocodiles, but when he was thrown into the pond, the animals smelled and touched his body but did it no harm. Thereupon the sultan ordered that he should be killed, cut into pieces and thrown into the water. But again the crocodiles did not swallow the pieces, which remained floating on the surface. The sultan then realised that he had been wrong: 'The man was innocent. I killed him in my wrath. Go, bury him and put up a notice of his innocence.' Paulo's remains were buried and an iron fence was set up around his grave, as was the practice with the graves of important and holy people.[8]

A third example of killing for religious reasons was in 1733, when Semarang was becoming increasingly dominated by the Dutch resident and his army, who had more influence in this harbour town than the weak sultan in faraway inland central Java. A small messianic movement under a certain Modin Samat attempted to cleanse the town of the infidel Dutch. Samat claimed that he came from a family of saints and had been chosen by God to become the ruler of Java. His plot to kill two VOC

---

[5] See J. Effendi, 'Enjti' Amin', in *CMR* 11, 400-10. Similar strong language is found in Sifa Rijali's, *Hikayat tanah Hitu*; see G. Knaap, '(Sifa) Rijali', in *CMR* 11, 368-71.

[6] L.Y. Andaya, *The heritage of Arung Palaka. A history of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the seventeenth century*, The Hague, 1981.

[7] See K. Steenbrink, 'Livinus Bor', in *CMR* 11, 372-6.

[8] H.J. de Graaf, *De Vijf gezantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens*, The Hague, 1956, p. 198; see also K. Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam. Contacts and conflicts 1596-1950*, Amsterdam, 1993, repr. 2006, pp. 25-6.

employees failed and he was captured and executed, together with his 17 followers.[9]

The efforts of both sides to attract converts were not seriously planned or systematic at that time. We have seen in the story of de Houtman that the efforts to bring him to Islam went hand in hand with an offer of marriage to an Acehnese woman. In the great collection of more than 1,000 treaties between the VOC and the Muslim rulers of South East Asia, marriage between Muslims and Christians is often absolutely prohibited by both parties, but in individual stories of renegades (converts) the motive for conversion is mostly the unmarried Dutchmen's need for a woman. On the Muslim side, conversion often took place because of conflict with the ruler. In contrast with 19th- and 20th-century Calvinism, the 17th- and 18th-century Reformed Christians felt no great motivation to be active in seeking conversions. The conviction that it was God's will that determined whether someone was chosen for redemption may have been an important factor preventing missionary activities. In addition, Reformed Christians were divided into local or national churches whose beliefs could not be preached as easily as those of global Catholicism. On the Muslim side, the Qur'an contains negative remarks about unbelievers, but also a message that 'there is no compulsion in religion' (Q 2:256). In addition, Q 109:5 reads: 'To you your religion, and to me my religion', a pluralist sentiment that is elaborated in Q 5:48: 'If God had willed he would have made you one nation; but that he may try you in what has come to you. So be you competitive in good works' (see also Q 16:93 and 42:8). In VOC treaties with local rulers, this pragmatic theology predominates, and such a formula is included in the first treaty with the rulers of the nutmeg island of Banda, concluded on 23 May 1602: 'Both parties, the Dutch and the Bandanese, will serve God Almighty, each according to the grace and gifts given to them by God, without preventing, inhibiting or hating in any way the other side, or blaming them in a way that might lead towards hostility, but they will treat the other party well and understand them and leave all other things to God.'[10]

These conciliary words, however, did not prevent Jan Pieterszoon Coen from acting with great ruthlessness in 1621, when the elite of Banda ignored the VOC monopoly on spices and sold nutmeg to British and

[9] L. Nagtegaal, 'Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger. De noordkust van Java en de VOC, 1680-1743', Utrecht, 1988 (PhD Diss. Utrecht University) pp. 210-11.

[10] J.E. Heeres (ed.), *Corpus diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, The Hague, 1907, vol. 1, p. 23.

other traders. In a cruel attack, he had more than 2,000 inhabitants killed and the 47 chiefs of the beach villages executed after a sham trial.[11] Only when the balance of power was stable again did Dutch policy change and a limited role was granted to Islam under VOC authority within the young colonial state. The 17 volumes of the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek* (in the van der Chijs edition) give a positive picture of the laws of the state, which contained separate rulings for Muslims within a society where the official administration was bound by Calvinist doctrines, and made provision for the construction of mosques in a society where imams were paid for administering oaths on the Qur'an in public ceremonies, and could teach and perform marriages according to Islamic law.[12] One may compare this with the system of *apartheid* initiated much later by the descendants of Dutch colonists in South Africa, though the colonial state in South East Asia resembled more closely the Ottoman state, where citizens were divided according to religion.

Strengthening the position of Christianity and Islam

In the 17th century, rulers of Islamic kingdoms and sultanates in South East Asia were serious rivals to the Dutch in the struggle for power, but from the 18th century onwards the Dutch took control of increasing areas of Muslim territory. The consequence was that the European colonial administration had to establish ways of dealing with Muslims in day-to-day affairs. Rules governing marriage, the resolution of marriage conflicts, court decisions about marriage and inheritance and the like were needed where customary law or Islamic law was to be administered under Western rule. Thus, it was no longer only a matter of theological differences about different perceptions of God and the person of Christ; now, specific provisions of the *sharīʿa* also became issues in which conflicts between Christians and Muslims could arise and means of working together to find answers had to be established.

For the Dutch capital Batavia, with its mixed population of Europeans, Eurasians, Chinese and native Muslims, this resulted in numerous administrative measures and the *Compendium of the most important Mahomedan laws and customs concerning inheritance, marriage and divorce* of 1754 is one of the most precise and detailed collections of

---

[11] Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism*, pp. 60-1.
[12] See K. Steenbrink '*Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*', in *CMR* 12, 609-13.

rulings.[13] This text, 15 pages long in print, is based on the principle that, while Dutch civil law would apply to Dutch citizens, Islamic law would be applied in equivalent cases concerning Muslim citizens. In 1776, an additional 'civil code' stated that 'for Mahometan or Chinese as well as other pagan men and women all marriages outside one's own nationality are forbidden and declared to be invalid and will be punished'.[14]

Religion was a major factor in deciding one's nationality, but in Batavia Christianity and Islam clearly had much stronger formal recognition than other religions. Because of the large number of Chinese in Batavia, they are often mentioned in the *Plakaatboek*, but there was no text like the *Compendium* to provide regulations for Chinese citizens. We find instead numerous cases of the prohibition of the construction of Chinese temples and the holding of public ceremonies (processions with paper dragons). Although no mosques or qur'anic schools were allowed within the walls of central Batavia (and even bans on private houses for non-Christians were issued from time to time), the existence of the *Compendium* and many other rulings show that the Muslim religion was taken seriously. This never applied to other religions.

The wording of the *Compendium* makes clear that Muslims in Batavia had to observe *sharīʿa* rules in full, rather than making compromises between it and the many situations of day-to-day living. An illustration is found in the Javanese court poem on the rebellion of Surapati (1680s), which relates that a young Javanese slave, Surapati, becomes the favourite adopted child of the Dutch governor-general. The boy falls in love with the governor-general's daughter, and she suggests that they make love. Surapati hesitates and alludes to the Islamic regulation for adopted boys and girls: 'Do not speak thus: you have become my sister now!' But the girl answers: 'The Dutch religion permits this kind of relationship, even though you are my stepbrother, as long as we feel the same way. Let's go into the bedroom then and enjoy the pleasures of love.'[15] In sharp contrast to this romantic Javanese story, the Dutch translation of the Javanese version of the standard book on *sharīʿa* law, *Kitāb al-muḥarrar fī fiqh al-Shāfiʿī* by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rafiʿī (d. 1226),[16]

---

[13] Dutch text in J.A. van der Chijs (ed.), *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1601-1811*, 17 vols, Batavia, 1885-1900, vol. 7, pp. 392-407.

[14] *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, vol. 9, p. 416.

[15] A. Kumar, *Surapati. Man and legend*, Leiden, 1976, p. 300.

[16] Leiden University has a copy of the Javanese text on treebark paper, L.Or 5466; see T. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, The Hague, 1968, vol. 2, p. 321, and M.B. Hooker, *Islamic law in South-East Asia*, Singapore, 1984, pp. 28, 32.

stipulates a punishment of 100 strokes with a cane for such a suggestion. This Javanese adaptation of a classical *sharīʿa* text was accepted by the Dutch administration for its Muslim citizens, at least in principle.[17]

There were some regulated crossings of religious boundaries. The Muslims of Batavia had no 'hospital' for their community, so on 27 August 1754 the governor-general decided that sick and elderly Muslims should be sent to the Chinese hospital. In order to finance this, he introduced a tax on Muslim marriages of eight *rijksdaalder* for well-to-do people and three for poorer couples and their parents.[18]

These are just a few examples of how a European-Asian institution managed a society where there were strict differences in religious affiliation. In the 1930s, the French colonial administrator and Orientalist George Henri Bousquet compared the French policy towards Islam with those of the Dutch and British. He concluded that the British ruled from a distance, did not interfere with their colonial subjects and knew very little about their religious affairs. Through indirect rule, they allowed things to remain as they would have been without their presence. The French promoted their own *laicité* and French values for public life, but left the private exercise of religion undisturbed. For Bousquet, the Dutch were over-zealous in pleasing the Muslims and obeying the strict rules laid down by scholars of Islamic law.[19]

---

[17] For the Dutch version of the *Muḥarrar* see van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, vol. 6, pp. 14-37, here p. 33. It was published by decision of the governor-general on 31 December 1750.

[18] Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-indisch Plakaatboek*, vol. 6, p. 702.

[19] G.H. Bousquet, *La politique musulmane et coloniale des Pays-Bas*, Paris, 1939 (trans, *A French view of the Netherlands Indies*, London, 1940). See also K. Steenbrink, 'Sharia debates in colonial and postcolonial Netherlands', *Kultur. The Indonesian Journal for Muslim Cultures* 4 (2009) 1-18.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations

1700-1800

South Asia

Daniel Havart

Daniel Houwert, Hauwert, Havert, Havardt

DATE OF BIRTH Probably 29 December 1650
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Amsterdam
DATE OF DEATH 2 June 1724
PLACE OF DEATH Rotterdam

BIOGRAPHY

According to two biographical notes, Daniel Havart was born in 1650 in Amsterdam to Elisabeth Vermeer and Servaes Houwert, although neither the date nor the place of his birth is confirmed by any records. In his publications, his name appears as Havart but alternative spellings found in records from his early life are Houwert, Hauwert, Havert and Havardt. His parents lived in Utrecht, where he seems to have grown up. Servaes Houwert was a surgeon, serving in that capacity at the Old Cemetery in Utrecht when he died in 1666. Nothing is known about Daniel Havart's education, but it appears he was indebted for it to his guardian. In 1671, he enrolled with the Dutch East India Company (VOC), and embarked for the company's Asian headquarters, the city of Batavia on Java, as a 'third barber'. He reached Batavia in 1672 and was sent to the so-called Coromandel Coast (the south-eastern shore of the Indian subcontinent). There, he met Willem Carel Hartsinck, who was to be his patron until his return to the Netherlands 15 years later, and a friend beyond that. When Havart joined him in 1673, Hartsinck was the chief of the VOC establishment or 'factory' in Hyderabad, which served the company as both a trading entrepôt and a diplomatic mission to the sultans of Golconda, who had residences in both the city and the adjacent Golconda fortress.

Havart seems to have served as treasurer to the factory in Hyderabad from 1673 until around 1680, and this was in all respects a formative period of his life. In addition to the lasting friendships he made with local Dutchmen, he became acquainted with Muslim courtiers and came to appreciate the Persianate culture of the city's elite. In the introduction to his *Persiaanse secretaris*, Havart portrays how the Dutchmen in the city vied with each other over who had greatest fluency in the Persian language. He and his friend Cornelis van der Murter had to concede

pride of place to Herbert de Jager, who had studied 'Oriental languages' (at the very least, Arabic), mathematics and theology at Leiden University with a stipend from the VOC and, by the time he came across Havart in Hyderabad, had acquired skills in many more Asian languages. It seems that Havart and van der Murter started learning Persian at the same time with a tutor called Shāh Qāsim, who may also have been the person employed by the factory as its '*Mullā* or Persian writer'. In any case, Shāh Qāsim copied Saʿdī's *Būstān* for Havart, as well as a number of petitions and *farmān*s (royal orders, grants) exchanged between the Dutch and the administration of the sultanate.

While Havart emphasises in his works that these language skills served the company well, they also helped foster local networks that company employees could then pursue for private gain. As the company superiors became aware in 1686, the Hyderabad factory was a hotbed of corrupt practices involving the use of the company's cash, goods and name for private business by company employees. In his *Op- en Ondergang*, Havart seeks both to exculpate his friends and to distance himself from the goings-on at the Hyderabad factory. For one, he obfuscates his link to his father-in-law, Jan van Nijendaal, who spent more than half his life-span of just over 40 years at the factory, by presenting his first wife Anna van Nijendaal as the foster daughter of Willem Hartsinck, even though Jan was still alive when Havart married Anna in 1681. At around the time of the wedding, Havart joined Hartsinck as assistant and clerk at the factory in Masulipatnam, the main harbour of the Sultanate of Golconda, for the final years of his stay in Coromandel. In 1685, Hartsinck and Havart departed for Batavia and the Netherlands. Havart's wife Anna died during the voyage.

In the Netherlands, Havart seems to have been able to live well off the money he (and his father-in-law) had made in the East, and he embarked on a productive scientific, scholarly and literary career, while also remarrying twice. Apart from the works discussed here, he wrote and translated medical treatises, including his 1691 dissertation for Utrecht University, and poetry. His practice and appreciation of poetry seem to go back to his period in Coromandel, where he started writing epitaphs, some of which were realised on actual graves, while others were merely fancies that were published in two bundles long after his return. Through his translations of Persian and Latin poetry, Havart came to appreciate his Dutch mother tongue to the extent that he wrote a poem in praise of it (*Op het Duitsch*). Havart received a Protestant burial at the Great or St Lawrence Church in Rotterdam.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS The Hague, National Archives – VOC archives, access no. 1.04.02: inv. nos 1378, 1408, 1411, 1511

MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek – KW 130 C 17 (MS of Saʿdī's *Būstān*, transcribed by Shāh Qāsim with interleaved Dutch translation by Havart, 1679)

MS Utrecht, Utrecht University Library – Hs. 1473 (1.B.7) (volume of petitions and *farmān*s copied for Havart by Shāh Qāsim in 1679)

D. H[avart], *Persiaanse secretaris of een nette beschryving van de stijl die de Persianen gebruiken in hare brieven en notariale stukken; als ook van de feesten vierdagen der Muhammedanen door het gehele jaar in het Koninkryk Golconda*, Amsterdam, n.d. [1689]

D. Havart, *Op- en ondergang van Cormandel.... ook Op- en ondergang der Koningen, die zedert weynige jaren, in Golconda, de hoofd-stad van Cormandel geregeerd hebben* (3 parts in 1 volume), Amsterdam, 1693

Secondary

G. Kruijtzer, *Xenophobia in seventeenth-century India*, Leiden, 2009

M. Peters, 'Daniel Havart, zijn boek en zijn grafschriften', in M. Peters and F. André de la Porte, *In steen geschreven. Leven en sterven van VOC-dienaren op de Kust van Coromandel in India*, Amsterdam, 2002, 65-83

E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier and G.A.C. van der Lem (comp.), 'Havart, Daniel: Amsterdam, (29 December 1650?) – Rotterdam, tussen 4 en 10 juni 1724', in *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800*, The Hague, 1990, 175

H. Terpstra, 'Daniel Havart en zijn "Op- en ondergang van Coromandel"', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 47 (1954) 165-89

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Den Persiaanschen Boogaard, 'The Persian orchard'

DATE 1679 and 1688
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

In September 1679, Shāh Qāsim finalised his transcription of the classic Persian poem, Saʿdī's *Būstān* (completed 1257), for Daniel Havart. Two months later, Havart completed his prose Dutch translation of this work, or at least finished the translation of the introduction. The manuscript has the Persian and Dutch texts running side-by-side, i.e. the Persian text, in rectangular frames on smooth thin paper, is interspersed with

the Dutch translation on slightly less smooth leaves with the same layout and size on the opposite page. The Dutch text contains numbered notes outside the frames, which explain aspects that would be unfamiliar to a reader in Europe, and try to situate Saʿdī as a Sunnī Muslim author within the context of Persianate society. The folio-size volume has 230 numbered folios (920 pages) and a few unnumbered pages.

It should be noted that the Persian text diverges at times from that found in modern critical editions (notably that by Muhammad Ali Forughi, Tehran, 1937), in that in places lines are missing, sometimes only one verse, sometimes more than 20. The missing lines or replaced words would not appear to have been particularly disagreeable to a Christian reader, so this textual drift can probably be attributed to the particular manuscript tradition from which this version came, though this requires further investigation. One feature that Havart's manuscript shares with the Bombay 1891/2 edition of the *Būstān* is the omission of the last 28 verses of Saʿdī's introduction, which is possibly indicative of an Indian tradition.

Shortly after his return to the Netherlands, Havart had the Dutch text published in Amsterdam (its full title is *Den Persiaanschen Boogaard. Beplant met zeer uitgeleesen spruiten der historien, en bezaait met zeltzame voorvallen, leerzame en aardige geschiedenissen, neffens opmerkelijke spreuken. In't Persiaansche beschreven door Siech Musladie Caädy, van Cieraas. En om treffelijkheyds wille in 't Nederduits gebragt, door D.H.*, 'The Persian orchard. Planted with very select histories, sown with rare occurrences, educating and pleasant stories, besides remarkable sayings. Written in Persian by Shaykh Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Saʿdī of Shīrāz. And for the sake of their excellence translated into Dutch by D.H.'). The printed text is identical to that of the manuscript except for some rewording and rephrasing, and the relegation of the explanatory notes to the end of each chapter. The edition does, however, add a dedication, an introduction, a commentary on Saʿdī's original introduction, a translator's note and two laudatory poems by 'N.' and 'M.', respectively. It is in these additions by Havart and N. and M. that one finds a number of comments explicitly reflecting on how reading a text written by a Muslim was seen, and was to be seen, in the Netherlands at the time. The additions take up 32 pages, while the main text takes up 442 pages of the hand-size volume.

As Havart notes in the printed edition, in the dedication to his patron Hartsinck, the poet Saʿdī was well known among all Persians 'none



Illustration 12. A page from Sa'di's *Bústán*, with interleaved Dutch translation by Daniel Havart on the right

excepted'. Moreover, he mentions, Saʿdī was already known to European audiences through the various translations of the *Gulistān*. In his translator's note, Havart expresses his hope that through his work, Dutch readers will be able to see this literary star who shines over all of Asia. He also guides readers as to how they may appreciate a Muslim author: 'Impartial readers will thus see that the Persians have a sweet-flowing style and have sayings that may be read by Christians, and embraced as their own. Wherever there is mention of the prophet Muḥammad, of matters touching on their unbelief, skip that and read it not, be like the bees, flying over all the flowers, yet only sucking honey from the best.' He also comments defensively that maybe not everyone would be pleased, but pleasing everyone is impossible for a mortal. The laudatory poem by N. contains a similar mix of praise for Saʿdī's wisdom and caution to the Christian reader, but here Saʿdī's link to Islam is presented not as incidental but as fundamental: his cleverness has allowed Saʿdī to find roughly buried treasures in the teachings of Muḥammad. N. concludes: 'Learn, Christians, more pious / to be than a wise Turk'.

In the explanatory notes, Havart elaborates some finer points of translation and explains such aspects as Muslim attitudes to idols, food and dogs, as well as, in at least two places, the differences between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs. In his translation of Saʿdī's story about Jesus' encounter with a sinner stuffing himself with *ḥarām* food, for instance, Havart explains that Muslims have dietary laws similar to those of the Jews and that the text in one place uses the term '*Messia*' (Persian: *Masīh*), where he uses 'Christ'. In a passage that has been remarked on by modern scholars interested in the image of Europeans in Iranian literature (notably M.R. Ghanoonparvar in his *In a Persian mirror*, Austin TX, 1993), Saʿdī uses *Farang* or Europe as a foil to highlight the hypocrisy of some mystics (*tarīqāt-shināsān/darvīshān*). One mystic slanders another, whereupon a third asks whether the slanderer has ever waged *ghazā'* (holy war) in *Farang* or against the *Farang*. Havart translates the punchline as 'an infidel sits safe and sound from your arrows, while a Musselman cannot escape the lash of your evil tongue'. Havart adds two notes explaining that the term *Farangen* designates outsiders, and often more specifically Christians, whom the common people also call *kāfir* or infidel, and that *Musselmaan* means 'steadfast in belief', and by extension all those who take the religion of Muḥammad.

SIGNIFICANCE

Except for the poems by N. and M., no evidence of any impact of this translation on its intended Dutch readership is known. Nor was the work retranslated into other European languages, as had been the case with translations of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. It was not until the 19th century that another European translation of the *Būstān* appeared, and this became better known.

PUBLICATIONS

MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek – KB 130 C 17 (*Olim* Y 454) (1679)

Daniel Havart, *Den Persiaanschen Boogaard. Beplant met zeer uitgeleesen spruiten der historien, en bezaait met zeltzame voorvallen, leerzame en aardige geschiedenissen, neffens opmerkelijke spreuken. In't Persiaansche beschreven door Siech Musladie Caädy, van Cieraas. En om treffelijkheyds wille in't Nederduits gebragt, door D.H.*, Amsterdam, 1688; OTM: OK 63-2912 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam)

STUDIES

J. Gommans, *The unseen world. India and the Netherlands from 1550*, Amsterdam, 2018

J.T.P. de Bruijn, 'De Perzische muze in de polder', in M. Goud and Asgher Seyed-Ghorab (eds), *De Perzische muze in de polder. De receptie van Perzische poëzie in de Nederlandse literatuur*, Amsterdam, 2006, 13-46

Persiaanse secretaris, 'Persian secretary'

DATE 1689

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

Persiaanse secretaris stems from Havart's collaboration in Hyderabad with Shāh Qāsim and Cornelis van der Murter. It is a palm-size volume of 168 pages containing an introduction to the drafting of Persian documents, a survey of Muslim holidays and customs in Golconda, and 114 Persian and Arabic sayings in Dutch translation. Its full title is *Persiaanse secretaris of een nette beschryving van de stijl die de Persianen gebruiken in hare brieven en notariale stukken; als ook van de feest-en*

vierdagen der Muhammedanen door het gehele jaar in het Koninkryk Golconda, 'Persian secretary or neat description of the style that Persians use in their letters and official documents; as well as of the feast- and holidays of the Muhammedans throughout the year in the kingdom of Golconda'.

The first part of the work provides examples of how to draft various types of documents, such as *farmāns* (royal orders), petitions and letters to various types of people. For this, Havart seems to have drawn partly on actual documents that could be found in the Dutch factory in Hyderabad, some of which had been transcribed for him by Shāh Qāsim. It is also likely that Havart had access to manuals on *inshā'*, the art of document composition, which were in wide circulation throughout Persianate India at the time.

The second part of the work contains a number of proto-anthropological observations on Muslim festivals and customs, with many references to Havart's personal participation. This part covers religious practice and folk customs in the Deccan, including the celebration of Muḥarram, the sermon (*khuṭba*), marriage and attitudes to sodomy.

The third part of the book contains 114 aphorisms by famous Arab and Persian authors in the Dutch translations by Cornelis van der Murter. The sayings are loosely organised by theme, with words that Havart deemed key given in italics. Unfortunately, the names of the original authors of these sayings are not mentioned.

SIGNIFICANCE

The art of document composition was highly regarded in Persianate culture, and it is the formalisation of style and the elaborate formulae forming part of this art that Havart tries to capture in the first part of the work. At the same time, Havart refers as an example to Jean Puget de la Serre's guide to European polite letter writing, *Le sécretaire à la mode* (Amsterdam, 1630). He notes, however, that a section on love letters is necessarily absent from his *Persiaanse secretaris*, since, he says, Persians, Arabs and Turks did not conduct courtship with future spouses through letters. His aim is to outline explicitly the similarities and differences in letter composition style between 'the peoples of Asia and Europe' and to provide a guide for Dutchmen working for the VOC. As he says, in Latin, 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do', while at the same time suggesting that the Dutch writer of Persian letters might, with his advice, be able to avoid the 'ridiculous, flattering, and overly self-deprecating style'. He describes the document styles he encountered with some distance and

irony. When discussing the titles employed in a *farmān* for its addressee, he renders this as 'N.N. [person x] living at … serving as … exalted and respected through innumerable royal favours, or N. the Filler of my Treasuries, Bringer of Valuables, Worker of Good and Pleasing Deeds'.

The second part of the work, covering Muslim customs and holidays in the Sultanate of Golconda, would be of greater interest to present-day researchers as the earliest comprehensive attempt to document customs of Muslims in the Deccan. It is significant that, in conceiving this description, Havart recognised that the customs of the Muslims were different in different regions (even noting differences between Masulipatnam on the coast and Hyderabad in the interior), while also illustrating the changes he saw during this period, especially under the influence of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707).

Havart also takes pains to explain the differences between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. While he writes in one place that 'the Shīʿīs curse the Sunnīs into the abyss and vice versa', he also recognises that the rift between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs was not absolute. For instance, he notes that in Hindustan or north India, the festival of Muḥarram, which is central to Shīʿism, used also to be celebrated by Sunnīs until the Emperor Aurangzeb proscribed it as a redundant innovation in religious practice. He also notes participation by Hindus in this festival in Golconda. Havart emphasises that the majority of Muslims in Golconda were Shīʿī and that sermons in practically all mosques had ceased because of Aurangzeb's ban on Shīʿī sermons. This is important testimony, precisely because the Deccan was Sunnified after the Mughal conquest, and modern scholarly views of religious practice by the local Muslims of the Deccan in the preceding period may be coloured by hindsight.

The third part of the work has relevance for the reception history of Muslim authors in Europe, and ties in with Havart's defence of the appreciation of such authors in his translation of Saʿdī's *Būstān*. No evidence of any impact of the work on Havart's contemporaries is known except for the laudatory poem by Josias Houterkens inserted at the beginning of the book. Houterkens refers to Havart's previous publication of Saʿdi's work, and underlines in a vein similar to Havart that the wisdom of such authors may even serve those who call themselves Christians, and that the source of wisdom is irrelevant to the knowledgeable. But the poem is also mildly and ironically critical of Havart's work as well as of the limits of the wisdom expressed in the sayings at the end, for, after all, they come from those who are far off track, and 'the blind wander with the blind'.

PUBLICATIONS

D. H[avart], *Persiaanse secretaris of een nette beschryving van de stijl die de Persianen gebruiken in hare brieven en notariale stukken; als ook van de feest-en vierdagen der Muhammedanen door het gehele jaar in het Koninkryk Golconda*, Amsterdam, n.d. [1689]; HOTZ 742 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden)

STUDIES

Gommans, *The unseen world*

Kruijtzer, *Xenophobia in seventeenth-century India*

Op- en ondergang van Cormandel, 'Rise and fall of Coromandel'

DATE 1693

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

Havart appears to have written the 568 pages of his best-known work in two stages. Its full title is *Op- en ondergang van Cormandel. In zijn binnenste geheel open, en ten toon gesteld. Waar in nauwkeurig verhandeld word een ware en duydelijke beschrijving van alles, wat op Zuyder, en Noorder Cormandel, zo in steden, dorpen, vlekken, rivieren, gebergtens, enz. aanmerkens waardig te zien is. Als mede de handel der Hollanders, op Cormandel, met een beschrijving aller logien van de E. Compagnie op die landstreek; ook Op- en ondergang der Koningen, die zedert weynige jaren, in Golkonda, de hoofd-stad van Cormandel geregeerd hebben* ('Rise and fall of Coromandel, its interiors laid completely open and exposed, in which a true and clear description is presented of everything remarkable that is to be observed in southern as well as northern Coromandel, in the cities, villages, hamlets, rivers as well as the mountains etc. With a description of all the lodges of the Honourable Company in that region; as well as the rise and fall of the kings that reigned up until a few years ago in Golconda, the capital of Coromandel'). A first draft was complete upon his departure from Coromandel in 1685, and seems to have circulated in the VOC boardroom over the following years. After obtaining his doctorate in medicine, it appears that Havart decided to expand the text, adding material on the factories of southern Coromandel and the rapid developments that occurred shortly after his departure.

This work had several purposes. For one, Havart provides an overview of all VOC activities on the Coromandel Coast, comprehensive in terms both of space, describing all the various factories, and of time, describing the beginnings and growth of Dutch trade as well as its decline, as witnessed in his own time. He attributes this decline to both the Mughal conquest and the hardships it entailed, which forced the producers of the textiles sought after by the Dutch to flee, and the policies pursued by the higher ranks of the VOC hierarchy, especially the special commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Reede. Havart also devotes substantial sections to the Sultanate of Golconda and its history, buildings, functioning and intrigues, including an elaborate 'who's who' of its courtiers along with engraved portraits. The 'rise and fall' of the title therefore refers to both the rise of the Golconda Sultanate in the 16th century and the rise of Dutch trade in the region from the early 17th century, and the simultaneous fall of both shortly after Havart's departure from the Coromandel Coast.

This fall seems to have weighed particularly heavily on his mind, with the frontispiece of the book depicting the sultan of Golconda prostrating before the Mughal emperor, and the caption showing that Havart also intended his historical description as a metaphor for *vanitas*, the transience of the this-worldly, a theme central to Dutch Protestantism. Havart already had a chance to develop this theme in the rhetorical speech he gave in Latin on the occasion of receiving his doctorate. There too he presents the glamour of the sultans and court of Golconda as coming to naught in the end. He draws particular attention to the enormous wealth of the Golconda princess and Bijapur queen Bari Sahib (see the entry in *CMR* 11). The speech was published under the title *Oratio de rebus admirabilibus in India* ('On the astounding/paradoxical things in India') in Utrecht, 1691.

SIGNIFICANCE

Havart's qualified admiration for the Persianate culture of the Golconda Sultanate has been described in the discussion of his other works, where it is also visible to a greater degree than here. However, his description of court culture and especially his description of relations between the Dutch and the various factions at court, offer an invaluable source with respect to Christian-Muslim relations. Havart believed the Muslim faction at court to be more sympathetic to the Dutch than the Brahmin faction and, moreover, that Muslims appreciated the Dutch more than

all other European nations. He was, however, not sympathetic to Europeans who converted to Islam.

The impact of the work on contemporaries seems to have been marginal, although material from the first draft was used extensively in Pieter van Dam's description of the VOC, which, however, only circulated in manuscript form until the 20th-century edition of it. It would be very difficult to establish any influence the work could have had on Dutch thinking about relations with Muslim courts, not least because the court with which the book was most concerned, that of Golconda, had disappeared by the time of the book's publication.

PUBLICATIONS

There are no extant manuscripts. Material from an early manuscript draft was used in Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. F.W. Stapel, The Hague, 1927-39.

Daniel Havart, *Op- en ondergang van Cormandel. In zijn binnenste geheel open, en ten toon gesteld. Waar in nauwkeurig verhandeld word een ware en duydelijke beschrijving van alles, wat op Zuyder, en Noorder Cormandel, zo in steden, dorpen, vlekken, rivieren, gebergtens, enz. aanmerkens waardig te zien is. Als mede de handel der Hollanders, op Cormandel, met een beschrijving aller logien van de E. Compagnie op die landstreek; ook Op- en ondergang der Koningen, die zedert weynige jaren, in Golkonda, de hoofd-stad van Cormandel geregeerd hebben*, 3 parts in 1 volume, Amsterdam, 1693; BLL01017928629 (digitised version available through the British Library)

MS London, BL – Mackenzie Private Collection MSS Eur/Mack Private 88 (English trans. c. 1800 of sections of the work)

STUDIES

Kruijtzer, *Xenophobia in seventeenth-century India*

Peters, 'Daniel Havart, zijn boek en zijn grafschriften'

Terpstra, 'Daniel Havart en zijn "Op- en ondergang van Coromandel"'

Gijs Kruijtzer

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg

DATE OF BIRTH 10 July 1682
PLACE OF BIRTH Pulsnitz, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 23 February 1719
PLACE OF DEATH Tharangambadi, India

BIOGRAPHY

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg was born near Dresden in Saxony in 1682. Both his parents died when he was still a young boy, but he remembered especially his mother for her piety. After completing his school education in Görlitz in 1702, he enrolled on a course of study to improve his knowledge of biblical and classical European languages at a high school in Berlin, under the direction of the Pietist Joachim Lange. Although his studies here were interrupted by the death of his sister, the following year he enrolled in the university at Halle. There, and at the nearby Lutheran Church in Glaucha, he sat under the teaching and preaching of noted Pietists such as August Hermann Francke and Joachim Justus Breithaupt.

Ziegenbalg and his friend Heinrich Plütschau were encouraged by their mentors at Halle and Berlin to consider responding to King Frederick IV's (r. 1699-1730) call for missionaries in Danish territories overseas. Initially, they prepared to go to the Danish colony of Guinea in West Africa, and arrived in Copenhagen in the autumn of 1705. However, because there was no ship preparing to sail to Africa, they boarded one heading for Tranquebar, a Danish colony on the Coromandel Coast of south-east India.

Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were the first German Lutheran Pietist missionaries to the Indian inhabitants of Tranquebar. From his arrival on 9 July 1706, Ziegenbalg devoted his life to serving the Tamil people and educating his German contemporaries in the cultures and religions of the South Indian people. Immediately upon arrival, he began to devote himself to learning the Portuguese dialect spoken there and also Tamil, the dominant language in the region, with the help of local language teachers and the Tamil translations of the Gospels prepared by the Roman Catholics. By the end of his first year, he had translated Luther's

catechism into Tamil and, with the assistance of Tamil copyists, had it written out on palm leaves.

He is known for his translation of three works on Tamil ethics (1708), the catalogue of Tamil books *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (1708), *Malabarian heathenism* (1711), *Malabarian correspondence or Tamil letters* (1712-14), the *Genealogy of Malabarian /South Indian gods* (1713), his translation of the New Testament into Tamil (1714), and a Latin-Tamil grammar entitled *Grammatica Damulica* (1716). He founded the first schools for girls in Tamil India (1707) and helped in the establishment of the first Tamil Lutheran congregations, named Jerusalem (1707) and the New Jerusalem (1718). He initiated micro-loans for needy members of his congregation and trained several leaders. One of them was Aaron, the first Tamil Lutheran pastor in Asia, ordained in December 1733. Protestant missionaries emulated some of the principles that he championed: personal evangelism, the Bible in the mother tongue of the people, socio-cultural and religious studies of the people, including their language and literary heritage, self-help through education and skills-building activities, and entrusting leadership responsibilities to local peoples. His legacy lives on in several schools and colleges, church institutions (e.g. the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Arcot Lutheran Church, the Church of South India) and in Indo-German relationships. One of his areas of activities was his interaction with Tamil Muslims, recorded in the *Dialogues* and in a reference work, *Religion past and present*.

Ziegenbalg continued his work in Tranquebar and also in Madras, where he was receiving assistance from the English Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. In spite of difficulties such as opposition from the governor of Tranquebar and financial hardship when funds from Europe were delayed, he persevered in his work among the Tamil people. He returned to Europe for a brief visit in 1715 for medical reasons and to work on publishing his Tamil grammar and other translations. While in Halle, he married Maria Dorothea Salzmann, who was a former student of his when he had been teaching in Merseburg.

Ziegenbalg and his wife sailed back to India, arriving in August 1716, to continue his work of teaching, evangelising and translating. But by the end of 1718, his health was failing, and on 23 February 1718 he died at the age of 36. Within the year, other missionaries from Halle had arrived to continue his work, and so his legacy continued in the church and schools he had begun, but especially in the literary work he had completed.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

J.T. Philipps, (ed. and trans.), *Thirty four conferences between the Danish missionaries and the Malabarian Bramans (or heathen priests) in the East Indies, concerning the truth of Christian religion together with some letters written by the heathens to the said missionaries – Translated out of High Dutch* [sic, i.e., Deutsch, 'German'] *by Mr. [Jenkins Thomas] Philipps*, London, 1719

'Lebenslauf des seligen Herrn Propsts Ziegenbalg', *Der königlich dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte von dem Werk ihres Amts unter den Heyden* 2/18 (1722) 225-44

W. Caland (ed.), *Ziegenbalgs Malabarisches Heidenthum. Herausgegeben und mit Indices versehen von W[illem] Caland*, Amsterdam, 1926

B. Ziegenbalg and J.E. Gründler, *Von den Anfängen evengelischer Mission. Zwei unbekannte Missionsschriften von 1713 und 1717*, ed. N.-P. Moritzen, Bonn, 2002

Secondary

W. Sweetman, 'Retracing Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's path', in E. Fihl and A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds), *Beyond Tranquebar. Grappling across cultural borders in South India*, Hyderabad, 2014, 304-21

D. Jeyaraj and R.F. Young (ed. and trans.), *Hindu-Christian epistolary self-disclosures. 'Malabarian correspondence' between German Pietist missionaries and South Indian Hindus (1712-1714)*, Wiesbaden, 2013

D. Jeyaraj, *Tamil language for Europeans. Ziegenbalg's* Grammatica Damulica *(1716)*, trans. and commentary D. Jeyaraj (with the assistance of R. Harrington), Wiesbaden, 2010

D. Jeyaraj, *A German exploration of Indian society. Ziegenbalg's 'Malabarian heathenism'. an annotated English translation with an introduction and a glossary*, Chennai, 2006

D. Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg. The father of modern Protestant mission. An Indian assessment*, New Delhi, 2006

A. Gross, Y.V. Kumaradoss and H. Liebau (eds), *Halle and the beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, Halle, 2006

G. Oomen and H.R. Iversen (eds), *It began in Copenhagen. Junctions in 300 years of Indian-Danish relations in Christian mission*, Delhi, 2005

D. Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs Genealogie der malabarischen Götter. Edition der Orginalfassung von 1713 mit Einleitung, Analyse und Glossar*, Halle, 2003

E. Beyreuther, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg. Aus dem Leben des ersten deutschen Missionars in Indien, 1682 bis 1719*, Berlin, 1957

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ziegenbalg and Muslims in Tamil India
Lutheran-Muslim dialogue in Tranquebar, South India

DATE Early 18th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
Ziegenbalg's perceptions and portrayals of Islam are concentrated in the first two volumes of the nine-volume work known as the *Halle reports*, which began with an initial letter from missionaries in India and continued with subsequent instalments. Each volume is divided into 12 such continuations. All references given here to Ziegenbalg's dialogues with Muslims are to vol. 1 or vol. 2, along with a Continuation ('C') and page number. Ziegenbalg's transcriptions of eight dialogues he held with Tamil Muslims are printed in Continuations 8, 9 and 16. The dialogues in Continuation 8 took place in 1707 and were published in 1715, while the dialogues in Continuation 9 were conducted in 1714 and published in 1716, and those in Continuation 16 were conducted in 1718 and published posthumously in 1720. These eight dialogues were designated Conversations 2, 3, 7, 18, 19, 22, 28 and 34. A paraphrased version of the dialogues in Continuations 8 and 9 was translated and published in English in 1719 by J.T. Philipps as part of his *Thirty four conferences*. A second source for Ziegenbalg's portrayal of Islam is his book *Malabarisches Heidenthum* ('Tamil heathenism'), published in 1711, which reflects his perception of the theology and society of the Tamil people. A third source is his unpublished Tamil manuscript *Four world religions*, which he wrote on strips of palm leaves (1709).

After his arrival in Tranquebar on 9 July 1706, Ziegenbalg understood himself as the Royal Danish missionary and the servant of God's Word among the Heathen of Tranquebar. Within two years he had become so familiar with the language, literary heritage, culture, and religions of the Tamils that he changed his attitude and approach towards them. Like his German contemporaries, he too had thought of the Tamils as an uncivilised people, whose language had no proper grammar and whose lifestyle was primitive. These assumptions stemmed from his Lutheran upbringing in his home town of Pulsnitz near Dresden, his school education in Berlin, his employment by the King of Denmark, his loyalty to the

Danish Lutheran Church, and his perception of 'Christendom' based on the dictum *cuius regio, eius religio* ('he whose realm it is, his is the religion') as established by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Tranquebar was a Danish colony and therefore, in Ziegenbalg's opinion, the state religion of Denmark, Lutheranism, should be the state religion there, with no other religions having any legal standing. Tranquebar, however, operated differently. To function safely, the Danish East India Company depended on the goodwill and cooperation of the adherents of Indic religions such as Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaktism and primal religions, as well as Muslim traders.

Upon his arrival in 1706, the 22-year old Ziegenbalg was clearly displeased at the religious plurality he found in Tranquebar and was often frustrated because he could not change it. This realisation made him a learner, and he accepted and respected the lessons his Tamil teachers gave him. The more he learned to respect and trust the Tamil people, the more they adopted him as their guest, showing him hospitality and disclosing to him the riches of their language and cultural heritage. While, according to Ziegenbalg's writings, most Tamils remained 'heathen', i.e., non-Christian, they nevertheless became his friends. His works comment more on the adherents of the Indic religions than on the Tamil Muslims and their religion, although what he wrote about the latter provides insight into his perceptions and approach to the Tamil Muslims of Tranquebar.

Following the religious knowledge of his times, Ziegenbalg wrote a treatise on four world religions, namely Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Heathenism, a palm-leaf manuscript copy of which survives in the Mission Archives of the Francke Foundation in Halle. In the preface to the section on Islam, he refers to the Muslims as 'a very large people', who had subjugated and occupied nearly three-quarters of the entire world. Interestingly, his manuscript characterises each of these four religions as a *cāti*, which refers to the Sanskrit noun *jāti* ('birth group' or 'caste'). The members of the *cāti*s are called *cātiyār* ('*jāti*-members'). In 1709, when he wrote the palm-leaf manuscript, Ziegenbalg did not fully understand the true meaning of a *jāti*, namely a particular caste that people are born into, and cannot change. The people of each *jāti* may have a common deity, places of worship and rituals. This manuscript affirms the *Kuṟāṉ*, i.e. the Qur'an, as the *Vētam* (Sanskrit: 'Veda', 'salvific knowledge') of the Muslims and attributes it to Muḥammad, who was aware of Judaism, Christianity and his own perceptions of the Divine. He also states that

one of the ways by which Islam spread was through wars and conquests. The manuscript's reference to Islam ends here.

Ziegenbalg's reference to the Tamil Muslims is associated with the history of Tranquebar itself. A Tamil who acted as Ziegenbalg's local informant described how a tsunami had struck and covered Tranquebar with sand, burying even the tallest building, the Mācilāmaṇināṭar temple, dedicated to Śiva. A local administrator initiated its restoration and made it usable. He invited people to come and rejuvenate Tranquebar. Immediately, a Muslim merchant ('ein mohrischer Kaufmann') known as 'Maraikkāyar' came to Tranquebar and settled there (*Halle report*, vol. 1, C 7, p. 884). This title suggests that he was an influential seafaring merchant. He may have come from the nearby *Nākūr* (Nagore), the famous *dargāh* or centre focusing on the life of Hazrat Syed Shahul Hameed (d. 1579). Other Muslims followed him, and gradually their numbers increased. When Ziegenbalg arrived there, around 2,000 Muslims were living in Tranquebar, constituting a third of the population. They maintained two mosques and a graveyard. An old mosque, which still exists, was associated with the two Sufi saints Ṣēk Smāyil Caṭāt Valiyullā and Saiyaṭiṉa Ṣayiṭ Sāhip Caṭāṭ Valiyullā. Ziegenbalg would have visited their *dargāh*s and interacted with the Muslims there.

In May 1714, Ziegenbalg on one occasion asked a Tamil informant in Tranquebar why the Tamils had refused to accept the Bible as their 'true Veda' (lit. *catya Vētam*). The reply stated that the Śaivites, Vaiṣṇavites, Christians and Muslims all claimed that their respective holy scriptures alone were true and binding. This absolutist claim created an atmosphere of religious confusion, competition and conflict (vol. 1, C 11, p. 954). The informant suggested that, in order to maintain social harmony, the adherents of each religion should be content with their own holy scriptures and should not compare them with those of others.

The society of Tranquebar was varied and complex. In 1702, the population of the walled city of Tranquebar consisted of about 500 European merchants, mercenaries and colonial administrators, about 500 Roman Catholic Christians, about 2,000 Tamil Muslims and about 3,000 Tamils who practised either Śaivismor Vaiṣṇavism or Śaktism (especially the worship of the goddess Renukā Devī). In addition to this religious diversity, the Tamils belonged to 98 different castes (Caland, *Ziegenbalgs Malabarisches Heidenthum*, pp. 195-200). While they lived, worked and interacted in the same place, their religious identities and loyalties differed considerably. The secret of their co-existence was their awareness

of their different religious starting points and their respect for them. They were not required to accept each other's beliefs and practices; instead, the more they understood their distinctive claims, the better they could engage in an open, civil and trustworthy conversation on matters that were dear to them.

On 19 May 1714, Ziegenbalg received a group of dialogue partners who consisted of Muslims and non-Muslims. In this seventh dialogue, the Muslims outlined nine non-negotiable elements of their faith and practice: 1. faith in one God and Muḥammad as His messenger; 2. the Qur'an as God's word and the only way to salvation; 3. five daily prayers; 4. the determination to shun evil and do good; 5. the confession of sins to the priests and acceptance of their verdict; 6. the obligation to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, health and ability permitting; 7. the payment of 7 per cent of a person's possessions in tax to help the poor; 8. the observance of annual festivals; and 9. participation in the communal prayers in the mosques on Fridays and listening to teachings from the Qur'an (vol. 1, C 9, p. 752).

The representatives from the other religions likewise expressed their starting points for discussions. The non-Christian and non-Muslim members of the group wanted to know more about the non-Indic religions, namely Christianity and Islam; they expressed their determination to abide by their own religious convictions and to uphold caste loyalties. Thus, Ziegenbalg created a safe place for Muslims and others to meet voluntarily to discuss their ways of creating meaning through their diverse religious affiliations. He allowed them to express their distinctive beliefs, and shared with them his own beliefs about Jesus Christ, giving them copies of his Tamil works on Christianity. Ziegenbalg was aware that it was not easy for his Muslim partners in this dialogue, especially the *'ulamā'* or Muslim scholars, immediately to embrace the Christian faith and practice that he was promoting in Tranquebar. He did not shy away from difficult aspects in the faith convictions of the other.

Ziegenbalg's first recorded dialogue with a Muslim religious leader, probably a senior imam in charge of junior *'ulamā'*, took place in Tranquebar on 1 July 1707 (vol. 1, C 8, pp. 514-19). It was nearly a year after Ziegenbalg's arrival in Tranquebar, but within this short time, his fame for speaking Tamil and inviting the Tamils to embrace Lutheran Pietism had spread far and wide. This Muslim scholar had heard about him, and now wanted to speak to him. Ziegenbalg received him into his house and, at the request of his guest, read out a passage from the Hebrew

Bible. He also told him that he owned Arabic, Latin, French, German and Dutch versions of the Qur'an. Their conversation soon turned to exploring the logical nature, suitability and relevance of the Trinity. The Muslim scholar equated it with polytheism. Ziegenbalg used the simile of the sun, its brightness and its warmth; while these three are not identical, they cannot be separated from one another. This naturalistic explanation did not seem to have any impact on the Muslim's perception of God as only One and not as three. The Muslim scholar does not appear to have paid any attention to Ziegenbalg's invitation to compare the life and teachings of Jesus Christ with those of Muḥammad. He insisted that he believed in Jesus as *Isanabi* ('Jesus-Prophet'), but did not believe in him as divine or as the Son of God. Ziegenbalg then asked the Muslim to review the practice of polygamy among the Muslim community and to uphold monogamy as taught by Jesus Christ (Matthew 19:4). The scholar immediately responded by making reference to the polygamous lifestyle of King David and his son Solomon, who were dear to God. Their conversation ended with a discussion about religious conversion and whether it was forced or voluntary. The tone of the recorded text remains respectful, with the participants expressing and listening to opinions freely. At the end, they could understand each other better.

The second dialogue, dated 11 July 1707, addresses the question of knowing God ('zu dem Anschauen Gottes', 'on seeing God'). On that day, a group of Muslim merchants brought a group of holy men to Ziegenbalg. These might have been Sufi saints or some other influential Muslim leaders, wearing green turbans and identifying themselves as coming from the line of the Prophet. They asked Ziegenbalg to tell them of his understanding of seeing and knowing God. Ziegenbalg immediately cited the words of Jesus Christ: 'Those who are pure in heart will see God' (Matthew 5:8). They asked him to define the meaning of 'purity of heart', and Ziegenbalg responded that it was a heart without selfishness, self-exaltation, stubbornness, pride, hypocrisy and evil (vol. 1, C 8, p. 521). He stressed the pure state of one's attitudes and intentions. Acts of kindness did not always spring from purity of heart. The Muslim visitors probed further and requested that Ziegenbalg tell them how they could obtain purity of heart. To this, he pointed to how Jesus Christ overcame sin, death and the devil, insisting that those who embraced his grace and forgiveness of sins could attain purity of heart. This was too much for the Muslim visitors, who tactfully responded to him: 'You know your religion and speak about its truths. Likewise, we can also tell you what our religion has prescribed for the purity of our heart. We do not belong to

any religion. We do not seek instructions either from your or our religion. We came to you and wanted to hear your opinion on knowing God' (vol. 1, C 8, p. 522). When Ziegenbalg began to answer in figurative ways, e.g. that God is light, they thanked him and left.

The third dialogue took place on 23 January 1708, when Ziegenbalg received a group of Muslims from the Dutch colony of Nākapaṭṭiṇam (Nagapattinam), along with a group of Tamils, possibly consisting of Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, in his home in Tranquebar. These visitors had previously only heard about him; now, they had come to see and dialogue with him. Their discussion included themes such as piety, the best means of obtaining God's grace, and the role of Muḥammad and Jesus Christ in communicating this grace. When they realised that their discussion was going round in circles, the leader of the Muslims suggested that 'a Christian who thoroughly understands his religion from its teachings will remain a Christian. Likewise, a Muslim who thoroughly understands his religion from its teachings will remain a Muslim' (vol. 1, C 8, p. 539). This dialogue provided the participants with an occasion to make personal acquaintance. To keep the conversation going, Ziegenbalg asked the leader of the Muslim group to translate the Qur'an from Arabic into Tamil and give him a copy to read, giving him some Christian tracts authored by him. They later maintained a correspondence by letter.

The fourth dialogue is dated 16 January 1714, six years after the previous ones. In 1712, Ziegenbalg had installed the first mechanised printing press in Tranquebar and begun to print Christian tracts. Two Muslims came to see this printing press and speak with him. One Muslim indicated that some Islamic books that he had with him spoke of the arrival of people preaching strange teachings ('bewunderns-würdige Dinge', 'wondrous things', vol. 1, C 9, p. 673), and he was curious as to whether his books were referring to Ziegenbalg. The Tamil teacher confessed that certain Tamil works referred to the coming of people who would transform the world. Ziegenbalg responded that it was indeed through God's work that they came to meet him. It is noteworthy that the participants in this dialogue were using prior knowledge to understand what they were experiencing at that moment. Their dialogue covered many themes such as fate, the decline of morality, faith and the necessity of spiritual birth, among others. Towards the end of their conversation, the Muslim priest remembered how the Prophet, with the help of the Angel Gabriel, answered 1,000 questions from 40 scholars. He also said that these answers were translated into Tamil and compiled as a book entitled *Airom musilam* (vol. 1, C 9, p. 681).

The fifth dialogue occurred just three days later, on 19 January 1714. Ziegenbalg notes that his Muslim visitors had come from distant places to acquire copies of the Tamil Christian booklets that he had printed in Tranquebar. The visitors find his prose texts in Tamil a novelty. They mention that all Islamic teachings are written in Arabic, while works written by Tamil Muslims were all in poetry. Thus, they lacked simple prose texts for teaching religious beliefs. They talked about how their teachers would teach these poetical works in their schools, at which Ziegenbalg became curious and asked why Muslim girls did not attend school. The Muslims stressed the need for gender segregation in public places, where women and men should not mingle freely. Instead, scholars and teachers would go into their homes to teach women how to believe and behave. The discussion soon turned to topics such as women in places of worship, polygamous households, the keeping of concubines, and adultery and the punishment meted out to adulterers. Here, Ziegenbalg argues the need for native Muslim women and men to be able to study the Qur'an in their mother tongue, and to discuss it not only among themselves but also with adherents of other faiths. He believes they should be willing to learn languages other than their mother tongue and Arabic, to allow them to read books in those languages and develop their knowledge in different disciplines (vol. 1, C 9, p. 687). Finally, Ziegenbalg and his visitors discussed the distinguishing characteristics of Jesus Christ and Muḥammad. Ziegenbalg tried to respond to their Christological questions, such as whether Jesus was truly the Son of God, how was he born and his final goal. They listened to Ziegenbalg with respect and told him that they would return with their *'ulamā'*, because they would be better partners in this dialogue.

Ziegenbalg's sixth recorded dialogue, on 31 January 1714, with two Muslim *'ulamā'* explored the place of the Pentateuch in the lives and writings of David, Jesus Christ and Muḥammad. One of the Muslims came from Agra and the other was attached to a mosque in Tranquebar. They upheld their conviction that there were only four major prophets, namely Moses, David, Jesus and Muḥammad, and they wondered why Christians did not follow ceremonials prescribed by Moses. They also pointed out the similarities between Christianity and Islam, identifying the main difference as arising from the Christians ascribing divinity to Jesus and calling him the Son of God. Ziegenbalg asserted that Jesus was indeed the Son of God, being truly both human and divine. The Trinity, as God's mystery, was not anti-rational but trans-rational ('nicht wider die

Vernunft, sondern über die Vernunft', 'not against reason, but beyond / above reason', vol. 1, C 9, p. 715). Ziegenbalg felt that a human being seeking to understand the Trinity resembled a child on the seashore who had dug a small hole in the sand and was trying to empty the ocean into it (vol. 1, C 9, p. 715). This is one of only a few analogies that Ziegenbalg utilised in explaining the Trinity.

After a circular debate, their attention turned to how to deal with misdeeds or crimes, punishments such as whipping the culprit 40 or 100 times, and forgiveness. Ziegenbalg wondered why Muslims would try to attain salvation through good works because God through Jesus Christ had already forgiven sinners, and people could accept God's forgiveness and start to lead a life in God's grace. His Muslim partners did not respond to this assertion.

Ziegenbalg's seventh recorded dialogue took place on 19 May 1714. A group of Muslims and their non-Muslim friends, probably all from Tranquebar, met Ziegenbalg and asked him to respond to 13 prepared questions (vol. 1, C 9, p. 751). In these, the Muslims seemed to compare indigenous expressions of Christianity with the Arabic-based expression of Islam. At the same time, they wanted to know why Christians chose to translate their Bible into the languages spoken by various groups of people and why the Muslims kept the Qur'an in Arabic. The non-Muslim participants told of how following their *Āgama*-based ancestral traditions would ensure their sins were forgiven. As mentioned above, the Muslim participants outlined nine aspects of their basic beliefs. Ziegenbalg responded that both Muslims and non-Muslims tried to gain salvation by performing prescribed duties and rituals. By contrast, Christians knew that God's grace had made salvation possible for human beings. This answer did not impress the participants. In their opinion, their religious experience mattered. A non-Muslim stated that the wise author of the Tamil book *Civavākkiyam* ('Śiva's sayings') was originally a Śaivite. He later embraced Islam and Christianity, but, having tested them, returned to his ancestral Śaivite faith. Ziegenbalg immediately demonstrated his familiarity with the history of Tamil literature, especially with the works of the Siddhas. The author of *Civavākkiyam* never embraced any other religion, but always remained a Tamil Śaivite who did not endorse the worship of images, polytheism, rituals or caste distinctions. He meditated on Civam, the supreme God of the Śaivite. Thus, a sound knowledge of the history, literature and religious background of the other served to enrich interreligious dialogue.

Ziegenbalg's final recorded dialogue is contained in Continuation 16 in the second volume of the *Halle reports* (vol. 2, C 16, pp. 86-95). It took place between himself and a group of Muslim merchants in the city of Kaṭalūr (Cuddalore), Tamil Nadu. These merchants had read Ziegenbalg's booklet 'Weg zur Seeligheit' (Tamil: *Mōṭcattukkup Pōkum Vaḻi*, 'The way to bliss'), which he had distributed in the neighbouring Dutch colony of Porto Novo. They were happy to read about God as one, but were confused by the concept of God as triune.

The conversation covered material, spiritual, mathematical and symbolic attempts to grasp the nature, meaning and significance of the Trinity. Even after passionate discussions, the question remained unanswered; perhaps it was unanswerable. Ziegenbalg confessed that the Trinity is indeed a 'divine mystery, which transcended human ability to understand. It should be addressed with reverence, care and highest devotion' (vol. 2, C 16, p. 87). Eventually, the Muslim participants in the dialogue thanked Ziegenbalg for an open discussion, though it is clear that they did not come to any definite conclusion. Both they and Ziegenbalg had evidently learned to ask more pertinent, deeper questions. As the Muslim participants left, Ziegenbalg gave them copies of his Tamil booklet entitled *Ordnung des Heyls* ('The order of salvation'). It is noteworthy that these interreligious conversations did not end after a meeting and initial discussion. These sowed seeds for new ideas and new ways of understanding one's beliefs and practices. In this context, sharing reading material would deepen impressions, raise more questions and call for further dialogue.

SIGNIFICANCE

In these writings, Ziegenbalg presents his views with regard to the Tamil Muslims he received as guests or met during his missionary endeavours. The major themes of his dialogues with the Tamil Muslims are presented in the context of his interactions with Indians from a diverse range of religious faiths. At the same time, the Tamil Muslims are given a voice to present their own beliefs and practices, and their criticism or questions regarding Christianity. In all probability, he received a constant flow of visitors, guests and those interested in embarking on dialogue, and there would have been many more dialogues, but only these were reported and printed. They demonstrate the honesty and civility of those engaged in the dialogues, where they could openly share what they thought of themselves, each other and their faith.

These dialogues depict the first encounter between Protestant missionaries and the Muslims of South Asia. While Roman Catholic missionaries had already experienced more than a century of such interactions, the arrival of Ziegenbalg and other German missionaries heralded a significant new beginning in the history of Protestant missions.

Although Ziegenbalg had fewer encounters with Muslims than with Hindus or Buddhists, they nevertheless foreshadowed the growth of Protestant Christian-Muslim encounters in South Asia over the next two centuries. Their publication in a key missionary journal in Germany meant that German Pietists could read first-hand the encounters between their missionaries and Muslims. Although filtered through Ziegenbalg, Muslim descriptions of themselves were presented to German readers from a South Asian source. Their translation into English shortly thereafter would have had similar impact among the Evangelical Protestants in England.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Halle, Mission Archives of the Francke Foundation – P/TAM 37, leaves 184v–187 (1709)

Halle reports, *Der Königl. Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandter Ausführlichen Berichten* [...], Halle, 1710-72 (Ziegenbalg's dialogues with the Muslims in the first two volumes: Dialogue 1 in vol. 1, C 8, pp. 514-19; Dialogue 2 in vol. 1, C 8, pp. 519-23; Dialogue 3 in vol. 1, C 8, pp. 535-40; Dialogue 4 in vol. 1, C 9, pp. 672-81; Dialogue 5 in vol. 1, C 9, pp. 682-90; Dialogue 6 in vol. 1 C 9, pp. 712-21; Dialogue 7 in vol. 1 C 9, pp. 751-6 and Dialogue 8 in vol. 2 C 16, pp. 86-95); S/MISS:A 1 121 K 1-9 (digitised versions available through Frankesche Stiftungen)

Philipps, *Thirty four conferences between the Danish missionaries and the Malabarian Bramans* (the eight dialogues are paraphrased as Conversations 2, 3, 7, 18, 19, 22, 28 and 34); ESTC T130511 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Caland, *Ziegenbalgs Malabarisches Heidenthum*

Jeyaraj, *A German exploration of Indian society* (English trans. of Caland)

STUDIES

M. Frenz, 'Reflecting Christianity in depictions of Islam. The representation of Muslims in the reports of the early Royal Danish Mission at Tarangambadi, India', *Studies in World Christianity* 14 (2008) 203-13

M. Frenz and H. Descher, 'Das Werk der Bekehrung. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Pietismus, Aufklärung un Mission im frühen 18. Jahrhundert', in M. Mann (ed.), *Europäische Aufklärung und protestantische Mission in Indien*, Heidelberg, 2006, 33-56

S. von Sicard, 'Ziegenbalg and the Muslims', in G. Oomen and H.R. Iversen (eds), *It began in Copenhagen. Junctions in 300 years of Indian-Danish relations in Christian mission*, Delhi, 2005, 125-55

H. Liebau, 'Der Islam in Südindien im Spiegel der dänisch-halleschen Missionsquellen', in M. Bergunder (ed.), *Missionsberichte aus Indien in 18. Jahrhundert*, Halle, 1999, 153-74

Daniel Jeyaraj

Benjamin Schultze

DATE OF BIRTH 7 January 1689
PLACE OF BIRTH Sonnenburg (present-day Słonsk, Poland)
DATE OF DEATH 25 September 1760
PLACE OF DEATH Halle/Saale

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Sonnenburg (present-day Słonsk, Poland) on 7 January 1689 as the twelfth child in his family, Benjamin Schultze's formal education started at the age of four at the local school. In 1704, he continued his education in Landsberg/Warthe, the most important town of the New Mark at that time. There, he first heard about the Tranquebar Mission in south-east India, which he would join 15 years later. In March 1709, he went to Berlin, where he studied at the Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium (High School). Besides extensive Bible study, the curriculum included classes in rhetoric and logic as well as instruction in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Schultze also started private lessons in Syriac and Arabic. On 4 September 1711, he enrolled as a student of theology at the University of Halle, where he continued his language studies and started philosophy. Besides his university studies, Schultze worked as a teacher at the Latin School of the Glaucha Institutions, which had been founded by the theologian and pedagogue August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) in 1698.

Owing to financial difficulties, Schultze had to leave Halle in December 1713 and he worked as a house tutor until he enrolled at the University of Frankfurt/Oder in January 1716 to pursue his studies in theology and languages. Besides the classical languages, he took classes in Italian, Spanish, Dutch and English. He returned to Halle in April 1718, and again combined university studies with teaching Hebrew and Greek at the Latin School of the Glaucha Institutions.

On 25 September 1718, Schultze set out from Halle with Nikolaus Dal (1690-1747) and Heinrich Kistemacher (d. 1722) for missionary work in south India. They arrived on 16 September 1719 in Tranquebar, the main station of the Danish-Halle Mission (or Tranquebarmission). In 1720, Schultze was ordained by Johann Ernst Gründler (1677-1720) and, after Gründler's death, he became the head of the mission. In 1726, partly because of conflicts with his mission colleagues, Schultze left

Tranquebar for Madras, where he set up a new mission station, and after 1728 he worked for the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). During his time as a missionary in India, he engaged in further language study, and in addition to Tamil he also learned Telugu and Southern Hindustani (Dakkhini), which he regarded as necessary for mission work among local Muslims. He translated parts of the Bible into these languages and wrote grammars of Telugu and Hindustani.

In 1743, Schultze asked for permission to return to Europe for health reasons. After a stopover in Copenhagen, he settled in Halle at the Glaucha Institutions, where he put great effort into publishing his works, and several of his books were typeset between 1744 and 1758. He died in Halle on 25 September 1760.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Benjamin Schultze, 'Herrn Missionarii Schultzens zu Madras Diarium vom Jahr 1739', *Der Königlich-dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte von dem Werck ihres Amts unter den Heyden* 52 Cont. (1739) 710-22

R. Vormbaum, *Benjamin Schultze, evangelischer Missionar in Trankebar und Madras, und seine Mitarbeiter*, Düsseldorf, 1850

W. Germann, 'Die Geschichte der tamulischen Bibelübersetzung', *Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle* 17 (1865) 86-119

W. Germann, 'Die wissenschaftliche Arbeit unserer alten Tamulen-Missionare mit Berücksichtigung neuerer Leistungen', *Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionaanstalt zu Halle* 17 (1865) 1-31, 53-81

Secondary

H. Liebau, *Cultural encounters in India. The local co-workers of the Tranquebar Mission, 18th to 19th centuries*, trans. R.V. Rajan, London, 2013

H. Liebau, '"Alle Dinge, die zu wissen nöthig sind". Religiös-soziale Übersetzungsprozesse im kolonialen Indien', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38 (2012) 243-71

H. Liebau, 'Comparison and contrast. Searching for identities in the early Indo-German mission encounter', in M. Tamke and G. Jathanna (eds), *Construction of the Other, identification of the Self. German Mission in India*, Münster, 2012, 25-42

A. Satyanarayana, 'Benjamin Schultze (1689-1760). The foremost Telugu linguist', in H. Liebau, B. Klosterberg and A. Nehrig (eds), *Mission und Forschung. Translokale Wissensproduktion zwischen Indien und Europa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Halle, 2010, 239-56

A. Satyanarayana, 'The contribution of Benjamin Schultze to Telugu language and learning', in A. Gross, H. Liebau and Y.V. Kumaradoss (eds), *Halle and the beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, Halle, 2006, vol. 3, 1163-80
K. Liebau, 'Benjamin Schultze – childhood and youth', in A. Gross, H. Liebau and Y.V. Kumaradoss (eds), *Halle and the beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, Halle, 2006, vol. 2, 567-610
A. Nørgaard, 'Missionar Benjamin Schultze als Leiter der Tranquebarmission (1720-26)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 33 (1977) 181-201
G. Duverdier, 'L'œuvre en télugu de Benjamin Schultze', *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 63 (1976) 265-312

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice, 'A short refutation of the Qur'an in Hindustani'

DATE 1744
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Urdu

DESCRIPTION

On 31 October 1741, Benjamin Schultze announced the completion of *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice* in a letter sent to Halle. He also described the contents, the intention and the process of writing the pamphlet. Schultze sent a copy to Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694-1760), the founder of the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum* in Halle, where the booklet was printed in 1744. Schultze is regarded as the only author of the book, although, as he explained in diaries and letters, he worked together with a south Indian Muslim, to whom he dictated the text in Hindustani and who would write it down. The contribution of the Indian co-worker cannot be traced exactly, but the fact that whole passages within the text are written in Persian suggests that Schultze's single authorship is not certain. Furthermore, Schultze himself observes that the copyist refused to write certain passages, especially those with critical reflections on Muḥammad.

The *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio* was part of Schultze's longer engagement with the Hindustani language to help missionary work among Muslims in south-east India, especially in the region of Madras where he was working after 1726. Before he wrote the *Refutatio* he had translated parts of the Bible into Hindustani, which were later also published in Halle. In his diaries, he describes at length his efforts to learn Hindustani from a local teacher who knew no other languages. Schultze

also profited from his knowledge of Arabic and Persian because, as he saw it, it was necessary to be able to speak and write Hindustani in order to reach the local Muslim population (Schultze, 'Herrn Missionarii Schultzens'). For his translations into Hindustani and for his critique of the Qur'an he used works such as the *Biblia Polyglotta* and the editions, translations and commentaries on the Qur'an by Ludovico Marracci (1698) and Abraham Hinckelmann (1690, 1694).

The *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio* contains a title page in Latin, a foreword of two pages in Latin written by Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694-1760), an evangelical missionary, theologian and Orientalist, a title page in Hindustani and the study itself written in Hindustani and Persian, which amounts to a length of 113 pages. The book was published only once, in Halle in 1744; there have been no subsequent editions. Schultze mentions a translation into German, though only a short description of the work is available in German, in manuscript form. If there ever was a translation, it has disappeared.

The book consists of four chapters, in the first three of which the main Christian doctrines are explained; the comparative part is found in Ch. 4. In the first chapter, Schultze writes about God as Trinity, in Ch. 2 about the Fall of man and Jesus as 'true God', alone able to release humankind, in Ch. 3 about the prophets who foretold the coming of Jesus, and in Ch. 4 he talks about Islam. Here he explains the Qur'an and discusses the differences between Muḥammad and Jesus, the main one being that Jesus was the Son of God and Muḥammad was not.

The intended audience of Schultze's *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio* was the Muslim population in south India. As he explains in the short German overview, the text was not meant for educated Christians in Europe, who would not find much new information. Before it was printed in Halle in 1744, it had been copied by copyists and used within the Danish-Halle Mission by local catechists during their travels. Printed copies were sent to later missionaries of the Danish-Halle Mission in south-east India, but they had little effect.

SIGNIFICANCE

Schultze's *Refutatio* is one of the attempts of the Danish-Halle Mission in India (1707-1845) to reach out to the local Muslim population. Although the main focus of their mission work was on Hindus, they also tried to convert Muslims, though they were not very successful. In addition to Schultze, Christoph Theodosius Walther (1699-1741) and Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726-89) also worked among Muslims in Tranquebar and in Thanjavur.

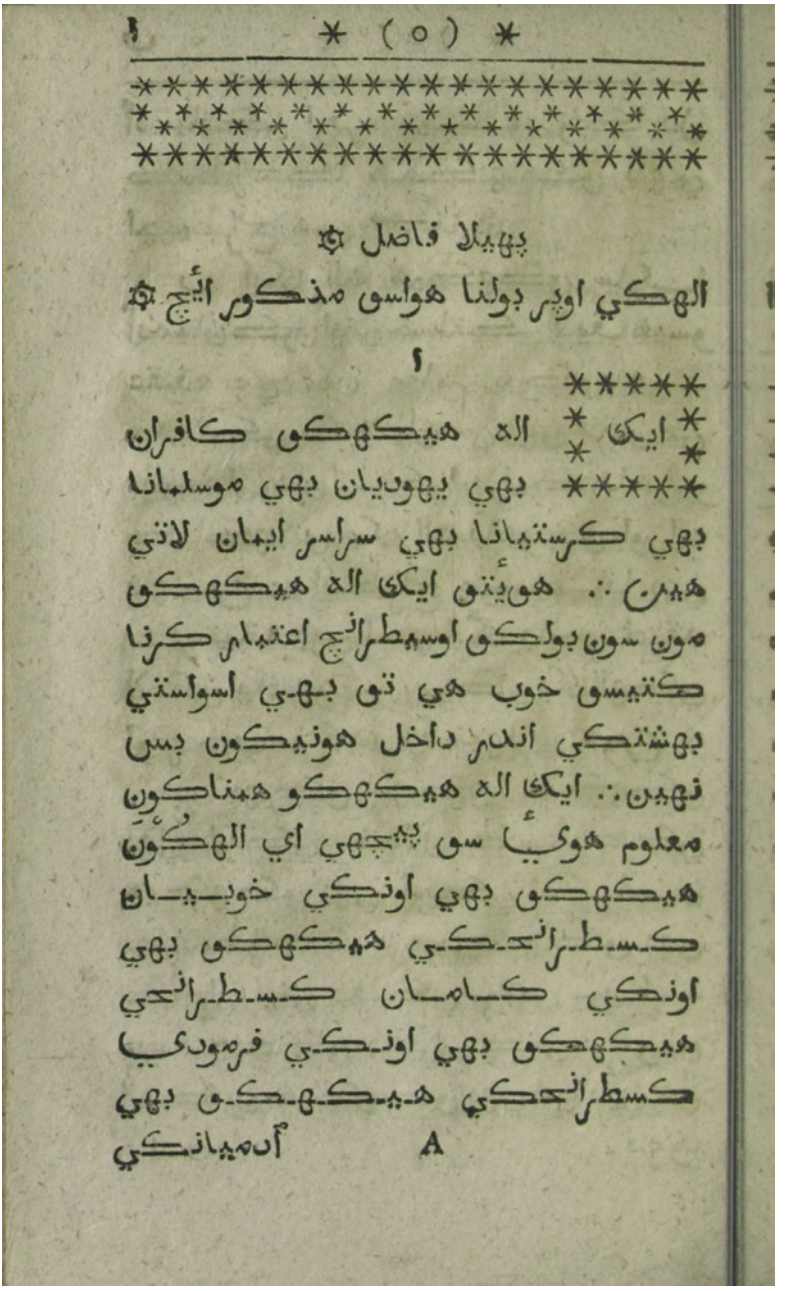


Illustration 13. Page from Benjamin Schultze, *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice*, showing the first page of chapter one

Schultze's work should be seen in the context of the worldwide activities of Halle Pietism. In 1710, Carl Hildebrand von Canstein (1667-1719) founded the Canstein Bible Institute in Halle with the aim of printing large numbers of Bibles that would be affordable to a wide public. In 1728, Johann Heinrich Callenberg founded the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum* in Halle. Under his guidance, Bibles and other Christian texts in various languages, including Arabic, were printed and were distributed through missionaries and other travellers.

The work was almost unnoticed outside the mission context. It is mentioned in diaries and letters by later missionaries, who often expressed reservations about its value. In the modern era, the work is mentioned only casually in works and articles on mission and Islam, or in the context of biographical studies on Schultze.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Halle, August Hermann Francke Study Centre, Archives and Library of the Francke Foundations – AFSt/M 2 A 5 : 21, *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice* (31 October 1741)

Benjamin Schultze, *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice*, ed. J.H. Callenberg, Halle, 1744; Hist.Turc.1558,1 (digitised version available through Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden)

STUDIES

H. Liebau, 'Der Islam in Südindien im Spiegel der dänisch-halleschen Missionsquellen', in M. Bergunder (ed.), *Missionsberichte aus Indien im 18. Jahrhundert. Ihre Bedeutung für die europäische Geistesgeschichte und ihr wissenschaftlicher Wert für die Indienkunde*, Halle, 1999, 153-74

Heike Liebau

Shāh Walī Allāh

Aḥmad Walī Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿUmarī l-Dihlawī

DATE OF BIRTH 21 February 1703
PLACE OF BIRTH Delhi
DATE OF DEATH 20 August 1762
PLACE OF DEATH Delhi

BIOGRAPHY

Shāh Walī Allāh was the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, a practising Sufi and a learned jurist appointed to work on the definitive compilation of legal opinions known as the *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī*. He was best known for founding the Madrasa Raḥīmiyya in the Firuz Shāhī area near the Mughal court in Delhi. Walī Allāh was the first child of his father's second marriage, which he entered into at the age of 60 due to a mystical intimation that he would have a son of great significance. Reared in the *madrasa* under his father's tutelage, Walī Allāh memorised the Qur'an by the age of seven, was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order at the age of 15, and completed the standard curriculum of Arabic and Persian language, theology, law, arithmetic and logic shortly before his father's death in 1719. For the next 12 years, he matured as a teacher, even while continuing to advance in learning and spiritual development. In 1731, he departed on an extended pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, where he remained for 14 months. During his stay there, he was introduced to developing trends in Hadith and interpretative scholarship. He also experienced a series of mystical dreams and visions that inspired him with an exalted purpose as a religious reformer who would revitalise Islam through the study of the life and sayings of the Prophet.

Walī Allāh returned to the *madrasa* in Delhi, where he lived for the remainder of his life. He composed many writings on a wide range of religious subjects. Other than the two works considered in this entry, perhaps his most significant work was a Persian translation of the Qur'an, one of the very first vernacular renditions ever produced. The translation epitomised his characteristic blend of philosophical scripturalism and his quest to synthesise the many strands of the Islamic sciences. The school carried forward this tradition under the guidance of his son Rafīʿ al-Dīn, who completed the first Urdu translation of the Qur'an, and then

of his grandson Makhṣūṣullāh, who continued the dynamic approach and was known to have studied biblical Hebrew. Walī Allāh is regarded as the father of Islamic revivalism in India, and many contemporary Sunnī schools, despite their considerable differences, proudly claim to continue his intellectual lineage.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Anfās al-ʿārifīn*, Delhi, 1897

Shāh Walī Allāh, *'Al-juz' al-laṭīf fī tarjumat al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf*. The Persian autobiography of Shāh Walīullāh bin ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Dihlavi', trans. M.H. Husain, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 14 (1912) 161-75

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Anfās al-ʿārifīn*, trans. M.F. Qādri, Lahore, 1974 (Urdu trans.)

Secondary

M.K. Hermansen (trans.), *The conclusive argument from God. Shāh Wali Allāh of Delhi's* Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha, Leiden, 1995 (see pp. 479-82 for a thorough bibliography)

J.M.S. Baljon, *Religion and thought of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī*, Leiden, 1986

S.A.A. Rizvi, *Shah Wali-Allah and his times*, Canberra, 1980

G.H. Jalbani, *Life of Shah Waliyullah*, Lahore, 1978

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha, 'The conclusive argument from God'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Shāh Walī Allāh's *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha* is a two-volume work explaining the deeper levels of meanings of the Hadith reports about Muḥammad, 'integrating mystical, intellectual, and traditional textual approaches to their interpretation' (Hermansen, *Conclusive argument*, p. xv). His approach to the religious sciences has been aptly described as back to the Qur'an and forward with *ijtihād*, often at the expense of reliance upon the Hadith. This marked a shift in the study of religion in general, and in the approach to textual sources in particular. Walī Allāh worked from the premise that reason (*ʿaql*) and Prophetic revelation (*naql*) are reconcilable. In his conception, the twin foundations of Muslim

authority, the Qur'an and Hadith, were to be rigorously examined in isolation from subservience to any of the four established legal schools or the established practices or views through community consensus (*ijmāʿ*). His rationale for this rupture with tradition was derived from a spiritual episode whereby inspiration (*ilhām*) and understanding over the span of revelation (*ayāt-i hazīma*) were conferred upon him, along with divine grace to correct centuries of misguided consensus (Hariri, *Tārīkh-i tafsīr*, p. 166). Towards this end, Walī Allāh combined elements from across the religious sciences, many of which were previously assumed to be in conflict. Resources from both Sunnī and Shīʿī thinkers, from jurists and mystics, and from philosophers and theologians were drawn on to consolidate a new and synthetic approach to scriptural interpretation.

The purpose of this book does not directly concern the Bible or the status of Christians. However, Walī Allāh references several examples pertaining to Christians that are noteworthy. In Chapter 37, 'The unity of God' (*tawḥīd*), he presents a set of four categories to describe degrees of divine unicity. The belief and scriptures of the Christians – unlike those of the star-worshipers and polytheists – do not disagree with these degrees, but some later generations of Christians have transgressed these bounds and required the corrections revealed in the Qur'an. They did not understand the original and correct reasons for calling the Messiah 'Son of God', for example, and erroneously believed that 'sonship' was literally true and that the Messiah was God, that is the 'necessary being' (*wājib al-wujūd*) in every respect (Hermansen, *Conclusive argument*, p. 177).

Another important observation is found in Chapter 38, 'Concerning the true nature of association (*shirk*)'. Here again he presents descriptive categories, and within these he references the manner in which Christians have exalted the Messiah (Hermansen, *Conclusive argument*, p. 182). This is the belief that God has bestowed upon someone the right to act independently and has entrusted them with 'managing the kingdom' in all but the most ultimate concerns. In this manner, Christians, Jews, polytheists and certain Muslims have exaggerated the position given to the 'tangible' (*maẓinna*) in place of the 'principle' and this constitutes infidelity (*kufr*). Examples given include prostration to idols and offering sacrifices to them, but also making oaths in their names. The over-emphasis upon the mandate of a person, or an object or place associated with that entity, constitutes associationism because it is a distortion of the unicity of divine nature, which is the central message of Prophetic revelation.

He also discusses certain Jewish and Christian tendencies as part of a larger discussion on the role of culture and religious fidelity. He observes that persons can retain an emotional attachment to elements of their respective culture and pre-existing belief system. Even after adopting Islam, there can be sensitivity to particular beliefs or principles that becomes interpolated in the practice of religion. This has led to the permitting and forbidding of that which is not specified in the Qur'an or Sunna. For example, there are Hadith reports that recount the displeasure of the Prophet, and later of the Caliph ʿUmar, at the reading of the Torah. According to Walī Allāh, the issue was not the reading of this Scripture but rather the associated emotional attachment and adherence to that which was before. This was preference (*istiḥsān*), rather than divine command (Hermansen, *Conclusive argument*, p. 352). This erroneous practice was also seen in the way that Jews quarrelled over the smallest of details, splitting hairs over rules, and in the way Christian monks required ascetic practices such as vigils, isolation, celibacy and other forms of self-denial (Hermansen, *Conclusive argument*, p. 349).

In this work, Walī Allāh sets forth the theological paradigm reflected in *Al-fawz al-kabīr*, in which he clarifies and demonstrates direct consultation of the Bible as a source of religious knowledge and qur'anic interpretation.

SIGNIFICANCE

The writings of Shāh Walī Allāh serve as a touchstone for early modern Islamic thought in India, and his perspective on the Bible is important for judging discourse among Sunnī scholars in the sub-continent. Jewish and Christian communities had contracted during the reign of Aurangzeb, but they were not altogether absent. On Walī Allāh's departure from Surat towards the Hijaz in 1731, for example, he would probably have walked past the synagogue and the new cemetery recently established by Joseph Semah for the Baghdadi Jews. The Mughal throne was in a period of turmoil and decline, and Walī Allāh was keen to curtail internecine conflict and unite the diverse Muslim constituencies.

Unlike Muslims of later generations, he did not face the duress of Christian rule and this is reflected in his dispassionate approach to their scriptures. This major work demonstrates a concern to locate these communities of faith within a larger salvific narrative that accounts for the history of divine revelation and the history of human response. Christian belief is not singled out, but rather considered alongside examples from other religious communities mentioned in the Qur'an. Walī Allāh

is concerned with elucidating a rationalist philosophical approach to discussing the divine nature that is broad enough to encompass all of creation. One result of this is that he tends to express more liberal conclusions than some others in his milieu, and who preserve his legacy.

PUBLICATIONS

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, Bulaq, Cairo, 1867, 2 vols; another edition in 1877

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, Bareilly, 1869 or 1870

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, Cairo, 1904

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Burhān-i ilāhī. Urdū tarjumah-yi Ḥujjat Allāh al-bālighah*, trans. M.I. Godharvī, Lahore, 195- (Urdu trans.)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, Cairo, 1952

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, Delhi, 1953

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, Karachi, 196- (with parallel Urdu trans. by A.M.A.H. Haqqānī, *Ni'mat Allāh al-sābigha*)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, Beirut, 1970

Shāh Walī Allāh, *The conclusive argument from God. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi's* Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha, trans. M.K. Hermansen, Leiden, 1996; Islamabad, 2003; New Delhi, 2005 (English trans.)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, trans. M.Y. Ḥusayn'pūr, Turbat-i jām, Iran, 2002 (Persian trans.)

STUDIES

I.A. al-Ansari, *The renewal of Islamic legal theory. Models of contemporary ijtihad*, London, 2005

Ḥarīrī, *Tārīkh-i tafsīr va mufassirīn*

M. al-Ghazali, *The socio-political thought of Shah Walli Allah*, Islamabad, 2001

Baljon, *Religion and thought of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī*

S. Iqbal, *Islamic rationalism in the subcontinent, with special reference to Shah Waliullah, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and Allama Muhammad Iqbal*, Lahore, 1984

U. Sindhī, *Urdū sharḥ Ḥujjatullāh al-bālighah*, Lahore, 1980

Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr, 'The great success in principles of interpretation'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Shāh Walī Allāh's *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr* is a treatise of about 100 pages on the subject of the principles of qur'anic commentary. He did not compose any work specifically about Christians, but he addressed the religions of the Jews and Christians and the condition of the Bible within this major work concerning exegetical principles (*uṣūl al-tafsīr*). In his paradigm, religious guidance is primarily derived from four sources (*maṣādir*), namely the Qur'an, Hadith, *ijtihād*, and the scriptures of the Jews and Christians (Hariri, *Tārīkh-i tafsīr*, pp. 40-63, 162). Walī Allāh addresses the status of the Bible within a larger discussion on the topics of abrogation (*naskh*) and corruption (*taḥrīf*). He addresses the issue of the abrogation of the Christian salvific covenant within a broader discussion on this concept within Islam. He posits that *sharīʿa* has an inherent flexibility that allows for universally true principles to be applied in multiple historical contexts, and upholds the view that one divinely revealed *sharīʿa* abrogates previous ones. Walī Allāh likens continuing adherence to a pre-Muḥammadan *sharīʿa* to the administration of a child's medicine to an adult, or to giving yesterday's medicine for today's ailment. As to corruption, he unambiguously rejects the view that the text of the Bible had been corrupted (*taḥrīf lafẓī*). He does not detail the reasons for this assessment, although he takes the view that Jews and Christians have been complicit in erroneous interpretation of biblical revelation and this has resulted in a corruption of meaning (*taḥrīf maʿnawī*).

It is important to note that Walī Allāh does not set out to address Christians directly on this issue, but rather he states this assessment while addressing the broader issues of corruption among different Muslim groupings. There had been earlier accusations of textual corruption against the Qur'an in the Indian context, and he resolutely denies this claim, listing here forms of the corruption of meaning that he intends to rectify.

Of the eight forms presented, some are specifically levelled towards a particular community while others are not. The first two, indifference (*tahāwun*) and excess of scrupulousness (*taʿammuq*) are examples of the latter. But the next three address Jewish and Christian practices caused by over-zealous aggravation (*tashaddud*), such as celibacy and other forms of monastic self-denial; the desire to soften difficult commands for the sake of convenience, such as stoning for adulterers; and the adoption of rulings derived by consensus (*ijmāʿ*) through faulty consultation, the reason why Jews rejected both Jesus and Muḥammad. The three final forms specifically address Muslims. In short, Walī Allāh considers Jewish

and Christian beliefs and experiences jointly with those of Muslims, reflecting the view that these were earlier expressions of the prophetically revealed religion of Islam.

Walī Allāh's positive assessment of the scriptures of the Jews and Christians may have been conditioned by his understanding of the unique mode of revelation (*waḥy*) in Christ, which he regarded as having occurred without the mediation of Gabriel. This is seen in the manner in which Jesus spoke. He declared revelation in the first person and spoke words that would otherwise be reserved for God alone. Walī Allāh presents two possible explanations for this exceptionality. The first is that Christ spoke as an ambassador (*safīr*), someone who makes personal assurances that in actuality represent the will of a king. In this light, Jesus implicitly affirmed the authority of God in all he said. The second explanation is that the revelation granted to Jesus was different from that given to other prophets in that he was not merely receiving occasional instalments, but rather that every word he spoke during his entire life was direct revelation from God.

While the nuanced complexity of Walī Allāh's understanding of scripture cannot be adequately presented here, it is important to recall that this work includes an extensive section on textual critical issues in the Qur'an that recognises minor and yet tolerable inconsistencies (*Al-fawz al-kabīr*, ed. Chaudhary, p. 85). One result of this positive estimation of the biblical scriptures is that this work presents serious reflection upon certain elements of Christian faith that are often unaddressed. For example, he presents the title 'Son of God' as a valid metaphor, observing that this is applied to the people of Israel and Ezra, as well as to Jesus. He takes issue not with the term, but rather with the Christian appropriation for Jesus as 'the only son'. This detracts from the role of Muḥammad and restricts the universal accessibility of God's salvific mercy.

Walī Allāh also presents a lucid description of the doctrine of the Trinity. His account demonstrates a generous degree of reflection and a tone that is not polemical in character, and, while he does not accept the validity of the doctrine, his effort to comprehend and consider the formulation is noteworthy. Although Walī Allāh does not present a rationale for his view of the crucifixion, he simply states that differences between Jews, Christians and Muslims on this matter are a matter of uncertainty (*shubha*) because Jesus was ultimately raised to heaven. The text indicates a dispassionate and scholarly interest in subjects pertaining to the Bible in general, and to further exploring these divisive issues as well.

SIGNIFICANCE

The absence of specific details in Shāh Walī Allāh's writings makes it difficult to assess the amount of direct contact he had with the text of the Bible, though it is clear that his study was undertaken in conjunction with a broader examination of the foundational sources of the religious sciences. He did not single out Christians, but rather considered them as one of the many groupings within Islam who were culpable for their various sectarian excesses, which splintered the community and detracted from the simple message of divine unicity. In summary, Walī Allāh takes a positive view of the Bible, but a critical view of Christian interpretation. Nonetheless, his position on *taḥrīf* and *al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* created a precedent in India for a conciliatory engagement with the Hebrew Bible and Christian New Testament.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Delhi Persian 15, 96 fols (1768)

MS London, BL – Delhi Persian 21, 74 fols (early 19th century)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Takmilat al-Fawz al-kabīr, al-musammā Fatḥ al-khabīr*, Cairo, 1878

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, trans. R.A. Anṣāri, Aligarh, 1914; repr. New Delhi, 1955, 1963 (Urdu trans.)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, Lahore, 1951

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, trans. M.S. ʿAbdallāh, Karachi, 1960 (Urdu trans.)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, Deoband, 1974

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr. The principles of Quran commentary*, trans. G.N. Jalbani, Islamabad, 1985; repr. New Delhi, 1997, 1999, 2004; Kuala Lumpur, 2013 (English trans.)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, Cairo, 1986

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, ed. S.A. Nadwī, Beirut, 1987, repr. 2005

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, trans., M.R. Chaudhary, Lahore, 2004 (Urdu trans.)

Shāh Walī Allāh, *Al -fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr. The great victory on qur'ānic hermeneutics*, trans. T.M. Kiānī, London, 2014 (English trans.)

STUDIES

G.A. Ḥarīrī, *Tārīkh-i tafsīr va mufassirīn. Tārīkh-i tafsīr, iqsām-i tafsīr, ahamm kutub-i tafsīr*, Faisalabad, 2004

M.Y.M. Ṣiddīqī, 'Shāh Walī Allāh Delhvī aur Sir Sayyid ek taqabali mutāliya', in M.Y.M. Ṣiddīqī (ed.), *Sir Sayyid kī tafsīr al-Qur'ān aur mābād tafsīr par uskī asrāt*, Aligarh, 2001

J.M.S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran interpretation (1880-1960)*, Leiden, 1968

Charles M. Ramsey

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī

Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Lāhījī; ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī

DATE OF BIRTH 1692
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH 1766
PLACE OF DEATH Benares (Varanasi)

BIOGRAPHY

Muḥammad ʿAlī Lāhījī, better known by his pen name Ḥazīn ('sorrowful'), was a prominent Persian poet, historian, theologian and philosopher who, following the fall of the Safavids in 1722, continued his career in the Indian subcontinent. His father, Abū Ṭālib Lāhījī, was a philosopher who moved from his hometown Lahijan to Isfahan in order to study, where Ḥazīn was born and raised. He also spent some time in his youth in and around Shiraz. He named 16 teachers with whom he studied, the most influential among them being his father.

Being interested in interreligious discourse, Ḥazīn studied the New Testament and to some extent Christian theology with Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz J̌ułayecʻi (d. 1715), an Armenian theologian from New Julfa, and the Old Testament with a Jewish scholar of Isfahan named Shuʿayb (Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *Life of Shaykh Muhammad Ali Hazin*, pp. 51-9). He was also interested in Zoroastrian thought, and in Bayza (Bayḍā), to the north of Shiraz, he studied under a Zoroastrian scholar (Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *Life of Shaykh Muhammad Ali Hazin*, p. 83).

In 1722 or 1723, when the Afghans were besieging Isfahan, Ḥazīn left the city in disguise and spent the next 11 years of his life wandering through Iran. Although he continued to be intellectually productive in these years, he was also politically active in support of the Safavid Ṭahmāsp II (d. 1740) in his resistance to Ottoman invasions, and later against Nādir Shah (r. 1736-47).

In 1734, he sailed to India and spent two years in Multan before going on to Lahore with the intention of returning to Iran. But he changed his plans and around 1739 moved to Delhi, where he came under the patronage of Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719-48). Following the death of this patron, he first travelled to Azimabad, and then in 1749 or 1750 he moved

to Benares (Varanasi), where he remained for the rest of his life. He died in 1766.

Ḥazīn composed over 50 works on a variety of subjects (see the list in the introduction by Maʿṣūma Sālikto to his *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn*, pp. 69-76). Among his contemporaries he was mostly known for his Persian poetry, which received much attention in India; his collection of poems was published several times in India, Pakistan and Iran. In modern scholarship, his best-known work is his autobiography, *Tadhkirat al-aḥwāl*, also known as *Tārīkh-i aḥwāl*, which has been widely used as a historical source for the siege and fall of Isfahan and subsequent events. He also wrote *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn*, a biographical dictionary of a hundred contemporary poets (completed in 1751), and works on topics including philosophy and rational theology.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *The life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, ed. and trans. by F.C. Belfour, London, 1830 (in English)

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *The life of Shaykh Muhammad Ali Hazin*, ed. and trans. F.C. Belfour, London 1831 (in Arabic)

Muḥammad ʻAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *Dīwān-i Ḥazīn-i Lāhījī*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣāḥibkār, Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1995

Muḥammad ʻAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn*, ed. Maʿṣūma Sālik, Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1996

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *Rasā'il-i Ḥazīn-i Lāhījī*, ed. ʿAlī Awjabī et al., Tehran, 1998, pp. 107-23

Secondary

ʻAbbās Hāshimzāda Muḥammadiyya, 'Ḥazīn-i Lāhījī dar Hind', *Tārīkh-i Īrān* 60 (2009) 45-121

Maʿṣūma Sālik, art. 'Ḥazīn Lāhījī', in *Dānishnāma-yi Jahān-i Islām*, Tehran: Bunyād-i Dā'irat al-Maʿārif-i Islāmī, 2009, vol. 13, pp. 195-8

J.R. Perry, art. 'Ḥazin Lāhiji', in *EIr*

Muḥammad Riḍā Shafīʿī Kadkanī, *Shāʿirī dar hujūm-i muntaqidīn. Naqd-i adabī dar sabk-i Hindī*, Tehran, 1996

Sarfaraz Khan Khatak, *Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn. His life, times and works*, Lahore, 1944

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla dar bashārātī bar ẓuhūr-i ḥaḍrat-i khatam al-anbiyāʾ az kutub-i āsmānī, 'Treatise on the allusions to the appearance of the Seal of the Prophets in the heavenly books'

DATE Before 1766, and probably after 1739
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Based on what Ḥazīn says in the introduction to this treatise, it can be inferred that he wrote it in the latter part of his life when he was in India. This would be after 1739, and before his death in 1766. The treatise has been published from a single manuscript, described by the editors as MS Khatak 163, though they do not give any further details. It seems that it belonged to the private collection of Sarfaraz Khan Khatak.

In the introduction, Ḥazīn states that in his youth he had the opportunity to learn about other religions, particularly Judaism and Christianity. He specifies that he studied the Torah, the Gospels, the Psalms, Isaiah and other books, based on their original texts as well as reliable translations. He was also able to join in discussions with learned, intelligent, and knowledgeable scholars from these religions (*ʿulamā-yi aḥbār u adhkiyāʾ-i aʿlam-i īshān*) in a respectful atmosphere where they did not need to hide their beliefs. This opportunity was a rare experience that not many people shared.

Ḥazīn argues that in the holy books there are some hidden and some apparent allusions to Muḥammad, although the scholars of these religions claim that such allusions do not appear in their books and consider one of the previous prophets as the Seal of the Prophets. They either intentionally conceal these allusions or are simply unaware of them, and without thinking follow the religions of their ancestors. It is also possible, he argues, that there are other reasons that prevent them from following the truth. At the request of an unnamed friend, he presents some references that he thinks are undeniable (Ḥazīn Lāhījī, 'Risāla dar bashārātī', pp. 107-8).

Following the introduction, the work contains a statement (*ʿunwān*), three suggestions (*ishāra*), and an epilogue (*khitām*). In the statement, Ḥazīn refers to the qur'anic verses that say Muḥammad is mentioned in previous holy books (pp. 108-10), then the first pointer is about allusions

to Muḥammad in the Torah (pp. 110-15), the second about those in the Gospels (pp. 115-17), and the third about those in the Psalms, Isaiah and other books (pp. 117-19). In the epilogue, he speaks about the distortion of the Torah, for which he blames Ezra, arguing that there are passages in it that cannot be attributed to anyone who possesses some learning, let alone God. He goes on to say that the Gospels are likewise subject to distortions; although they do not include such disgraceful things as the Torah, the most significant distortions in the Bible are to be found in the attributions of things to Jesus that are not rationally permissible for prophets (pp. 120-3).

In general, Ḥazīn is much more engaged with the Old Testament than with the New. On one occasion at the beginning of the treatise (p. 108), he alludes to *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* ('Silencing the Jews'), a work by Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 1175), which must have been one of his sources.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work does not seem to be a response to any particular Jewish or Christian scholar. It represents the position of a late Safavid scholar on Christian-Muslim discourse.

PUBLICATIONS

MS private collection of Sarfaraz Khan Khatak – Khatak 163 (date and location uncertain)

Muḥmammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, 'Risāla dar bashārātī bar ẓuhūr-i ḥaḍrat-i khatam al-anbiyāʾ az kutub-i āsmānī', ed. ʿAlī Awjabī et al., *Rasāʾil-i Ḥazīn-i Lāhījī*, Tehran, 1998, 107-23

Reza Pourjavady

Alexander Dow

DATE OF BIRTH 1735
PLACE OF BIRTH Perthshire, Scotland
DATE OF DEATH 31 July 1779
PLACE OF DEATH Bhagalpur, India

BIOGRAPHY

Alexander Dow was born in Perthshire, Scotland, in 1735. Not much is known about his early life aside from a possible mercantile apprenticeship at Eyemouth. After leaving his home country in 1757, Dow became secretary to the governor of Bencoolen in Sumatra. In 1760, he enlisted as a cadet and then an ensign in the British East India Company's Bengal Infantry. He was promoted to captain in 1764, and during this time he learned Persian. In 1766, he protested against Robert Clive's measure to abolish the double field allowance with the officers' association. His involvement in this protest may have been the reason for his taking leave to England in 1768.

While in London that year, Dow published an English summary (as a translation) of Muḥammad Qāsim Astarābādī Firishta's Persian *Gulshān-i Ibrāhīmī/Tārīkh*, called *The history of Hindostan.* In the same year he also published *Tales translated from the Persian of Inatulla of Delhi*. The two-volume *History of Hindostan* included 'A dissertation concerning the religion and philosophy of the Brahmins' and 'An appendix containing the history of the Mogul Empire', both written by Dow.

In 1769, on his return to India, the East India Company promoted Dow to lieutenant colonel. His first play, *Zingis: A tragedy*, was produced in England by David Garrick at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1769. In 1772, he published the second edition, in three volumes, of *The history of Hindostan* with two additional essays: 'A dissertation concerning the customs, manners, language, religion, and philosophy of Hindoos' and 'A dissertation concerning the origin and nature of despotism in Hindostan'. He returned to England in the 1770s and published his second play, *Sethona: A tragedy*, which was produced again by Garrick and played at Drury Lane in 1774. In 1775, Dow was appointed commissary-general by the company back in India, and then was briefly promoted to commander of the fort at Chunar. In 1778, after being stationed at

Barrackpore, he went to Chandernagore at the behest of Warren Hastings. Dow soon left Calcutta and travelled north to gain relief from a disease of the liver. He died on 31 July 1779 in Bhagalpur.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

K.S., 'Dow's history of Hindostan, concluded', *Monthly Review, or, Literary Journal, 1752-1825* 40 (1769) 501-10

D.E. Baker, *Biographia dramatica*, London, 1782

J. Mill, *The history of British India*, London, 1826 (vols 1 and 2 discuss Dow)

V.C.P. Hodson, *List of the officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834*, London, 1927

E. Denison-Ross and E. Power (eds), *John Macdonald. Memoirs of an eighteenth-century footman, travels (1745-1779)*, London, 1927 (includes an account of Dow from his footman)

Secondary

M. Ahmed Asif, *A book of conquest. The* Chachnama *and Muslim origins in South Asia*, Cambridge MA, 2016

U. App, *The birth of Orientalism*, Philadelphia PA, 2010

W.G.J. Kuiters, art. 'Dow, Alexander (1735/6-1779), army officer in the East India Company and author', in *ODNB*

R. Ballaster, *Fabulous orients. Fictions of the East in England 1662-1785*, Oxford, 2005

M.J. Franklin, 'Introduction', in *The history of Hindostan, translated from the Persian Volumes I and II by Alexander Dow*, London, 2000

R. Guha, *A rule of property for Bengal. An essay on the idea of permanent settlement*, New Delhi, 1981

J.S. Grewal, 'British historical writing from Alexander Dow to Mountstuart Elphinstone on Muslim India', *Historical Research: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 36 (1963) 217-18

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The history of Hindostan from the death of Akbar to the complete settlement of the Empire under Aurungzebe

DATE 1768-72

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Published as a translation of Muḥammad Qāsim Astarābādī Firishta's *Gulshān-i Ibrāhīmī/Tārīkh*, Alexander Dow's *The history of Hindostan* summarises and rearranges selections of the original Persian text. The second edition of his *The history of Hindostan* was published in 1772 in three volumes, totalling 588 pages, under the title *The history of Hindostan from the death of Akbar to the complete settlement of the Empire under Aurungzebe: to which are prefixed, I. A dissertation on the origin and nature of despotism in Hindostan. II. An enquiry into the state of Bengal, with a plan for restoring that kingdom to its former prosperity and splendor*. This edition included two new additions to the original 1768 version: 'A dissertation concerning the customs, manners, language, religion, and philosophy of Hindoos' and 'A dissertation on the origin and nature of despotism in Hindostan'. References here are to this 1722 edition. For the purpose of Dow's relevance to works on Christian-Muslim relations, the discussion here will focus briefly on his 20-page dissertation on despotism that prefixes the main body of the work.

In this dissertation, Dow makes numerous assertions about the nature of Islam as a religion of conquest and foreignness to India. His main claim is that 'the faith of Mahommed is peculiarly calculated for despotism' (p. lxxi). Dow frequently employs the terminology of fear, slavery and rigid doctrine when describing Muslim polities in India, and makes generalising claims about the nature of the religion and its laws. He links religious belief with despotism at a state and familial level. He says that 'the unlimited power which Mahommedanism gives to every man in his own family, habituates mankind to slavery', and thus, in families, 'this private species of despotism is, in miniature, the counterpart of what prevails in the state; and it has the same effect in reducing all passions under the dominion of fear' (pp. lxxi-ii). Throughout this dissertation, Dow emphasises that Muslim 'religious tenets, which are so favourable to despotism, are accompanied with singular opinions and customs, which are absolute enemies to freedom and independence' (p. lxxiv). To make these claims, he cites beliefs and practices that he says are either encouraged or prohibited by the Qur'an. For instance, he criticises the negative effects of frequent bathing, prohibition of wine, polygamy, compensation for murder, and absolute predestination, which he asserts are all part of the law of the Qur'an (pp. lxxii-lxxiii).

He also points to the climate and environment of India as particularly well-suited to despotism, specifically the hot temperatures and fertile

soil which carry 'pleasure to an excess' and attract conquest (p. lxxvi). These qualities, he argues, sowed the seeds of despotism, which were then 'reared to perfect growth by the Mahommedan faith' (p. lxxvi). This dissertation thus provides a framework for linking Islam with despotism that represents Muslim beliefs as rigid, limiting and homogeneous. Dow discusses how the 'law of Mahommed' has 'fatal effects' on Muslims in a manner he says undermines liberty, natural rights and human affection (p. lxxiv). His assertions are not wholly condemnatory, however, and he offers praise for Mughal emperors such as Akbar (r. 1556-1605), who he says 'regarded neither the religious opinions nor the countries of men: all who entered his dominions were his subjects, and they had a right to his justice' (p. lxxix).

After a description of the close connections between Islam and despotism, Dow contrasts these Muslim religious beliefs and practices with those of Hinduism in India. He discusses how, despite the greater number of Hindus in India, they are easily conquered and governed (p. lxxxv). He further contrasts the 'arbitrary' rule of Muslim leaders with that of native princes. He links the former with 'devastations' and the latter with lands that are 'rich, and cultivated to the highest degree' (p. lxxxvi).

SIGNIFICANCE

The history of Hindostan was widely circulated and read immediately after its initial publication. It was translated into French in 1769 and German in 1773. Dow is cited by Voltaire, whose 'propaganda, as well as the reaction it created among Christians ... was instrumental in promoting interest in India and its ancient texts' (App, *Birth of Orientalism*, p. 76). His narrative of Muslim conquest and the dissertation that relates Islam to despotism is referenced in the historian James Mill's hegemonic 1817 *History of British India*.

As Manan Ahmed Asif points out, Dow's narrative of 'Islam's despotism over the Hindus became a theoretical framework for how the Indian past was written in the nineteenth century' (*A book of conquest*, p. 158). By packaging the 'Dissertation on the origin and nature of despotism in India' as part of his version of Firishta's text, Dow made claims about Islam and Muslims in India that he explicitly linked to a particularly restrictive narrative of an Indian and Muslim history. This way of writing history directly shaped East India Company policy as well as European perceptions of Muslims in India as a foreign and conquering 'other', and of Islam as a religion that was rigid in its doctrine.

PUBLICATIONS

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan from the earliest account of time to the death of Akbar, translated from the Persian of Mahummud Casim Ferishta of Delhi together with a dissertation concerning the religion and philosophy of the Brahmins, with an appendix containing the history of the Mogul Empire, from its decline in the reign of Mahummud Shaw, to the present times*, London: T. Becket and P.A. de Hondt, 1768 (first edition, two vols); ESTC T091573 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Alexander Dow, *Dissertation sur les moeurs, les usages, le langage, la religion et la philosophie des Hindous, suivie d'une exposition générale et succincte du gouvernement et de l'état actuel de l'Hindoustan*, trans. M.B., Paris, 1769 (French trans.)

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan: Translated from the Persian*, London, 1770[2], ESTC T091572 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan from the death of Akbar to the complete settlement of the Empire under Aurungzebe: to which are prefixed, I. A dissertation on the origin and nature of despotism in Hindostan. II. An enquiry into the state of Bengal, with a plan for restoring that kingdom to its former prosperity and splendor*, London, 1772 (third vol.); ESTC T091569 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Alexander Dow, *Die Geschichte von Hindostan aus dem Persischen von Alexander Dow, Esq.*, Leipzig, 1773 (three vols); A.or. 3537-1 -2 -3 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan, translated from the Persian, The third edition, in three volumes*, Dublin, 1792[3]; ESTC N009057 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan, translated from the Persian, The third edition, in three volumes*, London, 1792[3]; ESTC T121823 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan, translated from the Persian*, London, 1803

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan; translated from the Persian, to which are prefixed two dissertations, the first concerning the Hindoos, and the second on the origin and nature of despotism in India*, London, 1812 (three vols)

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan, translated from the Persian by Alexander Dow*, New Delhi, 1973

Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan*, New Delhi, 1985
Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan, translated from the Persian*, London, 2000 (with Introduction by M.J. Franklin)
Alexander Dow, *The history of Hindostan*, ed. B.S. Dahiya, Stonepat, Haryana (rendered into modern English by the editor)

STUDIES

Ahmed Asif, *Book of conquest*
App, *Birth of Orientalism*
Ballaster, *Fabulous orients*
Franklin, 'Introduction', in *The history of Hindostan*
Grewal, 'British historical writing'

Joslyn De Vinney

Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn

Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn bin Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn, Itesamuddin

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1730
PLACE OF BIRTH Panchnoor, India
DATE OF DEATH Around 1800
PLACE OF DEATH Panchnoor, India

BIOGRAPHY

Mirzā Shaikh Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn bin Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn was born in Panchnoor, a small township in West Bengal. Trained in Persianate diplomatic protocol, he joined the regional court of Bengal under Mīr Jaʿfar ʿAlī Khān and Mīr Qāsim ʿAlī Khān. He claimed to have written the text of the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765 and, after the British occupation of the province, he served the East India Company as soldier, clerk, paymaster, revenue collector and diplomat. His career reflects the disorienting period of transition from the Mughal Empire and its successor states to English rule (Khan, *Indian Muslim perceptions*, pp. 73-4).

Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn visited Britain as a *munshi* (a scribe and interpreter) in 1766-8, as part of the imperial delegation led by Archibald Swinton (1731-1804), who was entrusted with a letter to King George III (r. 1760-1820) from the Mughal Emperor Shah ʿAlām II (r. 1759-1806). Through the machinations of Robert Clive, the letter was never delivered, upon which Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn spent a month in the French towns of Nantes and Calais (which enabled him to compare France and Britain, and the differences between Catholics and Anglicans), three months each in London and Oxford, and six months in Edinburgh. At Oxford, he was introduced to the great Sanskrit scholar William Jones and assisted him in the preparation of his *Grammar of the Persian language* (*Shigarf-nāma*, fols 85-6). In all, Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn spent about 14 months in Europe.

He recorded his experiences in a travelogue-cum-memoir entitled *Shigarf-nāma i-wilāyat*, which he completed in 1785. This was nearly two decades after his return to Bengal, but his detailed narrative suggests that he must have kept notes of his journey and stay in Britain. He also left a Persian *Nasb-nāma*, or genealogical compilation of his family history.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – 1854, caps. Or. A.8; I'tiṣām al-Dīn, *Shigarf-nāma-i-wilāyat*

Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Siyār-al muta'akhkhirīn*, Lucknow, 1866

I'tiṣām al-Dīn, *Nasb-nāma*, trans. Qazi Mohammad Sadrul Ola, *History of the family of Mirza Itesamuddin of Qusba, Panchnoor, the first educated Indian and Bengali Muslim to visit England in 1765 A.D.*, Calcutta, privately printed, 1944; repr. Dhaka, 1984

Secondary

G. Khan, 'Indo-Persian scholarship and the formation of Orientalism', *Historicus. Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 61/4 (October-December 2013) 7-53 (also *Journal of the Institute of Islamic Studies* (AMU, Aligarh) 41 (2012-13) 61-118

N. Schürer, 'Sustaining identities in I'tesamuddin's *The wonders of Vilayet*', *The Eighteenth Century* 52 (2011) 137-55

M.H. Fisher, *Counterflows to colonialism. Indian travellers and settlers in Britain 1600-1857*, Delhi, 2004, pp. 87-92, 104, 189

Shams Zaman, *Mirza Shaikh Itesamuddin and his travelogue* Shigurf-Nāma i Velayet *(Wonders of Britain 1765-1769 AD)*, London, 2003

L. Harris, 'A. Swinton, A new source for albums of Indian miniatures in William Beckford's collection', *The Burlington Magazine* 143/1179 (June 2001) 360-6

G. Khan, *Indian Muslim perceptions of the West during the eighteenth century*, Karachi, 1998

M.H. Fisher, *The first Indian author in English. Dean Mahomed (1759-1851) in India, Ireland, and England*, Delhi, 1996

R. Visram, *Ayahs, lascars, and princes. Indians in Britain, 1700-1947*, London, 1984

N. Chatterji, *Verelst's rule in India*, Allahabad, 1939

A.S.M. Taifoor, 'Sheikh Itesamuddin of Nadia, the first Indian to visit London. Account of his travels in England and Scotland', *Bengal Past and Present* 49 (1935) 117-29

A.F.M. Abdul Kadir, 'Early Muslim visitors of Europe from India', in *Proceedings and transactions of the sixth all-India Oriental conference, Patna, December, 1930*, Patna, 1933, 83-96

A.C. Swinton and J.L. Campbell Swinton, *Concerning Swinton family records and portraits at Kimmerghame*, Edinburgh, 1908 (privately printed; quoted in 'The editor's note-book, the first Bengali in Europe', *Bengal Past and Present, Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society* 45 (1933) 135-43)

C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian biography*, London, 1906, pp. 217-18

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Shigarf-nāma i wilāyat, 'Wonder-book of the realm'

DATE 1785
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION
Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn's *Shigarf-nāma i wilāyat* is an account of his journey to Britain and France, when he travelled as part of the mission led by Archibald Swinton from the Emperor Shah ʿAlām II to King George III. It is divided into sections of varying length, covering miscellaneous themes. What he says in it about Christian religious beliefs and practices was derived from personal observations and discussions during his stay, and also from his own reading in the Bible. He possessed a Persian translation of the Gospels, which he copied in Britain, and also a copy of *Mir'āt al-quds*, the Persian life of Jesus made by the Jesuit Jerome Xavier and the Mughal court historian ʿAbd al-Sattār bin Qāsim Lāhōrī, under the patronage of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605). He made use of both, without mentioning that the former was Protestant and the latter Catholic, or making use of the terms 'Catholic', 'Protestant' or 'Anglican'. What he says about Christianity forms an integral part of his perception of the life and political system of Britain as he saw it, though several sections of the *Shigarf-nāma* are devoted particularly to descriptions of Christianity and its relationship with Islam.

Iʿtiṣām observes that Christians live mainly in Europe, although some are found in Syria and Turkey. In general, they ridicule the Jews and hold them in utter contempt because they crucified Jesus. However, the British are tolerant towards Jews, because the religion of the British is based on the principles of perfect reconciliation (*ṣulḥ-i kull*) – he makes much of this distinction between British and continental Christians. Jews are seen in London, where they engage in trades like selling clothes and fruit.

In a section entitled 'An account of the religion and faith of Christians according to the New Testament', Iʿtiṣām writes that in their eating habits the majority of Christians do not distinguish between what is forbidden (*ḥarām*) and permitted (*ḥalāl*), or between cleanliness (*pākī*) and impurity (*nāpakī*), deriving this from misinterpretations of the Gospels. A few individuals, however, never touch wine or pork and adhere strictly to the precepts of the Old Testament.

In a section entitled 'Religious trends in Britain', Iʿtiṣām notes that some British favour reason over the traditions of wise men and prophets.

Some, like the rationalists (*Muʿtazila*) and eternalists (*dahriyya*), do not believe in the afterlife; they do not even believe in the prophethood of Jesus, and deny the divine character of the Gospels. Others even deny God as creator, but instead believe that the universe and living beings came into existence spontaneously.

One chapter discusses the coming of Muḥammad being foretold in the New Testament, and the nature of divine books. Iʿtiṣām gives the standard Muslim explanation that the original Gospel (*aṣl Kitāb-i-injīl*) has been lost, though he does not use the term *taḥrīf*. He acknowledges that the tradition about the coming of Muḥammad is not referred to directly but only in metaphorical terms, quoting in full the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16), and identifying the last group of labourers as the Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn was one of the first Indo-Islamic writers to write a book-length account of his experiences in Britain, and possibly the only South Asian Muslim before Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in the 19th century to write of inter-religious encounters from a Muslim perspective. He was the first to discern the growing British interest in the Persian language, and to note that the concept of an Indian Empire had entered British thought. He evidently felt respect for the British, and he absorbed some of his host, Archibald Swinton's, bias against Catholics, the French, Spanish and Portuguese.

Maybe the item of greatest significance from a religious point of view is that he did not flinch in his adherence to Islam despite all his exposure to Christianity in Britain, and in his defence of Islam he used a host of traditional arguments, as well as a few new ones, which he apparently took from Christian scripture himself.

PUBLICATIONS

For details of MS copies of *Shigarf-nāma i wilāyat*, see C.A. Storey, *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, London, 1953, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 1142-4

J. Alexander and M. Shamsher Khan, *Shigurf namah i Velaët, or Excellent intelligence concerning Europe; being the travels of Mirza Itesa Modeen, in Great Britain and France. Translated from the original Persian manuscripts into Hīndoostanee, with an English version and notes*, London, 1827 (abridged Urdu and English trans.); U104675124 (digitised version available through *The making of the modern world*)

A.B.M. Habibullah, *Bilayet-nāma*, Dhaka, 1981 (Bengali trans.)

Amir Hasan Noorani, *Shigarf-nāma-i-wilāyat* (*Hindustan ke bare mein pahla Hindustani safar-nāma 1767-69*), Patna, 1995 (Urdu trans.)

Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn, *The wonders of Vilāyet, being the memoirs, originally in Persian, of a visit to France and Britain*, trans. K. Haq, Leeds, 2002 (partial English trans.)

M. Hasan (ed.), *Exploring the West. Three travel narratives: Munshi Itesamuddin, Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, Lutfullah Khan*, Oxford, 2011, pp. 1-115 (repr. of Alexander and Khan, 1827)

STUDIES

G. Khan, 'Late 16th and early 17th-century contestations of Catholic Christianity at the Mughal court', in C.M. Bauman and R. Fox Young (eds), *Constructing Indian Christianities. Conversion, culture and caste*, New Delhi, 2014, 61-85

Khan, *Indian Muslim perceptions*

Gulfishan Khan

Murtaḍā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī

Allāhyār bin Allāhyār Uthmānī Bilgramī

DATE OF BIRTH 1719
PLACE OF BIRTH Peshawar, India
DATE OF DEATH 1795
PLACE OF DEATH Bilgram, India

BIOGRAPHY

Murtaḍā Ḥusain was descended from the ʿUthmānī Shaykhzādas of Bilgram, who traced their origins from the Caliph ʿUthmān and claimed to have settled in Bilgrām in the 11th century. Murtaḍā worked for over 50 years in the service of the Mughal rulers, from the time of Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719-48) to Shāh ʿĀlam II (r. 1759-1806). Later he served the Nawāb-Wazīrs of Awadh, the Bangash of Farrukhābād and Mīr Qāsim (d. 1777), the Nawāb-Nāzim of Bengal. Following Mīr Qāsim's disastrous defeat and the disbandment of his army, Murtaḍā returned to his hometown of Bilgram, where he cultivated a quiet life of reading and writing. After almost a decade there, he came into contact in 1776 with Jonathan Scott (1754-1829), who was Persian secretary to Warren Hastings. Murtaḍā Ḥusain served him as a scribe, interpreter and translator of official correspondence. His interaction with Scott was brief but fruitful (Khan, *Indian Muslim perceptions*, pp. 78-84).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians. The Muḥammadan period*, London, 1877, vol. 8, pp. 180-3

D.N. Marshall, *Mughals in India. A bibliographical survey of manuscripts*, New York, 1985, pp. 357-8

Secondary

G. Khan, *Indian Muslim perceptions of the West during the eighteenth century*, Karachi, 1998

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm, 'Garden of the zones'

DATE 1781, 1787
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm, a topographical-cum-biographical memoir, is deeply influenced by the Ptolemaic geographical concept of the seven zones of the earth. It was completed in 1781, with an epilogue added in 1787. In the seventh zone, Murtaḍā Ḥusain gives a comprehensive account of Europe and the New World, including a detailed report on the position of the pope in pre-Reformation Europe, and an account of the Reformation with special reference to Britain. The narrative was derived from a Persian treatise by Jonathan Scott, who in turn was commissioned to write it by Āṣaf al-Dawla (d. 1797), the Nawāb-Wazīr of Awadh. It was presented by Scott to Murtaḍā Ḥusain as a token of friendship between a European (*Farangī*) and a Muslim (*Musalmān*). Scott's treatise is incorporated at the end of the extensive seventh zone (*Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm*, pp. 503-35).

The text of the seventh zone is found on pp. 489-535 of the printed edition (see also Bodleian MS, fols 480-501). The work is based on wide reading, particularly medieval universal histories, and also on *Mir'āt al-quds*, the Persian translation of the life of Jesus (*Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm*, pp. 182-4; MS Oxford, fols 272-4).

In the account of Jerusalem, Ḥusain gives a succinct biography of Jesus, mainly according to Qur'an teachings, though he also relies upon Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī's *Haft iqlīm*, Ṣādiq Iṣfahānī's (1609-51) *Ṣubḥ ṣādiq*, and also *Mir'āt al-quds*. He notes that, according to *Mir'āt al-quds*, Jesus was God and also human, though he recounts this without any polemical comments. The question of the end of Jesus's life is given cautious treatment. On the one hand, according to Scott, the Jews, who were avowed enemies of Jesus, killed and buried him, but he rose from his grave and preached for 40 days to his disciples in Galilee. On the other hand, according to Muslim belief, he was not crucified, but instead God raised him to heaven and only a likeness was taken by the Jews. Jesus will reappear and kill the *Dajjāl*, and will follow the precepts of Islam: he will wage war for the propagation of the faith for 40 years, marry and have sons, and finally migrate to Medina, perform the annual pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), and be buried beside the Prophet Muḥammad.

After the death of the Apostles, the Christians followed the teachings of Christ for 80 years. Then a Jew called Yūnus (this could be misreading for Bawlus, Paul) misled the Christians and caused them to divide into Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites. The Jacobites believed that the Word became blood and flesh; the Melkites thought that Jesus had a double nature, part divine (*lāhūt*) and part human (*nāsūt*), and Jesus the divine became manifest in human form; the Nestorians thought God dwelt in the human Jesus from his conception. They also began to believe in the Trinity (*thālith thalātha*) (*Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm*, p. 184).

On the basis of the *Rawḍat ūlī albāb fī tawārīkh al-akābir wa-l-ansāb* by the Persian poet and historian Fakhr al-Dīn Banākatī (d. 1330), Murtaḍā Ḥusain notes that the successors of Jesus are called Apostles and they also enjoy the title pope (*pāpā*). Peter, called *ḥawārī*, the most prominent apostle and successor of Jesus, preached in Antioch for seven years and performed miracles, and he met martyrdom at the hands of the Romans. The pope crowned the Roman emperors, and claimed temporal as well as spiritual power in his capacity as successor of Jesus. He issued letters of investiture to the Christian kings of Europe, like the caliphs of Baghdad who also granted similar letters to Muslim rulers and kings. With firm belief in the remission of sins and punishment through the intercession of the pope, kings assigned the pope parts of their lands, so that his territorial possessions grew large. This was the situation when King Henry VIII of England revolted against the pope, followed later by other European monarchs. Henry declared himself to be the supreme authority in spiritual as well as temporal matters. Images of Jesus, Mary and the saints were then removed from the churches (*girjā*), because their veneration was regarded as no less than idolatry. Much church property was confiscated and divided into three equal portions: one-third for the king, another for the army and state officials, and another for the church. The king commanded his new clergy to translate the Gospels into English so that there would be no need for the pope or priests to interpret the scriptures (MS Oxford, fol. 484).

Murtaḍā next describes the assembling of the cardinals, of whom there are 72, in conclave to elect a new pope, and the strict seclusion to which they submit. They cast secret ballots, and the one who is elected is carried with great pomp to the papal throne. Popes and cardinals are as a rule all celibate (MS Oxford, fols 483-4; *Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm*, pp. 508-11).

SIGNIFICANCE

Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm is the first Muslim universal history to describe Europe and its faith from an Islamic standpoint. It contains the earliest South Asian account of the papacy and the Reformation and its social impact.

PUBLICATIONS

For details of manuscripts of the work, see C.A. Storey, *Persian literature. A bio-bibliographical survey*, London, 1953, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 142-3

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – 422, Elliot 157 (Murtaḍā Ḥusain, *Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm*; the contents of the manuscript are described in H. Ethe, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Part 1. *The Persian manuscripts*, Oxford, 1889, pp. 413-15)

Murtaḍā Ḥusain, *Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm*, Lucknow, 1879, 1881

STUDIES

Khan, *Indian Muslim perceptions of the West*, pp. 142-76

Gulfishan Khan

Charles Hamilton

DATE OF BIRTH 1752 or 1753
PLACE OF BIRTH Belfast
DATE OF DEATH 1792
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Charles Hamilton was born in Belfast in 1752 or 1753. His father died of typhus fever in 1759, and his mother died in 1767. After completing his academic education in Belfast, he spent two years in Dublin before deciding on a military career. He left for India early in 1772 and secured a cadetship with the East India Company. He fought in the Battle of St George's Day in the First Rohilla War (1774) as one of the cadets in the Select Picket. He was promoted to ensign in 1776 and to lieutenant in 1778.

Along with his military career, Hamilton became involved in scholarly pursuits shortly after his arrival in India. He applied himself to learning the local languages, particularly Persian, which was the common language of government at the time. The military recognised his proficiency in Persian and called on him to assist in translation and correspondence in political matters. His scholarship intersected with his military career in another way when he decided to translate into English a Persian manuscript of the history of the Rohillas, whom the British had defeated in 1774. By 1777, Hamilton had completed the translation, but the work was not published until ten years later, after he had returned to Britain. In it, he prefaced his history of the Rohillas with a short summary of the Muslim conquest of India. He reveals his attitude towards Muḥammad by describing him as 'the impostor of Mecca', a characterisation that would later be repeated in his translation of the *Hedàya* (Hamilton, *An historical relation*, p. 4; Hamilton, *The Hedàya*, p. x).

In Calcutta, he associated with other Orientalists such as William Jones and Francis Gladwin, and became one of the founding members of the Asiatick Society in 1784. All three men were involved in the translation of works of Muslim law into English, along with other scholarly endeavours. While his contributions to the journal *Asiatick Researches* were not as numerous or frequent as those of Jones, his translation of

the four-volume *Hedàya* earned him a reputation as a leading Orientalist. When the decision was made by the East India Company's government that this particular work of Muslim law was to be translated into English, the task had been given initially to James Anderson, another company employee, with Hamilton joining him shortly after its commencement. When Anderson's other duties made it impossible for him to continue, Hamilton took sole charge of the project and completed the translation.

In 1786, Hamilton was granted a five-year leave of absence to return to Britain to complete and publish his translation of the *Hedàya*. He divided his time between Dublin and London while he pursued his labour of writing and publishing. He was subsequently joined in London by his two sisters, Katherine and Elizabeth, the latter of whom gained renown as a writer in the early 19th century. Elizabeth was encouraged in her writing by her brother, and would later include a version of him in her fictional work, *Translation of the letters of a Hindoo Rajah*.

Before he left India, Hamilton had been warned by William Jones not to expect the sales of his book on Muslim law to become a lucrative source of income. Indeed, it was not financial gain but political advancement that was one of the chief goals of his scholarship. Upon the publication of the *Hedàya*, Hamilton was appointed to be the British Resident in the court of the Nawab of Awadh in the city of Lucknow. He was preparing to return to India to take up this post, when his health seriously declined, leading to his death on 14 March 1792, at the age of 39. He was buried in London, and his sisters erected a monument in his memory in a church in Belfast.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Charles Hamilton, *An historical relation of the origin, progress, and final dissolution of the government of the Rohilla Afgans in the northern provinces of Hindostan*, London, 1787

Charles Hamilton, *The Hedàya, or guide. A commentary on the Mussulman laws, translated by order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal*, London, 1791, vol. 1

Elizabeth Hamilton, *Translation of the letters of a Hindoo Rajah, written previous to, and during the period of his residence in England, to which is prefixed, a preliminary dissertation on the history, religion, and manners of the Hindoos*, London, 1796, vol. 1

E. Benger (ed.), *Memoirs of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton with a selection from her correspondence and other unpublished writings*, London, 1818, vol. 1

E. Dodwell and J.S. Miles (eds), *Alphabetical list of the officers of the Bengal Army; with the dates of their respective promotion, retirement, resignation, or death, whether in India or in Europe, from the year 1760, to the year 1834 inclusive, corrected to September 30, 1837*, London, 1838, p. 126

Secondary

C. Grogan, *Politics and genre in the works of Elizabeth Hamilton, 1756-1816*, Farnham, 2012

G. Goodwin, art. 'Hamilton, Charles', in *ODNB*

V.C.P. Hodson, *List of the officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834. Alphabetically arranged and annotated with biographical and genealogical notices*, London, 1928, pt. 2, p. 368

C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian biography*, London, 1906, p. 187

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Hedàya

DATE 1791

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The *Hedàya* (in full *The Hedàya, or guide. A commentary on the Mussulman laws, translated by order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal*) is an English translation of the *Hidāya*, a commentary on Ḥanafī jurisprudence written by the 12th-century jurist ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī. The work consists of four large volumes containing 53 'books', addressing most of the topics covered in standard books of Muslim law. Topics covered follow their arrangement in the original text, and include marriage, divorce, slavery, *ḥudūd* punishments, theft, warfare, endowments, laws of evidence, laws of sale and other financial transactions, murder, fines and wills, in 2,469 pages of text. A lengthy section describing the appointment and duties of a *qāẓī* or judge is part of the second volume. The first volume includes an additional 86-page 'preliminary discourse' by Hamilton explaining the historical context of the work. The final volume ends with 50 pages of indices enabling the reader to locate subjects by their English or Arabic terms. In his introduction, Hamilton states that the topics of purification, prayer, fasting and pilgrimage that relate to worship and would normally be included in standard works of Muslim law were deliberately omitted because they would not be dealt with in courts of law (vol. 1, p. lii). Only the 'book' of *zakāt* or alms was retained because it concerned matters of property.

The purpose of the translation was to provide British judges sitting in Indian courts with an authoritative text in order to assist them in adjudicating matters of Muslim law. Warren Hastings, initially governor of Bengal and then governor-general of all the territory under the East India Company, had decreed that British rule would administer Hindu law for the Hindus and Muslim law for the Muslims in their territories. Hamilton elaborates this principle in his introduction, arguing that a key factor in the permanence of foreign dominion is to preserve the 'ancient established practices' of those governed because of the ancient and presumed divine character of those laws (p. iv). The difficulty encountered with this commitment, however, was that British judges were not educated in Muslim law, and were thus compelled to rely on the advice of Muslim law officers to interpret the law for them. This was considered somewhat unsatisfactory, because the law officers were seen as unreliable and open to corruption; a translated text would provide increased certainty and enable British judges to determine the law for themselves.

In the process of procuring an English version of an authoritative work on Muslim law, the existing system of Muslim jurisprudence had been examined and considered to be too voluminous and imprecise to be employed in the British courts. Even the relatively recent compilation under the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb, the *Fatāwá-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, was considered unworkable. The Muslim *ʿulamā'* recommended that the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī be selected for the purpose, and that it should first be translated from Arabic into Persian, enabling the *ʿulamā'* to clarify technical terms and ambiguities in the text.

In addition to translating the work from Persian to English, Hamilton wrote a lengthy preliminary discourse as a significant survey of the key sources of Muslim beliefs and practices and a summary of Muslim history. He discusses the compilation of the Qur'an, the collection of Hadith, the rule of the early caliphs, and the development of the four schools of Sunnī law, primarily by giving extensive biographical information on those involved in the historical development of these institutions. A considerable portion of this introduction is spent explaining the historical roots of the division between the Sunnī and Shīʿa sects of Islam, and the resulting differences in their traditions of jurisprudence. In introducing the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī, Hamilton traces the history of Ḥanafī jurisprudence from Abū Ḥanīfa through his two disciples and the most important texts considered authoritative by muftis in India. He goes on to describe the dynamics and technical details of the translation process, and concludes with a brief summary of the contents of the four volumes.

While the omission of the subjects related to Muslim worship indicates that the *Hedàya* was not intended as a full explanation of Muslim beliefs and practices, but as a utilitarian text for courts of law, Hamilton nevertheless provided a concise summary of these topics in his preliminary discourse. His description of the detailed instructions for prayer is accompanied by the observation that Muslim teachers insist not only on mere form but also on the alignment of the heart and understanding. However, Hamilton is more dismissive of the practice of the *ḥajj*, stating that Muḥammad in his 'pretended mission' was quick to convert 'the superstitions of others to his own ends' by reinstating the Kaʿba as the centre of Muslim devotion, though he then proceeds to give a lengthy account of its history according to Muslim sources (p. lvi). His summary of the contents of the four volumes is largely descriptive, with only the occasional judgemental comment included, such as that aspects of slavery 'are directly repugnant to common feeling and to the natural rights of Man' (p. lxvii). He does, however, acknowledge that Muslim law in many instances provides slaves with protection against injustices.

Hamilton's unique contribution was his 86-page preliminary discourse in which he provides the first systematic account of the development of Muslim law in the English language. He analyses briefly the Qur'an and the Sunna as sources of law, which for the most part follows the account given in Muslim histories, though he rejects the divine origin of these sources. His focus on the sectarian division between the Sunnīs and the Shīʿīs reflects the contemporary situation in India, and he gives details about the impact of these divisions on the political situation in the cities of Hyderabad and Lucknow. His perception of Islamic law is somewhat ambivalent, seeing it not only as rigidly fixed in principle because it is blended with the religion of Islam, but also as flexible in its application by Muslim jurists who need to apply those principles to 'the infinite variety of human affairs' (p. xxxi). Missionaries and other European authors writing on Islam in India in subsequent decades emphasised more the fixed nature of Islamic law and its inability to adapt to the modern world, and tended to ignore its inherent flexibility as a functioning system of law through many centuries and contexts.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the *Hedàya* was determined by the context of the expanding rule of the British East India Company. It was the first translation of a work of Muslim law into English, but it was not meant primarily as a text for Orientalist scholars or for theologians, but as a working

manual for judges in Indian courts required to adjudicate Muslim law. Aside from the translation of a work on inheritance by William Jones and a very brief summary of Muslim law by Francis Gladwin, as well as several translations on laws of inheritance, sale, and land tax by Neil B.E. Baillie in the middle of the 19th century, the *Hedàya* remained the only relatively complete text of Ḥanafī law in the English language until well into the 20th century. When the Inns of Court in England began to expand their course offerings on Muslim law, one of the instructors, Standish Grove Grady, published a new edition of Hamilton's translation of the *Hedàya* for his students. Subsequent legislation and adjudication considerably altered the body of Muslim law administered by the courts, and texts of 'Anglo-Muḥammadan law' compiled in India throughout the 19th century incorporated these changes. But the *Hedàya* continued to be an authoritative guide for jurists and others seeking to understand the beliefs and practices of Muslims. Eventually, it was also translated into Russian and adapted for use by the Russian government in its administration of Turkestan (Morrison, 'Creating a colonial *Shari'a*', pp. 137-41). Even its initial translation into Persian was a significant contribution to Indian Muslim jurisprudence because the translation was accompanied with important explanatory interpolations by qualified muftis, and was subsequently published in its Persian version.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Eur D34 (1784-6; only one volume)

Charles Hamilton, *The Hedàya, or guide. A commentary on the Mussulman laws, translated by order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal*, 4 vols, London, 1791; ESTC T086981 (digitised copy available through *ECCO*)

S.G. Grady (ed.), *The Hedaya or guide. A commentary on the Mussulman laws*, London, 1870; H217 (digitised version available through Archive.org)

Charles Hamilton and S.G. Grady, *The Hedaya; or guide, A commentary on the Mussulman laws*, Lahore, 1963

Charles Hamilton, *The Hedaya; or guide*, New Delhi, 1979 (reprint second edition; several reprints, most recently 2008)

Charles Hamilton, *Khidoia: kommentarii musul'manskogo prava*, trans. A.Kh. Saidov, Tashkent, 1994 (Russian trans.)

Charles Hamilton, *Ḣidoia*, trans. Saloḣiddin Muḣiddin et al., Tashkent, 2000 (Uzbek trans.)

STUDIES

A. Morrison, 'Creating a colonial *Shari'a* for Russian Turkestan. Count Pahlen, the *Hidaya* and Anglo-Muhammadan law', in V. Barth and R. Cvetkovski (eds), *Imperial cooperation and transfer, 1870-1930*, London, 2015, 127-49

J. Strawson, 'Translating the *Hedaya*. Colonial foundations of Islamic law', in S. Dorsett and J. McLaren (eds), *Legal histories of the British Empire. Laws engagements and legacies*, Abingdon, 2014, 157-70

J. Strawson, 'Revisiting Islamic law. Marginal notes from colonial history', *Griffith Law Review* 12 (2003) 362-83

S.A. Kugle, 'Framed, blamed and renamed. The recasting of Islamic jurisprudence in colonial South Asia', *Modern Asian Studies* 35 (2001) 257-313

J. Strawson, 'Islamic law and English texts', in E. Darian-Smith and P. Fitzpatrick (eds), *Laws of the postcolonial*, Ann Arbor MI, 1999, 109-26

B. Wheeler, 'Orientalist "translation" and anthropological "reading". Charles Hamilton versus Claude Lévi-Strauss', *Critique. Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 3 (1994) 9-30

G.C. Kozlowski, *Muslim endowments and society in British India*, Cambridge, 1985

Alan Guenther

William Jones

DATE OF BIRTH 28 September 1746
PLACE OF BIRTH London
DATE OF DEATH 27 April 1794
PLACE OF DEATH Calcutta

BIOGRAPHY

William Jones was born on 28 September 1746 in London, the son of William Jones (1675-1749), a Welsh mathematician. He entered Harrow School in September 1753 and graduated from University College, Oxford, in 1768. Over the following six years, Jones tutored the seven-year-old Lord Althorp, son of Earl Spencer, while also translating into French a Persian biography of Nādir Shah (d. 1747), entitled *Histoire de Nader Chah* (1770). On 19 September 1770, he entered the Middle Temple to study for the bar.

As the author of a Persian grammar (1771), which was designed for training the East India Company's writers and soldiers in the language of Mughal governance, Jones offered an introduction to his love of mystical Persian poetry and effectively inaugurated Romantic Orientalism (Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, p. 71). On 20 March 1783, he was knighted and appointed a puisne judge to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Calcutta and, in April that year, he married Anna Maria Shipley, daughter of Dr Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St Asaph.

Arriving in Calcutta in 1783, Jones became entranced by local cultures and, in distinct opposition to the Eurocentrism of many, he encouraged an Indocentric approach to governance. On 15 January 1784, he founded the Asiatic Society, and offered his research in the form of a *nazr*, an 'Islamic offering to God' with a classical Persian ode by Hāfiz, symbolising the Islamic-Sufi concept of 'universal peace' (Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, p. 211). The *nazr* also contained a political dimension: the regime's use of Islamic-Sufi mysticism for fostering the pluralism essential for the peaceful and effective government of Hindus and Muslims.

Jones produced many writings in India, launching the modern study of the subcontinent in virtually every social science. Fascinated by the similarities as well as the differences between Orient and Occident, he wrote on comparative literature, philology, mythology and law in order

to break down prejudice and reshape Western perceptions of the Orient. On 19 March 1788, in a letter to Marquess Cornwallis, the first governor-general of India, Jones stated: '... a digest, of Hindu and Mohammedan laws would be a work of national honour and utility, I so cherish both, that I offer the nation my humble labour...' (Cannon, *The letters*, vol. 2, p. 799). Thus, he worked tirelessly with a team of legal scholars to produce an exhaustive digest of Hindu and Muslim law. Jones's commitment to introducing the religions and cultures of the region profoundly influenced European and British Romanticism.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

William Jones, *A grammar of the Persian language*, London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771

Muhammad ibn Ali, *The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates, in Arabick, engraved on copperplates from an ancient manuscript, with a verbal translation and explanatory notes by W. Jones. Arab. & Engl*, trans. W. Jones, London, 1782

William Jones, *Mystical poetry of Persians and Hindus ... Gitagovinda or the Songs of Jayadeva*, Calcutta, 1792

William Jones, *Institutes of Hindu law, or, The ordinances of Manu, according to the gloss of Cullúca: comprising the Indian system of duties, religious and civil : verbally translated from the original Sanscrit: with a preface, by Sir William Jones*, Calcutta: East India Company Press, 1796

William Jones, *The works of Sir William Jones*, ed. Lord Teignmouth, 6 vols, London, 1799

William Jones, *The works of Sir William Jones. With the life of the author by Lord Teignmouth, in thirteen volumes*, Oxford, 1807

William Jones, 'Al-Sirajiyyah: or the Mohamedan law of inheritance; with a commentary', in *The works of Sir William Jones. With the life of the author by Lord Teignmouth, in thirteen volumes*, 1807, vol. 8, pp. 197-322

William Jones, *The letters of Sir William Jones*, ed. G. Cannon, Oxford, 1970

Secondary

M.J. Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'. Sir William Jones, poet, lawyer, and linguist, 1746-1794*, New York, 2011

M.J. Franklin, art. 'Jones, Sir William (1746-1794)', in *ODNB*

D. Alun, 'Sir William Jones, biblical Orientalism and Indian scholarship', *Modern Asian Studies* 30 (1996) 173-84

M.J. Franklin, *Sir William Jones. Selected poetical and prose works*, Cardiff, 1995

G. Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800. A description and checklist of printing in late 18th-century Calcutta*, London, 1981

G. Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Dr. Johnson's literary club', *Modern Philology* 63 (1965) 20-37

E. Moor, *The Hindu pantheon*, London, 1810

J. Baillie, *A digest of Mohummudan law, according to the tenets of the twelve Imams, compiled, under the superintendence of the late Sir William Jones. Extended, so as to comprize the whole of the Imameea code of jurisprudence, in temporal matters, and translated, from the original Arabic*, Calcutta: East India Company Press, 1805

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Pococke 33, fols 3v-9r

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates

DATE 1782

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Jones translated *The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates* (1782) in order to enable the judges of the Supreme Court, as well as the provincial courts, to exercise their authority fairly in legal disputes between Indian Muslims. The aim of the translation, as Jones explains in the preface, was for judges to have sufficient knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence and languages to keep 'a check over the native counsellors, of understanding and examining their opinion, and of rejecting or adopting it' (Jones, 'Mahomedan law of succession', in *The works*, vol. 8, p. 162; the references that follow are to this edition). In order to obtain such knowledge, Jones considered a variety of sources of Islamic law that discussed succession and inheritance. After careful examination of the texts as well as observations of Indian Muslim culture, Jones chose the thirty-third manuscript collected by Edward Pococke (1604-91), MS Pococke 33, fols 3v-9r. This contained the text of *Bughyat al-bāḥith ʿan jumal al-mawārīth* by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Raḥbī ibn al-Mutafannina (1104-82). The Arabic text is 11 pages in verse, and lays out the Islamic laws of succession and inheritance.

Jones presents the English transliteration of the Arabic verses over 12 pages, followed by the Arabic text itself. This is followed by the English translation in verse over a further 12 pages, containing not only a rhymed translation of the Arabic, but also some explanatory footnotes. The footnotes generally clarify the legal or religious terminology used in the verse

and, in some instances, illustrate Islamic cultural concepts. For example, when Ibn al-Mutafannina states 'Remember, then; "For Everyone, who remembers, *is* an IMAM"' (p. 187), Jones comments in a footnote: 'A saying, I believe, of Mahomed; he meaned *a rememberer of his oral precepts*. Hence the name of *Hafidh*, or *Hafez*, was assumed by many illustrious persons, and, among them, by the celebrated poet' (p. 187).

SIGNIFICANCE

Jones envisioned a pluralistic and syncretic subcontinent, and the existence of a syncretic justice system was crucial for making his vision reality. Due to his experience with legal cases, he placed a pronounced emphasis on contracts, debts, disputed accounts and inheritance. In 1781, when Edmund Burke (1729-97) asked for his assistance in preparing a bill to protect the natives of the subcontinent against the East India Company, Jones presented a copy of *The Mahomedan law* (Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Dr. Johnson's literary club', p. 33). Before its composition, the judges of the Supreme Courts of Judicature were unacquainted with Islamic laws of succession and inheritance, so they usually relied in such cases upon legalists (*qāḍīs*), which not only was precarious and inconvenient, but also could lead to bias. In addition, in the 1800s, many intellectuals believed Asiatic despotism was synonymous with the denial of the existence of private property; *The Mahomedan Law* marked a major advancement in eradicating this misconception, as well as prejudiced representations of the Orient and its religions (Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, p. 186). The work represented one of the first steps in achieving the syncretic justice system that Jones envisioned for India. He later continued to work on improving pluralism and syncreticism in the subcontinent by composing *Al-Sirajiyyah: or the Mohamedan law of inheritance; with a commentary* in 1792, and *Institutes of Hindu law, or, The ordinances of Manu* in 1796.

William Jones acquired a vast knowledge of the customs and beliefs of Muslims. This is evident from the beginning of the text, where he offers his rationale for selecting the work by Ibn al-Mutafannina, a book that 'may be cited, as a book of authority, in all the Musleman courts' (p. 164).

Much like many other Oriental scientific or philosophical works, the original text is composed in verse; however, to modern Western readers 'a *lawtract* in verse conveys, indeed, rather a ludicrous idea, since poetry belongs to imagination, which law, whose province is pure reason, wholly excludes' (p. 164). Jones was aware that many eastern or Muslim scholars used verse to convey knowledge and science: '*verse* as

numberless instances prove, is not always poetry; and a regular measure is so considerable an aid to the memory' (p. 164). He further emphasises the significance of the form in Muslim culture by reiterating that the Qur'an also uses it; as he states, 'the Alcoran itself, the great source of Mahomedan law, is composed in sentences not only modulated with art, but often exactly rhymed' (p. 164), and in the preface he urges British lawyers and judges dealing with Islamic laws of inheritance to read the fourth chapter of the Qur'an should they need any further clarification on the matter (p. 165).

A further important aspect of the work demonstrates its practical significance in addition to Jones's profound understanding of Islamic law and Muslim interaction: as well as the translation, Jones added a transliteration along with the original text. While Muslims speak many different languages, including Arabic, Hindi, Persian and Turkish, when it comes to matters dealing with Islam and its laws, reliance upon Arabic is instrumental. Even today, in court sessions in non-Arabic speaking countries, quoting directly from the Qur'an or any other legal text written in Arabic is not only customary, but viewed favourably. So Jones included a transliteration of the text in his work, to ensure that, should a judge or lawyer wish to quote the Arabic verse directly in order to disarm one of the other parties, they would have easy access to it.

PUBLICATIONS

Muhammad ibn Ali, *The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates, in Arabick, engraved on copperplates from an ancient manuscript, with a verbal translation and explanatory notes by W. Jones. Arab. & Engl*, trans. W. Jones, London, 1782; ESTC T057055 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Muḥammad ibn Ali and William Jones, 'The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates: In Arabick, engraved on copper plates from an ancient manuscript, with a verbal translation and explanatory notes', in *The works of Sir William Jones: with the life of the author by Lord Teignmouth*, London, 1807, vol. 8, pp. 161-99; F100605093 (digitised version available through *The making of modern law*)

W. Jones, *Studies of social laws*, Delhi: Pravesh Publications, 1985

Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Rahbī [Ibn al-Mutafannina], *The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates, in Arabick, engraved on copper plates from an ancient manuscript, with a verbal translation and explanatory notes, by William Jones*, Farmington Hills MI, 2005

STUDIES

The Mahomedan Law is relatively under-researched compared with Jones's other works. The following studies mention it:

Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*

M. Sharafi, 'The semi-autonomous judge in colonial India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46 (2009) 57-81

C. Rautenbach, 'Indian succession laws with special reference to the position of females. A model for South Africa?', *Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 41 (2008) 105-35

C. Rautenbach, 'Phenomenon of personal laws in India. Some lessons for South Africa', *Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 39 (2006) 241-64

Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Dr. Johnson's literary club'

Al-Sirajiyyah: or the Mohamedan law of inheritance; with a commentary

DATE 1792

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Al-Sirajiyyah is a translation of *Al-Farāyez al-sorājīyeh*, a book of commentary on Islamic law by Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Sajāwandī (1130-1204), an Iranian scholar of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence. Jones's text is significant because it marks the decision of the British to rule the Muslim and Hindu peoples by their own laws. The book can be regarded as one of the very first texts of Islamic law which contains the original Arabic text, a translation of it, and an explanatory commentary.

Jones chose this text specifically because it was from the Ḥanafī school, which has more followers than the other schools of Islamic law and is known for its emphasis on rationalism and for decisions being made through the method of consensus. Given that Muslims in India follow different creeds, the book provided a comprehensive digest of the Islamic laws for British lawyers and judges in India.

All editions of Jones's translation of the book cover the canonical 106 pages of *Al-Farāyez*, plus a 13-page preface and 58 pages of commentary by ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Jurjānī (1340-1413). In the preface, after introducing the author, Jones says that the text has 'equal

authority in all the Mohammedan courts … [as] those of Littleton and Coke in the courts of Westminister' (Jones, 'Al-Sirajiyyah', in *The works*, vol. 8, p. 199; all the references that follow are to this edition), and also introduces the sources of Islamic law: first the Qur'an, second the traditions of Muḥammad, and third the consensus of lawyers and scholars on the matter. Islamic laws are still derived from these same sources. The preface ends with the reason for undertaking the translation:

> … we must realize our hope, not by wringing for the present the largest possible revenue from our Asiatick subjects, but by taking no more of their wealth than the publick exigencies, and their own security, may actually require; … [The British in India should] be so moderate, that they [the Indians] cannot have a colourable pretence to rack their tenants, and when they shall have a well-grounded confidence, … our nation will have the glory of conferring happiness on considerably more than twenty-four millions (which is at least the present number) of their native inhabitants, whose cheerful industry will enrich their benefactors, and whose firm attachment will secure the permanence of our dominion' (pp. 209-10).

Jones's book contains the 29 chapters of *Al-Farāyez* along with the accompanying commentary by Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Jurjānī, an Iranian traditionalist and theologian. This insertion assisted readers in implementing the laws by presenting a variety of practical scenarios that lawyers or judges might encounter.

Jones's *Al-Sirajiyyah* was part of a bigger project he had in mind: after 1782, when he composed *The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates*, he wanted to produce a digest of Islamic law. After Jones's death, John Shore (1751-1834), the first Baron Teignmouth, asked Colonel John Baillie (1772-1833) to complete the project. Baillie produced *A digest of Mohummudan law, according to the tenets of the Twelve Imams, compiled, under the superintendence of the late Sir William Jones* … (1805), but he did not finish it and only one volume was published.

SIGNIFICANCE

Early colonial policies, laws and legislations had a specific political economy by which the ruling British would profit through the taxes they collected; Jones found this system 'unjust, unfounded, and big with ruin' (p. 209). However, Warren Hastings (1732-1818), governor-general of India (1774-85) at the time, intertwined colonialism with Orientalism and believed that the civil law should be based upon the juridical traditions of the natives. Jones and Hastings's shared perception that India should be governed on the basis of native traditions became official

in 1781 with the Act of Settlement, also known as the Declaratory Act. There was particular concern with developing civil protection in British India. The Act stated in Section 17 that all legal cases dealing with inheritance, succession and contracts were to be determined 'in the case of Mohammedans by the laws and usages of Mohammedans and in the case of Gentoos [Hindus] by the laws and usages of Gentoos; and where only one of the parties shall be a Mohammedan or Gentoo by the laws and usages of the defendant' (p. 161). Jones had already published *The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates* in 1782, but at the time to the British the tract seemed like 'pages together like a string of enigmas', so he prepared *Al-Sirajiyyah* as a pragmatic text that supported the Act and made 'every sentence in it perfectly clear' (p. 205). The use of the book in the courts meant that many violent uprisings caused by overt Anglicisation of the natives of the subcontinent were prevented.

Many features of Jones's *Al-Sirajiyyah* make it an outstanding text. First, compared with earlier works, such as Charles Hamilton's *The Hedàya, or guide. A commentary on the Mussulman laws* (1791), it focuses on the Islamic laws of inheritance in detail, which makes it a more practical and pragmatic text. Second, Jones's choice of this book demonstrates his exceptional knowledge of Islamic culture and law, since the original work covers rulings derived from all the various Islamic sects. In the preface, Jones rightly asserts, 'I am fully persuaded, that no Muselman prince, in any age or country, would have harboured a thought of controverting these authorities [of this book]' (p. 207). Third, Jones's *Al-Sirajiyyah* is distinctive for its system of translation. Jones was fluent in Persian and Arabic, and many other languages and dialects. While he viewed the knowledge of languages as a means of learning, he also believed that culture was not translatable. In *Al-Sirajiyyah*, practical utility was his ultimate object and he set out to avoid any ambiguity. As a well-established lawyer, aware of the matters that came up in both European and Indian courts, he presented in the commentary section what lawyers and judges needed to know – detaching what was unnecessary – in dealing with legal cases, particularly with regard to the pressing issues of inheritance.

After the book was translated into English, it was advertised numerous times by many English newspapers in India, including the *Calcutta Gazette*. Each advertisement pointed out that the book was presented 'to the Committee for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, and will be sold for their benefit … The price has been fixed at a low rate for the purpose of

promoting the sale more generally for the benefit of the Institution' (*The Calcutta Gazette*, vol. 18, p. 1). The price was no more than 16 sicca rupees (Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta*, p. 153), perhaps to encourage judges and lawyers to study it; in addition, the sale of the book benefitted the institution promoting harmony and coexistence between Muslims, Christians, and Hindus in India.

PUBLICATIONS

William Jones, *Al Sirájiyyah: or the Mohammedan laws of inheritance (by Shaikk Siráju'ddin) with a commentary*, Calcutta, 1792; SFol. BP152 SAJ (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

William Jones, 'Al-Sirajiyyah: or the Mohamedan law of inheritance; with a commentary', *The works of Sir William Jones: with the life of the author by Lord Teignmouth*, 1807, vol. 8, pp. 197-322; F100605093 (digitised version available through *The making of modern law*)

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah: or the Mohammedan law of inheritance*, Gotha, 1818

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah: or the Mohammedan law of inheritance*, ed. S.C. Sircar and B. Loewy, Calcutta, 1861

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, ed. A. Rumsey, London, 1869

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, ed. A. Rumsey, Calcutta, 1890

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, ed. A. Rumsey, Lahore, 1956

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, ed. A. Rumsey, Lahore, 1959

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, ed. A. Rumsey, Lahore, 1971

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, Calcutta, 1972

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, ed. A. Rumsey, Lahore, 1977

William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahommedan law of inheritance*, ed. A. Rumsey, New Delhi, 1981

William Jones, *Studies of social laws*, Delhi, 1985

STUDIES

Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800*

‘On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus’

DATE 1792
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION
Published in 1792, ‘On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus’ is an essay describing Oriental mystical poetry for Western readers. It emphasises the contemporary relevance of the allegorical tradition within both Muslim and Hindu cultures (Franklin, *‘Orientalist Jones’*, p. 275) as well as the compatibility of their mysticism and religion with each other and with Christianity.

‘On the mystical poetry’ describes Oriental mysticism as ‘A figurative mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their beneficent Creator … their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old Academicks’ (Jones, *The works*, vol. 4, p. 216; references to the text that follow here are all to this edition). In this essay, Jones compares Oriental and Western mysticism by quoting at length from the essay ‘Of the love of God’ by Isaac Barrow, Newton’s teacher and the ‘deepest theologian of his age’, and the writings of M. Necker (pp. 212-19). For Jones, this comparison results in a belief that these mystical perceptions differ only ‘as the flowers and fruit of Europe differ in scent and flavour from those of Asia, or as European differs from Asiatick eloquence; the same strain, in poetical measure, would rise up to the odes of Spenser on Divine Love and Beauty, and, in a higher key with richer embellishments, to the songs of Hafez and Jayadeva, the raptures of the *Masnavi*, and the mysteries of the *Bhagavat*’ (p. 216).

Referring to Sufi poetry as ‘a mystical religious allegory … contain[ing] only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism’, Jones explores the relationship of ‘figurative modes of expressing the fervour of devotion’ (p. 217) within various Oriental cultures. For instance, he reiterates that the Song of Solomon in the Old Testament and Nizami’s (1141-1209) *Layla and Majnun* depict ‘a singular species of poetry’ which implies that the biblical allegory is as mystical as the Sufi one is ‘mysterious’ (Alun, ‘Sir William Jones’, p. 184). For the zealous followers of Hāfiz (1315-90), a glass of Shiraz wine signifies a toast to sublime devotion. To further illustrate the similarities, he produces a literal translation of a poem by Ismat of Bukhara (d. 1436) (pp. 228-30). Echoing ‘Aṭṭār’s

(1145-1220) tale of the 'Shaykh of San'an and the Christian girl', Ismat's poem portrays a Muslim who falls in love with a Christian. In order to be united, the lover relinquishes all religious and social titles, and in the end they are redeemed.

The essay also includes 26 couplets, presenting the very first European translation of the Sufi poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207-73). Prefacing the translation, Jones acknowledged Rūmī's *Masnavi* as an 'astonishing work', stating: 'Such is the strange religion, and stranger language of the Sufis; … they profess eager desire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no material goblet; since all things are spiritual in their sect, all is mystery within mystery' (p. 230).

After a description of Persian Muslims, Jones turns his attention to Indian Muslims. He introduces Prince Dara Shukoh (1615-59) and Mohsin Fani (b. 1615) into the essay, referring readers for 'a detail of their metaphysicks and theology to the Dabistan of Mohsani Fani, and to the pleasing essay, called the *Junction of two Seas*, by that amiable and unfortunate Prince, DÁRÁ SHECÚH' (p. 232). While Dara Shukoh's *Majma-ul-bahrain*, commonly translated as 'The confluence of the two seas', concerns the similarities between Islamic and Hindu mysticism, the *Dabestān-i mazāhib* deals with Islam and many other faiths, including Christianity. The essay concludes with Jones's translation of parts of the *Gita Govinda* (pp. 236-68), intended to reflect the essence of the Vedas, though Jones omitted parts of the main text because they are 'too luxurious and too bold for a European taste' (p. 235).

On one particular occasion, on 8 December 1791, Jones recited *On the mystical poetry* to the Asiatic Society. His aim was to showcase the connection between the Islamic perspective and the Vedanta system, confidently asserting that Oriental mysticism and theology is harmonious with Christian teachings. Although only 18 members were present at the gathering (Franklin, *Sir William Jones*, p. 298), the essay was printed in various volumes of *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia*, as well as in the third volume of *Asiatick Researches: Or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring Into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia …* (1796), circulating around the globe. After Jones's death, *The works of Sir William Jones* (1799) was published and edited by his wife, Anna Maria Jones (1748-1829), and the essay was included in it. *The works*, and subsequently the essay, shed a new light upon Oriental mysticism, religions, and cultures for Western Christians scholars.

SIGNIFICANCE

The essay reflects Jones's efforts to detect a pluralistic syncretic balance between Christian domestic mystical traditions and what is considered foreign and alien to it, namely Islamic and Hindu mysticism. Its most remarkable significance lies in its empathetic presentation of Muslim and Hindu culture, which represents a sophisticated and scholarly attack against facile Eurocentricity. This novel presentation is evident when Jones asks readers to set aside any judgements concerning the ecstatic, wild and voluptuous oriental mode of mystical poetry. Through stating that the Sufi poetics could be misinterpreted because of the indistinguishability of 'the limits between vice and enthusiasm', Jones demonstrates his deep knowledge of the history of Islam: many mystics were prosecuted by orthodox Muslims. Yet, the harmonious Jones, seeking for a pluralistic world, asks that his readers 'beware of censuring it severely, and ... allow it to be natural' (p. 212).

Another significant aspect of Jones's essay is that along with his translation of Rūmī, he lists some of his favourite Sufi poets including, 'Sa'ib, Orfi', Mi'r Khosrau, Ja'mi, Hazi'n, and Sa'bik, who are next in beauty of composition to Hafiz and Sadi', but also 'Mesi´hi, the most elegant of their Turkish imitators' (p. 232), who, although a Sufi himself, had chosen this penname, meaning 'The Christian'. The works of the poets in Jones's list of favourite Sufi poets were widely translated by the British in Calcutta (Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, p. 345).

Scholars such as Edward Moor (1771-1848) admired the essay in the years that followed (Moor, *Hindu pantheon*, p. 134). In 1840, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) borrowed all six volumes of *The works* and used them as a source of inspiration in his writings (Cameron, *Ralph Waldo Emerson's reading*, p. 42). Arguably, through Jones's efforts, including his Persian grammar (1771) and his list of Sufi poets in this essay, alongside the way in which he described the natives of the subcontinent, Romantic Orientalism was born (Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, p. 72). And Jones's *Gitagovinda*, which was attached to the essay, inspired Romantic Orientalists across Britain in the last decade of the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th (Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, p. 284).

PUBLICATIONS

William Jones, *Mystical poetry of Persians and Hindus ... Gitagovinda or the songs of Jayadeva*, Calcutta, 1792

William Jones, 'On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus', *Asiatick Researches: Or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring Into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia ...*, vol. 3, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1796, 353-75

William Jones, 'On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus', in *The works of Sir William Jones*, ed. A.M. Jones-Shipley, London, 1799, vol. 1, 445-62; ESTC T088221 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

William Jones, 'On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus', in *The works of Sir William Jones, with the life of the author by Lord Teignmouth*, ed. A.M. Jones-Shipley, London, 1807, vol. 4, 211-36; F100603817 (digitised version available through *The making of modern law*)

William Jones, 'On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus', in G.A. Lee (ed.), *Orientalia. Pamphlets and magazine excerpts from transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan and the Japan Society*, London, 1909, 165-83

William Jones, 'On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus', in M.J. Franklin (ed.), *The European discovery of India. Key Indological sources of romanticism*, London, 2001, vol. 3, pp. 212-35

STUDIES

Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*

Franklin, *Sir William Jones*

Alun, 'Sir William Jones'

K.W. Cameron, *Ralph Waldo Emerson's reading*, Hartford CT, 1962

Moor, *Hindu pantheon*

Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh

South East Asia

François Valentijn

François Valentyn

DATE OF BIRTH 17 April 1666
PLACE OF BIRTH Dordrecht
DATE OF DEATH 6 August 1727
PLACE OF DEATH s'Gravenhage (The Hague)

BIOGRAPHY

François Valentijn (also Valentyn) was born into a middle-class family in the important Dutch harbour town of Dordrecht. His father was rector at the local grammar school. François studied theology in Leiden and Utrecht, and in May 1685, as a 19-year-old minister, he left for the Dutch East Indies, arriving on 30 December. He was appointed to the eastern island of Ambon in the Moluccas, the most important region for the production of and trade in cloves. Valentijn quickly learnt Malay, the language of communication throughout the archipelago. His first period in Indonesia lasted nine years. He made many difficult trips to the tiny islands in the eastern part of the archipelago, and also stayed about one year in the nutmeg islands of Banda. He returned to live in Dordrecht from 1694 to 1706, not working as a minister but probably already preparing his great written work.

His second period in the Indies was 1706-14. After he arrived in Batavia, he was first sent as an army chaplain to East Java, and later again to Ambon. In this second period, there was much discussion about the translation of the Bible into Malay among the small group of Protestant ministers in the Indies. During his interim period in the Netherlands, Valentijn had already written a pamphlet to promote 'his' translation into simple local Ambonese Malay over that by the Batavia minister Melchior Leijdecker (1645-1701), which was written in the more formal Malay used in the Muslim courts in the western sections of the vast archipelago. Leijdecker's version was eventually chosen to be used by the Protestants of the Indies.

Strong arguments were put forward that the 'Valentijn translation' had in fact been produced by one of his predecessors in Ambon, Simon de Larges, who had died in 1677; his papers had been given to a successor, Jacobus du Bois, who died in 1687, shortly after Valentijn's arrival.

During this second period in Ambon, there were further conflicts, and Valentijn returned to Europe before his ten-year contract was completed.

In the Netherlands, he could not find a new position as a minister in Dordrecht, though, thanks to his marriage to a rich widow in Ambon, he was able to devote his time to writing. Over the next ten years, he managed to finish the 5,100 folio pages of his *magnum opus* and lived to see it printed (including 1,050 illustrations and maps) between 1724 and 1726 in Dordrecht. In early 1726 he, moved to The Hague, where he died the following year.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

H.E. Niemeijer and Th. van den End, *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie 1605-1791*, The Hague, 2015, vol. 1/2

R.R.F. Habiboe, *Tot verheffing van mijn natie. Het leven en werk van François Valentijn (1666-1727)*, Franeker, 2004 (extra volume within the 2004 reprint of the complete *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*)

G. Knaap, 'Lieden van fatsoen onder slaven en danseressen', in H. Poeze (ed.), *Oosterse omzwervingen. Klassieke teksten over Indonesië uit Oost en West,* Leiden, 2000, 123-7

E.M. Beekman, *Troubled pleasures. Dutch colonial literature from the East Indies, 1600-1950*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 130-53

G. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen. De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon, 1656-1696,* Dordrecht, 1987; Leiden, 2004[2]

R. Nieuwenhuys, *Oost-Indische Spiegel*, Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 48-54

J.L. Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers voetspoor. Anderhalve eeuw bijbelvertaling en taalkunde in de indonesische talen*, The Hague, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 14-20

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, 'Old and New East-Indies'

DATE 1724-6

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vervattende een naauwkeurige en uitvoerige verhandelinge van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten* ('Old and New East-Indies, presenting an accurate and extensive treatment of



Illustration 14. Johannes Rach, *Het gezigt van het Casteel te Batavia*, 1767, showing the Dutch castle

the Dutch government in those regions') is the largest work written by an individual European on Asia between 1500 and 1900. It occupies five volumes, though most copies have the last three volumes bound in two books. Reference is difficult because of the repeated numbering from the beginning within the same volume.

Volume 1 gives a general outline of the history of Asian countries from classical literature, and then considers a first region, the northern section of what is known as the spice islands or Moluccas, especially Ternate, Tidor, Bacan and Makian, from the arrival of Islam to the coming of the Portuguese and Dutch traders and rulers. Volumes 2 and 3/1 concern Ambon and the islands close to this important Dutch administrative centre, where Valentijn himself spent most of his 18 years in Indonesia. Volume 3/2 considers other sections of east and north Indonesia, especially Banda, Celebes and Borneo, and countries of mainland South East Asia, including Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand. Volume 4/1 concerns Java, concentrating on Dutch rulers and their settlements, mostly on the north coast. Volume 4/2 has a mixture of contents: continuing the history of Java, then moving to the Indian harbour town of Surat and the connected Mughal Empire, on to China and Taiwan, and concluding with detailed accounts of Valentijn's four trips to Indonesia and back to Holland. Volume 5/1 begins with regions of India, Persia, Malacca and Ceylon, and moves in Volume 5/2 to Japan and South Africa.

All reviewers complain about the somewhat chaotic style, built upon very well written but often incoherent chains of anecdotes. The book is full of documents that can be found nowhere else, and there are also summaries or lengthy excerpts from books and manuscripts. Valentijn was more interested in collecting material than in comparative research, and he seldom mentions his sources. Before he left for the Indies for the second time, he had already signed a contract for this book with a Dordrecht publisher, and he was able to make copies of many documents when he was forced to spend 15 months in Batavia in 1712-13. At his death, he left a library of some 2,400 books and many manuscripts.

Valentijn was a qualified Reformed minister with several years of academic schooling, but he says little about Christian theology. Neither is interest in the doctrinal aspects of other religions, including Islam, a prominent part of his writing, despite the fact that he lived for the longest period of some 18 years in a region of Indonesia where half the villages were Muslim and the other half mostly nominally Christian. His ministry was mainly limited to Reformed (Calvinist) congregations.

Ambon, together with the islands close to it, was one of the few regions (besides the capital Batavia and the even smaller population of Banda) where there was a Christian community. There was no real hope that other regions of the vast archipelago, with a majority of Muslims and a sizeable number of 'pagans', should convert to Christianity. In Valentijn's time there were no clear evangelistic efforts.

In his description of religion in Java he writes of a Javanese woman who was a *nyai* (translated as 'housekeeper' – in fact the sexual partner of a Dutch man). The Dutch man suggested that she should convert to Christianity, to which she responded angrily that Christianity was not a good option, because the majority of the Dutch in Java did not obey the rules of their own religion and did not marry the mothers of their own children (vol. 4/1, p. 5).

Valentijn divides religions into three groups: pagans, Moors and Christians. The religion of the Moors or Muslims is a special category, as he shows in his general doctrinal discussion of Muslims that precedes the account of the island of Java. Here he calls Islam a 'hodgepodge ... drawn partly from the pure fountains of the Old and New Testament and partly from the muckheaps of both Judaism and the old Sabaean and Saracen religion. All this is patched together so foolishly and so roughly that there is ample occasion to wonder how it is possible that so many nations (and large ones as well), including some quite intelligent ones, should have indulged in such an unfounded error and objectionable religion. The drafter and institutor of this monstrous religion is Mohammed' (*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, 1724-6, vol. 4/1, p. 2). This, however, is unusual; for the most part, Valentijn does not make general dogmatic statements, but draws on his personal observations and sources that refer to Islam in particular locations.

In contrast to the work of Jan Pieterszoon Coen a century before, there is no debate in these volumes about how to treat Muslims: 'Several Dutch governors have tried to extirpate this weed but it was too numerous' (on Ceylon, vol 5/1, p. 509). Valentijn is most negative about renegades. In various places, he gives the story of the Ambonese Jan Pays, who twice embraced Christianity and twice returned to Islam. At one time the chief (*raja*) of the Christian village of Hative, he was so gifted and interested in religion that he even became a *proponent*, a candidate for the position of ordained Reformed minister, and he delivered sermons at Sunday services, the only serious candidate for the ministry in the two centuries of the VOC in East Indonesia. But then in the early 1650s he joined a

Muslim conspiracy against the Dutch in Ternate, and was taken prisoner and executed. At that time it was said of him that he had 'slept with a turban', and during his trial he himself declared that in his heart he had 'always remained a Muslim' (vol. 2, p. 287; vol. 3/1, pp. 55-6, 146-7).

In the section on the early history of Ambon, Valentijn summarises chapter after chapter of the Malay work of a learned Muslim, Rijali, 'who then left his religious position in the 1650s to join the war against the Dutch' (vol. 2, pp. 1-24). In this summary, he follows the tales of Rijali about the origin of Islam in the Moluccas. He describes some stories as fairy-tales, but for the most part he accepts the work as a serious historical document. He does not quote Rijali's sometimes quite negative stereotypes about the Christians (*kafir, la'natu'llah*; Manusama, 'Hikayat Tanah Hitu', p. 20). Before this work was published in 1977 in the original Malay with a Dutch translation, Valentijn's long summary was the only available version in print.

With some pride, Valentijn gives a detailed description of the more than 30 manuscripts of Malay writings he was able to acquire, most of them about Muslim doctrine and mysticism. His best personal contact among Muslim leaders was the Raja of Hila, Hassan Sulayman, whom he calls a most 'clever and prudent man', and he describes in great detail the burial in 1709 of this 'richest, wisest, and most dangerous man of the peninsula of Hitu' (vol. 2, p. 272).

The religious, social and cultural distance of Valentijn and his fellow Dutchmen in Indonesia from Muslims meant that it was not necessary to be always negative about them. Valentijn especially liked the architecture of mosques he saw, with three roofs of diminishing size in pagoda style. He gives appreciative descriptions of the sober, intense and democratic style of worship, where no one has a special place (Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism*, pp. 39-40).

In his observations of the daily life of Muslims, Valentijn often notes their scanty clothing: not only men in short trousers or just a simple loincloth, but also women with bare breasts. Drawing on his time as army chaplain in Java, he relates some quite elaborate stories about festive receptions and meals in the houses of Muslim princes in Surabaya. The female dancers are described in great detail. Once, at the end of a dance one of the dancers sat on the lap of a Dutch visitor. He gave 'her' a hug and then discovered that instead of female breasts, he had touched half-coconuts, because the dancer was a transvestite. One of the Dutch women asked the wife of the Javanese governor why the upper part of

her body was nearly naked, except for a small covering over her breasts. The governor's wife immediately went away and came back more fully dressed with a beautiful jacket woven with silver threads. Valentijn interpreted this as something done out of shame.

These anecdotes show that his judgments were expressions of a mixed sense of cultural and religious superiority.

SIGNIFICANCE

This monumental work has never been fully translated into other languages. The sections on Sri Lanka and South Africa alone have been published in an English translation. In the 1850s, the sections on Indonesia were published in an abridged version, about half the length of the original, and were used by the colonial administration to spread knowledge about the movement of Dutch expansion, mostly in East Indonesia. The work continued to be a source mainly for those interested in the early history of Indonesia, though in 2004 a splendid facsimile reprint revived wider interest in it.

PUBLICATIONS

François Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vervattende een naauwkeurige en uitvoerige verhandelinge van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten*, 8 vols, Dordrecht, 1724-6 (Franeker, 2004; photomechanical reprint); AB 117:20 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

S. Keijzer (ed.), *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1856-8; repr. The Hague, 1862 (reprint of the sections on Indonesia, without illustrations); RN-492/494 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

A.W. Stellwagen (ed.), *Van en naar Indië. Valentijns 1ste en 2de uit en thuisreis, voorafgegaan door Busken Huets litterarische-critische studie over F. Valentijn*, The Hague, 1882

François Valentijn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, ed. E.H. Raidt, Cape Town, 2 vols, 1971-3 (Dutch with parallel English trans. of section on the Cape of Good Hope)

Sinnappah Arasaratnam (ed. and trans.), *François Valentijn's description of Ceylon*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1978, repr. 2010 (English trans. of section on Sri Lanka)

STUDIES

A. Schrauwers, 'Pillars of faith. Religious rationalization in the Netherlands and Indonesia', *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken* 7 (2000) 1-23

Knaap, 'Lieden van fatsoen onder slaven en danseressen', pp. 123-7

Beekman, *Troubled pleasures*, pp. 130-53

K. Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam. Contacts and conflicts, 1595-1950*, Amsterdam, 1993 (repr. 2006), pp. 38-41

Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*

J. Fisch, *Hollands Ruhm in Asien. François Valentijns Vision des Niederländischen Imperiums im 18. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1986

R. Nieuwenhuys, *Oost-Indische Spiegel*, Amsterdam, 1978

Z.J. Manusama, 'Hikayat Tanah Hitu', Leiden, 1977 (PhD Diss. University of Leiden)

Karel Steenbrink

José Torrubia

DATE OF BIRTH 1698
PLACE OF BIRTH Granada
DATE OF DEATH 17 April 1761
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY

José Torrubia was born in Granada sometime in the late 17th century. He entered the Franciscan Order when he was 15 years old, and subsequently served as a missionary and in other roles with the Franciscans in the Philippine Islands from 1721 to 1733. During this time, he published at least four pamphlets, sermons and other religious works with various presses in Manila. He returned to Spain in 1735 and published his *Disertación histórico-política en que se trata de la extensión de el Mahometismo en las Islas Philipinas*, the first general reference work concerning the spread of Islam in the Philippines. However, natural history, geology and palaeontology were his major interests, and he used materials and data collected in his travels across Europe, America and the Philippines. He is considered the father of Spanish palaeontology, thanks to his volume *Aparato para la historia natural española* (1754), partly translated into German in 1773. He died in Rome in 1761 shortly after the publication of *La Gigantologia spagnola vendicata dal M.R.P. Giuseppe Torrubia*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

José Torrubia, *Respuesta, que dá el M. R. P. Fray Joseph Torrubia, Comissario General de la Curia Romana, y Chronista General de la Orden de San Francisco, à un Sugeto Literato de España, sobre la legitimidad del Libro de Oracion, y Meditacion de San Pedro de Alcantara, que ahora el M.R.P. Presentado Fr. Joseph Pinedo, dice ser obra del venerable padre Fray Luis de Granada*, Madrid, Oficina de Joachin Ibarra, 1759

José Torrubia, *La Gigantologia spagnola vendicata dal M. R. P. Giuseppe Torrubia*. Naples, Stamperia Mariana, 1760

Secondary

L. Sequeiros, 'El franciscano granadino José Torrubia (1698-1761). Entre los fósiles, el Diluvio Universal y los Gigantes', *Proyección* 188 (1998) 39-50

L. Sequeiros, 'José Torrubia y su aportación al método científico en paleontología', *Geogaceta* 24 (1998) 129-31
F. Pelayo, *Del diluvio al megaterio. Los orígenes de la paleontología en España*, Madrid, 1996, pp. 177-222
F. Pelayo, 'El Aparato para la historia natural española de José Torrubia (1698-1761). Diluvismo, gigantes y la naturaleza de los fósiles en el pensamiento español del siglo XVIII', in *Aparato para la historia natural española*, Madrid, 1994, 3-45
H. Capel, *La física sagrada. Creencias religiosas y teorías científicas en los orígenes de la geomorfología española*, Barcelona, 1985
G. García Guardia, 'Acercamiento metodológico a J. Torrubia como biólogo', in *Actas del I simposio sobre metodología de la historia de las ciencias*, Madrid, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 37-44
O. Gómez Parente, 'Vida y escritos del Padre José Torrubia', in José Torrubia, *Crónica de la Provincia franciscana de Santa Cruz de la España y Caracas*, Caracas, 1944, 9-364
L. Pérez, 'Fr. José Torrubia, procurador de la Provincia de San Gregorio de Filipinas', *Archivo Iberoamericano* 36 (1933) 321-64

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Disertación histórico-política en que se trata de la extensión de el Mahometismo en las Islas Philipinas, 'Political and historical dissertation on the expansion of Islam in the Philippines'

DATE 1736
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Disertación histórico-política en que se trata de la extensión del Mahometismo en las Islas Filipinas (in full, *Disertación histórico-política en que se trata de la extensión de el Mahometismo en las Islas Philipinas: grandes estragos que han hecho los Mindanaos, Joloes, Camucones, y Confederados de esta Secta en nuestros Pueblos Christianos, medio con que se han contenido, y vno congruente para su perfecto establecimiento*, 'Political and historical dissertation on the expansion of Islam in the Philippines; great calamities caused by the people from Mindanao, Jolo, the "Camucones" and other allied Muslims against our Christian towns. A way to face them and a resolute manner in which to establish a perfect defence') is an 80-page political dissertation on the history of Muslims in the Philippines and on current events there. It takes the form of a dialogue between a

Spaniard from the court in Madrid (*cortesano*) and a Spaniard from the Philippines (*Philipino*), a literary device popular at this time that was employed both to teach and to entertain (*docere et delectare*).

The work gives a full history of the origins of Islam in the archipelago, and also explains the reasons why it is important to secure the port of Zamboanga, arguing that control of this stronghold would enable the Spanish to eradicate piracy from the Philippine seas, which will allow the promotion of Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Disertación histórico-política can be described as a pioneering attempt to say why Islam preceded the European expansion in the Far East, and to explain the then current Spanish policy of protecting the Islamic kingdoms in the Philippines by suppressing piracy, so that Christianity could be spread.

PUBLICATIONS

José Torrubia, *Disertacion historico-politica en que se trata de la extensión de el Mahometismo en las Islas Philipinas: grandes estragos que han hecho los* Mindanaos, Joloes, Camucones, *y Confederados de esta Secta en nuestros Pueblos Christianos, medio con que se han contenido, y vno congruente para su perfecto establecimiento. Escrita en forma de dialogo por el Padre fray Joseph Torrubia; Misionero Apostolico, Calificador de el Santo Oficio, Examinador Synodal, y de Lenguas, de los Obispados de Nueva Cazeres, y Zebu, Custodio, Comisario, y Procurador General para las Cortes por su Provincia de San Gregorio en Philipinas de Religiosos Descalzos de nuestro Padre San Francisco, dedicada a N. R.mo Padre Fray Domingo Losada; Comisario General de Indias*, Madrid, Alonso Balvás, 1736; 4 H.eccl. 786 m (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

José Torrubia, *Dissertacion historico-politica y en mucha parte geografica de las Islas Philipinas, extension del Mahometanismo en ellas, grandes estragos que han hecho los* Mindanaos, Joloes, Camucones, *y Confederados de esta Secta, en nuestros Pueblos Christianos, &c. Ponese una razon compendiosa de los fondos, y destinos del Gran Monte Piedad de la Casa de la Misericordia, de la Ciudad de Manila. Su Autor R.mo P. Fr. Joseph Torrubia, Archivero y Chronista General de toda la Orden de San Francisco*, Madrid, Imp. de D. Agustín de Gordejuela, 1754

STUDIES

I. Donoso, 'El islam en Filipinas', Alicante, 2011 (PhD Diss. University of Alicante), pp. 590-4

Isaac Donoso

Juan de Arechederra y Tovar

DATE OF BIRTH 20 July 1681
PLACE OF BIRTH Caracas
DATE OF DEATH 12 November 1751
PLACE OF DEATH Manila

BIOGRAPHY

Juan de Arechederra y Tovar was born in Caracas in the New Kingdom of Granada, and was baptised on 20 July 1681. He entered the Dominican Order in 1701 and completed his doctoral studies in theology in Mexico. He was sent on mission in the Philippines in 1713, achieving high ranking positions in the archipelago: President of San Juan de Letrán School, Rector of the University of Santo Tomás, Commissioner of the Inquisition, Bishop of Nueva Segovia, and finally Captain and acting Governor General of the Philippine Islands following the death of Governor General Gaspar de la Torre on 21 September 1745. While in this last role, he pursued evangelisation and alliances with the sultanates, to the point of inviting ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I (Alimudín), Sultan of Sulu, to the city of Manila, and showing him great honour. The sultan's enthusiastic conversion to Christianity on 28 April 1750, which was endorsed by Arechederra at the time, was later denounced as a conspiracy by the Spanish authorities, and Alimudín was imprisoned for ten years before returning to Sulu and reverting to Islam.

Arechederra died on 12 November 1751.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Juan de Arechederra, *Sermon que en el capitulo provincial, que celebro la provincia del Ssmo. Rosario de Religiosos del Señor Santo Domingo en las Islas Philippinas el dia 14 de Abril de 1731 años, en que fue Electo Provincial el M. R. P. Lector Fr. Diego Saenz predico el M. R. P. F. Ivan de Arechederra del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores, Doctor en Dagrada Theologia por la Real Universidad de Mexico, Ex-Provincial de dicha Provincia del Ssmo. Rosario, y actual Comissario del Santo Officio, y Presidente del Colegio de S. Iuan de Letran*, Manila, Universidad de Santo Tomás, 1731

Juan de Arechederra, *Estatua de verdadera grandeza dibujada en los empleos honoríficos y virtuosos procedimientos de el Illustrissimo Señor Doctor, y Maestro Don Manuel Joseph de Endoya y Aro, Dean que fue de Placencia [...] Sermon funeral predicado por el M R. P. Fr. Ivan de Arechederra [...] en la Santa, y Metropolitana Iglesia Cathedral de Manila El dia 10 de Noviembre de 1731 años*, Manila, 1731

Juan de Arechederra y Tovar, *Calificada razon y iustificado derecho por parte de N. M. R. P. Fr. Iuan de Arechederra del Orden de Santo Domingo Comiss. de el Santo Officio en esta Ciudad de Manila, y su Arçobispado, y Prior Provincial de la Provincia del SS. Rosario de Philippinas, en orden à la prorrogación de su officio, y no poderse celebrar Capitulo Provincial, hasta que conste del Capitulo General, y de estar electo nuevo Maestro General de la Religión*, Manila, 1732

Juan de Arechederra, *Relacion de la entrada del sultan rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimuddin en esta Ciudad de Manila: y del honor, y regocijos, con que le recibiò en 20. de Henero de 1749. el Illmo, y Rmo Señor Doctor, y Mro D. Fr. Ioan de Arechederra del Orden de Predicadores del Concejo de su MG. Obispo Electo de Nueva Segovia, Governador, y Capitan Gral de estas Islas, y Presidente de su Real Chancilleria. Su estacion, y Progressos hasta la conversion de dicho Sultan á la Fee de Iesuchristo, declarada el dia 1, de Diziembre del mismo año. Su Bautismo executado en la Iglesia de Santa Rosa del Pueblo de Paniqui Provincia de Pangasinan de la Diocesis de Nueva Segovia à los 28, de Abril de este año de 50, administrado por el R. P. Fr. Enrique de Martin de dicho Orden de Predicadores, y sustituyendo en nombre de dicho Iimo, y Rrno Señor Governador por Padrino el General Don Ignacio Martinez de Faura Theniente de Capitan General destinado por dicho Señor Governador para conducir, y reducir la persona de dicho Sultan à esta Capital. Reales Festejos, y publicos regocijos, que en celebridad de esta conversion, y Bautismo se hàn executado en esta Ciudad con las Solemnes gracias, que coronaron estas fiestas en la Iglesia del Señor Santo Domingo con Missa, y Sermon, y assistencia de la Real Audiencia, Ciudad, y Sagradas Religiones del dia 30. de Mayo dedicado al Señor San Fernādo, Rey de España, cuyo nombre en su obsequio, y por afecto à nuestro Rey, y Señor Don Fernando VI. reynante, tomò dicho Señor Sultan, que oy se dice D. Fernando I Rey de Jolo*, Manila, 1749 (repr. W.E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, Madrid, 1895, vol. 1, pp. 153-94)

Joló: manifiesto en defensa del rey de Joló, Fernando I, y en su infidelidad Alimodin Mohamad, bautizado en Manila, capital de las islas Filipinas, preso y arrestado en el castillo de Santiago de la misma ciudad por falso testimonios de sus emulos: dado y declarado por bueno su bautismo, por el Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, Manila, 1751

Secondary

I. Donoso, 'The Ottoman caliphate and Muslims of the Philippine Archipelago during the early modern era', in A.C.S. Peacock and A. Teh Gallop (eds), *From Anatolia to Aceh. Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia*, London, 2015, 121-46

E. Crailsheim, 'The baptism of Sultan Azim ud-Din of Sulu. Festivities for the consolidation of Spanish power in the Philippines in the middle of the eighteenth century', in A. Windus and E. Crailsheim (eds), *Image-object-performance. Mediality and communication in cultural contact zones of colonial Latin America and the Philippines*, Münster, 2013, 93-120

M. de los Reyes Cojuangco, 'Juan de Arrechedera. A study of his life and impact in the Philippines', *Philippiniana Sacra* 19 (1984) 25-37

A.F. García González, *El gobierno en Filipinas del Ilmo. Sr. Don Fray Juan de Arechederra y Tovar, Obispo de la Nva. Segovia*, Granada, 1976

H. de la Costa, 'Muhammad Alimuddin I, Sultan of Sulu, 1735-1773', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38 (1965) 43-76

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Puntual relación de lo acaecido en las expediciones contra Moros Tirones, en Malanaos y Camucones, 'Detailed account of the expeditions against the Muslim Tirones, Maranaos and Camucones'

DATE 1747

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

This 10-page account of events (*relación de sucesos*) was written by Juan de Arechederra (its full title is *Puntual relación de lo acaecido en las expediciones contra Moros Tirones, en Malanaos y Camucones destacadas en los de 746, y 47. Por el Illustríssimo Señor Doctor D. Fr. Iuan de Arechederra Electo Obispo de Nueva Segovia, Governador, y Capitán General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia, &c*, 'Detailed account of the expeditions against the Muslim Tirones, Maranaos and Camucones during the years 1746 and 1747, written by His Excellency Dr. Fray Juan de Arechederra, Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Governor and General Captain of the Philippine Archipelago, President of the Royal Appellate Court, etc.'). As Bishop of Nueva Segovia and the eventual General Governor of the Philippines, he supported the new policy of the Spanish administration

in Manila that was developed by King Philip V (r. 1700-24, 1724-46). This policy encouraged governors to attract and incorporate the various sultanates under Spanish authority. The bishop wrote enthusiastically about the Sultan of Jolo, Alimudín I, promoting a positive public opinion regarding his forthcoming arrival in Manila, capital of the Spanish administration.

The king sent personal letters to the sultans of Sulu and Maguindanao on 12 July 1744, asking them to acknowledge him as sovereign and to allow the Jesuits to preach in Muslim areas. This was the first direct communication between the Spanish monarchy and the Philippine sultanates. The answer from the sultans was satisfactorily positive, and the next step for King Philip was to send specific instructions to the Jesuit provincial in the Philippines in a letter dated 19 August 1745. Philip sent another letter to the Governor General Juan de Arechederra. Father Francisco Sasi was appointed ambassador to the sultanates.

Prompted by pirate attacks by the Tirones and Camucones, Bornean Muslim tribes, the Spanish Governor requested help from the Philippine sultans. Alimudín I of Sulu sent ships and gave other assistance to the Spanish. The *Puntual relación* gives details of these campaigns in 1746 and 1747.

A second part was published in 1748 under the title *Continuación de los progresos y resultas de las expediciones contra Moros Tirones y Camucones en este año de 1748. Con noticia de los principios de las nuevas misiones de los reinos de Joló y Mindanao en el gobierno del Illmo. Sr. D. Fray Juan de Arechederra, electo obispo de Nueva-Segovia, gobernador y capitán general de las islas Filipinas y presidente de su real Audiencia*, [Manila], 1748. It contains 14 rules to be applied by Jesuit missionaries in the sultanates. These important rules include details about attracting the Muslim elite to Christianity and teaching Spanish.

SIGNIFICANCE

Puntual relación describes the extremely unusual alliance between a Muslim sultan and a Christian bishop and Governor General. The short piece, circulated as a newspaper, was intended to defend to Spanish readers the sultan's support against piracy and his utmost value in promoting peace and order in the south. The final goal was to receive him in Manila as a hero and encourage his conversion to Christianity, as indeed happened in 1749.

PUBLICATIONS

Juan de Arechederra, *Pvntval relacion de lo acaecido en las expediciones contra Moros Tirones, en Malanaos y Camucones destacadas en los de 746, y 47. Por el Illvstrissimo Señor Doctor D. Fr. Iuan de Arechederra Electo Obispo de Nueva Segovia, Governador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia, &c*, Manila, 1747; R.MICRO/5785 (digitised version available through *Hispanic Digital Library*)

Juan de Arechederra, *Continuacion de los progresos, y resultas de las expediciones contra Moros, Tirones y Camucones en este Año de 1748. Con noticia de los principios de las nuevas missiones de los Reynos de Iolo, y Mindanao en el Govierno del Illmo. Sr. D. Fray Iuan de Arechederra, electo obispo de Nueva-Segovia, Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de su Real Audiencia*, [Manila], 1748

Vicente Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra Mindanaos y Joloanos*, Madrid, 1878, pp. 343-7

STUDIES

I. Donoso, 'El Islam en Filipinas', Alicante, 2011 (PhD Diss. University of Alicante), pp. 609-10

L. Ángel Sánchez Gómez, 'Dorsa habentes contra populum. Apunte sobre fronteras étnicas, religiosas y sociales en las Filipinas del siglo XVIII', *Brocar: Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica* 30 (2006) 85-110

F. Mallari, 'Pirates called "Tirones"', in *Vignettes of Bicol history*, Quezon City, 1999, 22-38

W.E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas*, Madrid, 1906, vol. 1, pp. 323-4

W.E. Retana, *Bibliografía de Mindanao (Epítome)*, Madrid, 1894, pp. 34-7

J. Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo. Comprende desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta junio de* 1888, Madrid, 1888, vol. 1, pp. 277-9

Isaac Donoso

Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu

Sultan Alimudín of Sulu, Muhammad Azimuddin,
Fernando I King of Jolo, Datu Lagasan

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably early 18th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably late 18th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Datu Lagasan was the son of Sulṭān Badr al-Dīn I (r. 1718-32), and became sultan of Sulu in 1735 under the name of ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I. Political intrigue forced him to abandon the capital Jolo in 1748, when his younger brother Datu Bantilan was enthroned as Muʿizz al-Dīn. Alimudín – as he is called in Spanish sources – was then invited to visit the capital of the Philippines, and made a triumphal entry into Manila on 20 January 1749, seeking support against his brother. He and his 200-strong retinue lived there for several months at the expense of the Spanish government. He eventually decided to embrace Christianity. Against the strong opposition of the Archbishop of Manila, Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, he was baptised on 28 April 1750 as Fernando I, King of Jolo, by Governor General Juan de Arechederra.

A civil war ensued, with Bantilan seeking help from the Ottomans and Alimudín embarking on Spanish naval vessels to retake Jolo. However, a letter dated 25 July 1751 from Alimudín to the sultan of Maguindanao aroused suspicion among the Spaniards, and the new Christian convert was jailed and sent to Manila. A series of theological debates and controversies was held in the capital for the following few months, concerning the sincerity of his conversion.

Thereafter, Alimudín remained in jail in Fort Santiago until the British conquered Manila in 1762. He was then freed and restored as sultan in 1764, signing a new treaty of alliance with the East India Company in September that year. He was returned to Jolo, where he remained until his final abdication in favour of his Spanish-educated son Muḥammad Isrāʾīl in 1774.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Manila, Philippine National Archives – Mindanao y Sulú, Rare 3 [1749-54], 'Alimudín Documents'

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – FILIPINAS, 706, N.1, 'Expediente sobre bautismo y prisión del rey de Joló'

Juan de Arechederra, *Pvntval relacion de lo acaecido en las expediciones contra Moros Tirones, en Malanaos y Camucones destacadas en los de 746, y 47. Por el Illvstrissimo Señor Doctor D. Fr. Iuan de Arechederra Electo Obispo de Nueva Segovia, Governador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia, &c*, Manila, 1747

Juan de Arechederra, *Continuacion de los progresos, y resultas de las expediciones contra Moros, Tirones y Camucones en este Año de 1748. Con noticia de los principios de las nuevas missiones de los Reynos de Iolo, y Mindanao en el Govierno del Illmo. Sr. D. Fray Iuan de Arechederra, electo obispo de Nueva-Segovia, Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de su Real Audiencia*, [Manila], 1748

Juan de Arechederra, *Relacion de la entrada del sultan rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimuddin en esta Ciudad de Manila: y del honor, y regocijos, con que le recibiò en 20. de Henero de 1749. el Illmo, y Rmo Señor Doctor, y Mro D. Fr. Ioan de Arechederra del Orden de Predicadores del Concejo de su MG. Obispo Electo de Nueva Segovia, Governador, y Capitan Gral de estas Islas, y Presidente de su Real Chancilleria*, Manila, 1749 (repr. W.E. Retana (ed.), *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, Madrid, 1895, vol. 1, pp. 153-94)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – V.a. Mss/5866 *Joló: manifiesto en defensa del rey de Joló, Fernando I, y en su infidelidad Alimodin Mohamad, bautizado en Manila, capital de las islas Filipinas, preso y arrestado en el castillo de Santiago de la misma ciudad por falso testimonios de sus emulos: dado y declarado por bueno su bautismo, por el Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad*, Manila, 1751

V. Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra Mindanaos y Joloanos*, Madrid, 1878, pp. 15-65, 329-43

Pío A. de Pazos y Vela-Hidalgo, *Joló. Relato histórico-militar desde su descubrimiento por los españoles en 1578 a nuestros días*, Burgos, 1879, pp. 42-78

J. Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo. Comprende desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta junio de 1888*, Madrid, 1888, vol. 1, pp. 277-338

M. Espina, *Apuntes para hacer un libro sobre Joló*, Manila, 1888, pp. 82-141

Secondary

I. Donoso, 'The Ottoman caliphate and Muslims of the Philippine Archipelago during the early modern era', in A.C.S. Peacock and A. Teh Gallop (eds), *From Anatolia to Aceh. Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia*, London, 2015, 121-46

E. Crailsheim, 'The baptism of Sultan Azim ud-Din of Sulu. Festivities for the consolidation of Spanish power in the Philippines in the middle of the eighteenth century', in A. Windus and E. Crailsheim (eds), *Image-object-performance. Mediality and communication in cultural contact zones of colonial Latin America and the Philippines*, Münster, 2013, 93-120

C. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, Quezon City, 1999, pp. 240-309

J.F. Warren, *The Sulu zone, 1768-1898. The dynamics of external trade, slavery, and ethnicity in the transformation of a Southeast Asian maritime state*, Singapore, 1981, pp. 18-31

N. Tarling, *Sulu and Sabah. A study of British policy towards the Philippines and North Borneo from the late eighteenth century*, Kuala Lumpur, 1978, pp. 12-20

A.F. García González, *El gobierno en Filipinas del Ilmo. Sr. Don Fray Juan de Arechederra y Tovar, Obispo de la Nva. Segovia*, Granada, 1976, pp. 150-213

J.O. de la Tabla Ducasse, *El Marqués de Ovando, gobernador de Filipinas, 1750-1754*, Seville, 1974, pp. 217-32

H. de la Costa, 'Muhammad Alimuddin I, Sultan of Sulu, 1735-1773', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38 (1965) 43-76

N. Saleeby, *The history of Sulu*, Manila, 1963, pp. 69-78

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta que envía el Sultán Muhamad Alimudín al Rey de España Felipe V en lengua arábiga, 'Letter sent by Sultan Muhamad Alimudín to the King of Spain Philip V in Arabic'

DATE 12 September 1747
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This five-page letter, written in Arabic and dated 12 September 1747, was sent by Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I, Sultan of Sulu, to Philip V, King of Spain (r. 1700-24, 1724-9 July 1746; the sultan evidently had not heard of his death when he wrote). It begins with 'You deserve to be king and great sultan', and ends with a reference to the year 1747, with the unusual Arabic term *ʿĪsawiyya* signalling the Christian era. The letter is sealed with one small black ink seal marked *al-Sulṭān Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn* and a larger seal in similar ink saying *al-mutamassik bi-ḥabl Allāh al-Matīn* ('he who holds fast to the cord of God the ever-constant'). A sentence is written across the seals, in different handwriting, and probably by another hand, which reads 'Now I kiss your hand'. The script is

clear and organised, written with black ink in the *ruqʿa* style. The style of handwriting suggests that the scribe was of Ottoman or Mediterranean origin.

The letter, preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, is the original document produced in the Sulu sultanate chancellery in response to a letter in Spanish from Philip V dated 12 July 1744. Distance and bureaucratic requirements resulted in a more than three-year lapse in time between receipt of that letter and the sultan's response, which was accompanied by a gift of an enormous pearl. This is the only extant official letter from the historical sultanates of the Philippine archipelago issued completely in Arabic.

The occasion of the letter, Philip V's letter to ʿAẓīm al-Dīn seeking permission for Jesuit missionaries to preach in Sulu, marks the first time a Spanish king had addressed a letter directly to a sultan in the archipelago. It implied a sign of equality, although Philip's underlying aim was to secure vassalage, and in particular permission for the Jesuits to enter the domains of the sultans, preach the gospel and build churches. The Spanish letter was brought to Jolo by Tomás de Arrivillaga and Father Sebastián Ignacio de Arcada on 29 August 1747. They were well received, and ʿAẓīm al-Dīn agreed to missionary activities within his realm and donated a piece of land on which to build a church. He himself travelled to Zamboanga on 5 May 1748 to welcome the group of Jesuits arriving from Manila. He also attended the burial of his friend, Father José Villelmi, an expert in Arabic and possibly the scribe of the present document.

SIGNIFICANCE

Alimudín's permission for Christian missionaries to work in his territories, against the wishes of many members of the *Ruma Bichara*, the Sultanate Council, resulted in an uprising led by his brother Bantilan. Together with his entire court, Alimudín fled, and Bantilan was proclaimed sultan of Sulu on 8 September 1748, triggering a civil war between the brothers and their respective supporters. To complicate matters further, Bantilan sent a letter to the Ottoman caliph requesting protection as part of the *Dār al-Islām*. Meanwhile, Alimudín performed a triumphal entry into the city of Manila on 17 January 1749, and converted to Christianity as Fernando I King of Jolo on 28 April 1750.

This episode represents a remarkable and highly unusual chapter in Christian-Muslim relations in the Philippines: a sultan converts to Christianity, help is requested from the Ottoman caliph, and a war erupts to

return the sultanate to the hands of the newly-converted Christian ruler. However, events in the following months suggested that the conversion had been a political strategy on Alimudín's part, and he was imprisoned by the Spanish authorities on 3 August 1751.

This letter, written in Arabic, points to a process of Islamisation that was underway in the Philippine sultanates. More significantly, ʿAẓīm al-Dīn's professed conversion to Christianity shows how religion and politics were intimately bound up together.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – MP Escritura y Cifra, 60 (1747; original Arabic MS)

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – Filipinas 454, 29, 6 (Spanish trans.)

Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos*, pp. 329-32 (modern Spanish trans)

Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo*, vol. 2, pp. 11-14 (modern Spanish trans.)

V. Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas (1570-1806)*, Málaga, 2004[2]

STUDIES

Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana*, vol. 1, pp. 279-82

Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos*, pp. 414-16

Isaac Donoso

Muḥammad Muʿizz al-Dīn Pangiran Bantilan

Mahomad Maydiodín Bantilan

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 1763
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Muʿizz al-Dīn Pangiran Bantilan was the younger brother of Sultan Alimudín of Sulu. When King Philip V of Spain (r. 1700-24, 1724-46) sent a letter dated 12 July 1744 to the Philippine sultans proposing that they accept Jesuit missionaries, one of those who accepted was Sultan Alimudín. This proved to be the catalyst for a new era of political relations; while sultans in both Sulu and Mindanao accepted, Pangiran Bantilan launched a violent rebellion, causing Alimudín to seek refuge in Zamboanga and later in Manila, where he converted to Christianity in 1750.

In 1748, as self-proclaimed Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn, Pangiran Bantilan allowed the Tirones and other Muslim tribes to ravage Philippine shores in revenge for Governor General Juan de Arechederra's campaigns against the rebellion. He also subsequently launched a diplomatic crusade, requesting help from the Muslim Caliph, Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-54). Alimudín (christianised as Fernando I) returned to Zamboanga with the support of the Spaniards, until a letter sent to the Mindanao sultan dated 9 Rabīʿ al-ākhir 1174 (this date should probably be adjusted to 1164, corresponding to 1750 in the Western calendar) proved that his Christian conversion had been insincere. From this moment, in May 1752, an open war erupted between the Spanish and Sulu, and the Sulu capital was overcome. Pangiran Bantilan's army attacked a number of islands. In the process, the Sultan of Brunei ceded the islands of Palawan and Balabac to Spain.

Pangiran Bantilan encouraged the various tribes to sack all the territory of the Philippines, including the island of Luzon. Antonio Faveau – sent as ambassador to Sulu – was well-received by Pangiran Bantilan on 30 June 1754, and 68 captives were liberated. The new Spanish Governor of Zamboanga, Pedro Zacarías Villarreal, negotiated a peace settlement with Pangiran Bantilan in Jolo on 5 October 1755.

However, Muslim incursions into the northern Philippines region, including Manila Bay, continued and increased in intensity following the British conquest (1762-4). Pangiran Bantilan ceded the island of Balambanga to the British on 17 January 1763, shortly before his death.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Manila, Philippines National Archives – Mindanao y Sulú, Rare 3 [1749-54], S. 78 'Letter from Pangiran Bantilan Muʿizz al-Dīn, Sultan of Sulu [1748-63], to the Governor General of the Philippines, to re-establish relations after Alimudin's rule and controversy' (1 October 1753)

Secondary

C. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, Quezon City, 1999, pp. 243-320

N. Saleeby, *The history of Sulu*, Manila, 1963, pp. 69-78

J. Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo. Comprende desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta junio de 1888*, Madrid, 1888, vol. 1, pp. 277-338

P.A. de Pazos y Vela-Hidalgo, *Joló. Relato histórico-militar desde su descubrimiento por los españoles en 1578 a nuestros días*, Burgos, 1879, pp. 42-78

V. Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra Mindanaos y Joloanos*, Madrid, 1878, pp. 15-65

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta que envía el Sultán Mahomad-Maydiodín que gobierna el reino de Joló, 'Letter sent by Sultan Mahomad-Maydiodin, who rules the kingdom of Sulu'

DATE 1750

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Unspecified

DESCRIPTION

This is a Spanish translation of a letter that was probably in the Tausug language (less probably Malay or even Arabic), written in Jawi script (its title in full is *Carta que envia el Sultan Mahomad-Maydiodin que gobierna el reino de Jolo por mar y tierra y todas sus islas con todos sus principales, al Sr. Gobernador que gobierna la fuerza de Zamboanga, D. Juan Gonzalez del Pulgar. 1750*, 'Letter sent by Sultan Mahomad-Maydiodin, Lord of the sea and land of Sulu, all the islands and principals, to the Governor of

Zamboanga, D. Juan Gonzalez del Pulgar. 1750'). It was sent by Muʿizz al-Dīn, the official name of Bantilan, Sultan of Sulu, to the Spanish governor in the garrison of Zamboanga, Juan González del Pulgar. The location of the original letter is unknown, though there is a similar letter in the National Archives of the Philippines.

Bantilan assumed the rule of the Sultanate of Sulu after his brother Alimudīn, or ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I (1735-48), accepted Jesuit missionaries into his land. Bantilan revolted, attempted to kill his brother, and was proclaimed sultan in 1748 under the name of Muʿizz al-Dīn.

In his letter, Bantilan condemns the Spanish attacks, laments the numerous casualties and asks the governor of Zamboanga how long they will go on killing his people. He justifies the actions of the Tirones against Philippine towns as revenge for the campaigns ordered a few years earlier by Governor Arechederra (1746-7), and argues that Spain has no part in a conflict between brothers. He compares Spain to an elephant and Sulu to a dog, and says that perhaps soon the dog will be on top of the elephant.

The most important part of Bantilan's letter comes at the end. He indicates that he has sent an ambassador to Dicatra, with letters to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, and the Spanish king. He says that in the former, he has requested the help of the sultan as caliph because the Spanish want to bring an end to the law of the Prophet in Sulu, and that in the second he has proved to the Spanish king that it is the governor of Zamboanga and not he himself who has broken the terms of the Capitulations agreed between the two nations.

SIGNIFICANCE

Bantilan's appeal in his letter to the Ottoman sultan shows the continuing power of the ancient Muslim doctrine of the caliph as leader and focus of the Islamic community worldwide. Despite the vast distance between Istanbul and the Philippines, when the borders of *Dār al-Islām* are attacked by an infidel, it is the duty of the caliph to protect the territory within which Muslims lived.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Manila, Philippines National Archives – Mindanao y Sulu, Rare 3 [1749-54], S. 78 'Letter from Pangiran Bantilan Muʿizz al-Dīn, Sultan of Sulu [1748-63], to the Governor General of the Philippines, to re-establish relations after Alimudin's rule and controversy' (1 October 1753)

'Carta que envía el Sultán Mahomad-Maydiodín [Bantilan], que gobierna el reino de Joló por mar y tierra y todas sus islas con todos sus principales, al Sr. Gobernador que gobierna la fuerza de Zamboanga, D. Juan González del Pulgar. 1750', in P.A. de Pazos y Vela-Hidalgo, *Joló. Relato histórico-militar desde su descubrimiento por los españoles en 1578 a nuestros días*, Burgos, 1879, 54-6

'Carta de Bantilan al gobernador de Zamboanga', in J. Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo-mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo. Comprende desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta junio de 1888*, Madrid, 1888, vol. 2, 23-6

STUDIES

I. Donoso, 'Islamic manuscripts in the National Archives of the Philippines', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 7 (2016) 195-216

Donoso, 'The Ottoman Caliphate and Muslims of the Philippine Archipelago'

I. Donoso, 'Philippine Islamic manuscripts and Western historiography', *Manuscripta Orientalia: International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research* 16 (2010) 3-28

de la Costa, 'Muhammad Alimuddin I, Sultan of Sulu'

Isaac Donoso

Pedro Martínez de Arizala

Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad Martínez de Arizala

DATE OF BIRTH 28 June 1690
PLACE OF BIRTH Madrid
DATE OF DEATH 28 May 1755
PLACE OF DEATH Manila

BIOGRAPHY

Pedro Martínez de Arizala was born in Madrid on 28 June 1690. He studied at the University of Alcalá, obtaining his *Licente* in canon law in 1712. He was appointed to the third post of *oidor* (judge) in the *Audiencia* (appellate court) of Quito in Ecuador in 1722. He resigned from this post in 1740 in order to enter the Franciscan Order in the convent of Pomasqui. As a Franciscan priest, and with the name Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, he was appointed Archbishop of Manila in 1743, although he did not travel to the Philippines till 1747.

Pedro Martínez de Arizala wrote many letters, sermons and accounts, and promoted the expulsion of the Chinese from the Philippines. He opposed the governor-general, Juan de Arechederra, in the matter of the conversion of the sultan of Sulu to Christianity. The baptism of the sultan subsequently took place outside the archdiocese of Manila, in the archdiocese of Nueva Segovia, and Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad wrote extensively about the controversy surrounding this conversion. As the cathedral was under renovation at the time of his death in 1755, he was buried in the Franciscan Church of Santa Ana in Manila.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, *Carta pastoral Don Fr. Pedro de la SSMA. Trinidad, Martinez de Arizala, del Consejo de su Majestad, y del Real, y Supremo de las Indias, Arzobispo Metropolitano de estas Islas Philipinas. = A todo el Clero, Nobleza, y Pueblo de nuestro Cargo: Salud, y Gracia en Nro. Señor Jesu-Christo &c.*, Manila, 1751

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 5866 (18th century)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 6030 (18th century)

MS London, BL – Add. 17.624, no. 7, fols 78-89 (18th century)
MS Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real – Miscelánea de Manuel José de Ayala, II/2824, fols 227r-236 (18th century)
Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, *Nos el Doctor D. Fr. Pedro de la Santissima Trinidad Martines de Arizala por la Gracia de Dios, y de la Santa Sede Apostolica, Arzobispo metropolitano de estas Islas, Governador Apostolico de los Obispados Sufraganeos Vacantes de las Ciudades del Santissimo Nombre de Jesús de Zebú. Nueva Segovia, y Cazeres del Consejo de su Magestad, y del Real, y Supremo de Indias, &c.*, Manila, 1753
Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, *Carta pastoral del Illmo. y Rmo. Señor Arzobispo de Manila*, Manila, 1754

Secondary

E. Crailsheim, 'The baptism of Sultan Azim ud-Din of Sulu. Festivities for the consolidation of Spanish power in the Philippines in the middle of the eighteenth century', in A. Windus and E. Crailsheim (eds), *Image-object-performance. Mediality and communication in cultural contact zones of colonial Latin America and the Philippines*, Münster, 2013, 93-120
D.R.M. Irving, *Colonial counterpoint. Music in early modern Manila*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 204-5
L.R. Gómez, C. Ruigómez Gómez and J. Paniagua, 'La visita a Cuenca (Ecuador) de Pedro Martínez de Arizala. Génesis, realización y consecuencias (1726-1748)', in A. Gutiérrez Escudero (ed.), *Ciencia, economía y política en Hispanoamérica colonial*, Seville, 2000, 379-432
L.R. Gómez and C. Ruigómez Gómez, *Documentos sobre la visita a Cuenca (Ecuador) del oidor Pedro Martínez de Arizala y su proyecto de reforma (1726-1748)*, Madrid, 2000
L.R. Gómez and C. Ruigómez Gómez, 'La entrada en religión (1739) de Pedro Martínez de Arizala, oidor de la Audiencia de Quito, y sus consecuencias', *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 22 (1996) 209-37

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Breve resumen y discurso, 'Brief summary and discourse'

DATE 3 July 1753
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

This unpublished manuscript, which is 23 pages long, recounts the perception of the most conservative party in the Philippines, which is that there has been historical deception in the relationship between

Christians and Muslims from the time of James the Conqueror, King of Aragon in the 13th-century, up to de Arizala's own time and the Asian context. Its underlying goal is to advocate military action against the *Moros* (the Muslims of the Philippines), and the immediate event that appears to have led to its composition was the apparent conversion to Christianity of Alimudín of Jolo, Sultan of Sulu ʿAzīm al-Dīn I (r. 1735-48, 1764-74), and the resulting controversy. While the archbishop accepted the sincerity of the sultan's conversion, he nevertheless declared open war against the sultanates at a time of increasing attacks by Muslims.

Its full title is *Breve Resumen y Discurso en que se prueba ser el único medio y el menos costoso y el más útil para librar las islas Philipinas de la Piratería y gravísimos males que cada año hacen los Moros convecinos en ellas en lo Sagrado y Profano la Guerra continua en sus casas y tierras sin oír jamás tratado alguno de Paz, Alianza, ni Tregua con una Armada de quatro Galeras y ocho o diez Pancos, que comandase un General práctico con independencia del Gobernador del Presidio de Samboangan* ('Brief summary and discourse of the least expensive and the most useful means to rid the Philippine Islands of the piracy and very serious evils that the Moors conduct every year in the sacred and profane, continuous war in their houses and lands without ever hearing of any peace treaty, alliance, or truce with an armada of four galleys and eight or ten *pancos*, commanded by an independent general of the governor of the garrison of Zamboanga').

On 12 July 1744, King Philip V (r. 1700-24, 1724-46) sent a letter in which he sought to influence the Philippine sultans and enforce conversion to Christianity. The sultan of Sulu and Sabah, Alimudín, responded positively and travelled to Manila. He entered the city with all honours on 20 January 1745, and, together with his 200 attendants, spent the following two months under Spanish government patronage. Alimudín subsequently decided to convert to Christianity, becoming Fernando I, King of Jolo, in a lavish ceremony on 28 April 1750. This event was politically provocative, generating enormous controversy among the Philippine administrators, and highlighting difficulties in the relations between Christians and Muslims. In response, Archbishop Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad y Martínez de Arizala wrote his *Breve resumen* about the impossibility of negotiating with the *Moros*, drawing parallels between the failed negotiations that took place as part of the so-called 'Treaty of the Pouet' (in which James the Conqueror tried to negotiate with the Muslim commander known as Al-Azraq in the region of Alicante in 1245), and the

situation in the Philippines where Alimudín appeared unable to check pirate attacks against the Spanish.

However, apart from Alimudín, and in light of Muslim resistance, the Spaniards failed in their policy of attraction and the peaceful incorporation (so-called *Mudejarismo*) and conversion of the *Moros*. As with the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, the only real option for the archbishop and his supporters was to go to war with the *Moros* in order to clear them from Spanish domains.

SIGNIFICANCE

The archbishop's *Breve resumen* demonstrates vividly that, at least among some of the more conservative Christians, old attitudes had not died. The fact that he was able to adduce examples from as far back as 500 years before is clear testimony that he regarded Muslims as completely fixed in their duplicity and hostility towards Christians. His diagnosis was bleak: since there was no possibility of peaceful coexistence, or even of evangelisation of Muslims, nothing less than complete eradication of Islam would remedy the situation.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Add. 17.624, no. 7, fols 78–89 (18th century)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real – Miscelánea de Manuel José de Ayala, II/2824, fols 227r-236 (18th century)

STUDIES

M. Luque Talaván, 'Border and shaping of identities. The fort of Nuestra Señora del Pilar of Zamboanga, Mindanao (Philippines)', in H. van Tilburg et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the 2nd Asia-Pacific regional conference on underwater cultural heritage*, Honolulu, 2014, 257-67

I. Donoso, 'El islam en Filipinas', Alicante, 2011 (PhD Diss. University of Alicante), pp. 611-13

C. Fernández Duro, *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y Aragón*, Madrid, 1990, vol. 6, pp. 419-21

Isaac Donoso

Onno Zwier van Haren

DATE OF BIRTH 2 April 1713
PLACE OF BIRTH Sint Annaparochie, Friesland
DATE OF DEATH 2 September 1779
PLACE OF DEATH Wolvega, Friesland

BIOGRAPHY

Onno Zwier van Haren was a Frisian nobleman who was prominent in the social circle of William Friso, Prince of Orange-Nassau (r. 1711-51), later William IV. Through his personal friendship with William IV, van Haren gained access to government circles in The Hague. In 1747, he fought in the War of the Austrian Succession. After his return to The Hague and upon the death of William he became very influential as a favourite of the latter's widow, Anna of Hannover (the daughter of King George II of England). In 1760, he was accused by two of his daughters, via their husbands, of committing incest with them. He signed a secret admission of guilt and withdrew from all official government posts, but he attempted a return in 1761 and it then became public knowledge, which van Haren attributed to his political opponent, the Duke of Brunswick. Van Haren withdrew to his estate in Wolvega (Friesland) and devoted the rest of his life to writing.

Apart from *Agon, sulthan van Bantam*, van Haren's other works related to Christian-Muslim relations are *Proeve op de Levensbeschrijving der Nederlandsche Doorluchtige Mannen behelzende het leven van Johannes Kamphuis*, a biography of one of the governors of the Dutch East India Company (Leeuwarden, 1772), and *Pietje en Agnietje of de Doos van Pandora, toneelspel*, a play advocating "the old Dutch virtues" (1779).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Agon, sulthan van Bantam*, ed. G.C. de Waard, The Haag, 1979

Secondary

P. van der Vliet, *Onno Zwier van Haren (1713-1779). Staatsman en dichter*, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1996

G.P.M. Knuvelder, *Handbook to the history of Dutch literature*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1971[5], vol. 2, pp. 560-72
A. Stakenburg, *Onno Zwier van Haren, De Geuzen*, Santpoort, 1943
H.J. Polak, *Studiën*, Zutphen, 1888, pp. 1-107, 'De Gebroeders van Haren'
C. Busken Huet, *Litterarische Fantasieën en Kritieken*, vol. 6, 'De Van Harens', Haarlem [1881], pp. 1-56
J. van Vloten, *Leven en werken van W. en O.Z. van Haren, Friesche Edellui*, Deventer, 1874

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Agon, sulthan van Bantam. Treurspel in vyf bedryven, 'Agon, Sultan of Bantam. Tragedy in five acts'

DATE 1769
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION
Agon, sulthan van Bantam covers 76 pages in C.G. de Waard's 1979 edition. The narrative is based on accounts of the struggle for power in Western Java between the VOC (the Dutch East India Company) and the ruler of Bantam, Abū l-Fatḥ 'Abd al-Fattāḥ, also known as 'Ageng' (the great), between 1680 and 1684. According to the historical account, in the absence of his eldest son, who was on a pilgrimage to Mecca, the sultan decided to appoint a younger son as heir to the throne. On his return from Mecca, the eldest son (known as 'Sultan Haji') deposed his father through a palace coup. With the help of VOC troops, Sultan Haji drove off the soldiers of Ageng, who had besieged the capital. After a long struggle, the old sultan was defeated and brought to Batavia, the VOC's main stronghold, where he died in exile. The victory over Ageng inaugurated the VOC's total dominance of trade routes on Java.

In the play, which is written in the style of the then highly popular French tragedies, van Haren adapted the historical facts for the sake of the plot, which may be summarised as follows:

Agon, the old sultan, has decided to transfer his powers to his two sons, Abdul and Hassan. He has divided his lands into two parts: Abdul will receive Bantam, and Hassan the principality of Tartassa. Furthermore, Hassan will marry Fathema, the daughter of the former ruler of Macassar (a region of Celebes/Sulawesi), who had been driven from his

lands by the Dutch. Fathema is eager to avenge her father; she is hostile to the Dutch, and asks her fiancé Hassan to swear an oath that he will never give way to them. Agon is angered by Abdul's close relationship with the Dutch, especially after the presentation of a Dutch convert to Islam (Jan Steenwijk) at the court of Bantam. At the abdication ceremony, Hassan accuses his brother of betraying the fatherland to the Dutch. He shows the court a secret treaty that Abdul had made with the Dutch, with Steenwijk acting as intermediary. Abdul draws his *keris* (dagger) and threatens his father. The guard wants to kill him, but is prevented by Agon, who tries to persuade Abdul to abandon his cooperation with the VOC. At this point, a messenger warns that the Dutch have landed with a fleet, and their representative, fleet commander St Martin, wants to negotiate. He speaks to Fathema, trying to persuade her to give up Hassan and marry the cooperative Abdul (who loves her) instead. Fathema vehemently refuses, while Agon also refuses offers of peace. A battle ensues between the Dutch and the Javanese, led by Hassan, during which the treacherous Abdul mortally wounds his father. Fathema runs to the battlefield, sees Hassan also mortally wounded, and kills Steenwijk and then herself. As he is dying, Agon hears news of her death and that of his younger son, and ends the play with his last words: 'Virtue and bravery are banished from the East/I leave the cowardly East a prey to its tyrants.'

This play depicts the struggle between Bantam and the VOC as a fight between the noble, freedom-loving Javanese and the avaricious, treacherous Dutch. The most villainous person in the play is the renegade Jan van Steenwijk, who 'has betrayed his country and God' in order to 'obtain riches'.

In the play, the enemies are identified through the terms 'Dutch', 'Batavia' and 'Holland'. The term 'Christians' is used sparingly, and only mentioned in discussions of the broader picture of the European presence in the East. 'Christians' are depicted by Agon as people who 'come to our countries for dirty profit'. When Hassan suggests to his father the possibility of concluding a treaty with the French, English or Danes present in Bantam in order to keep the Dutch at bay, Agon argues that these other Europeans are powerless to protect the kingdom. Besides, he argues, the price for their support would in the end be just as high, as the real god of all Europeans is money: 'Their aid and help would cost us no less: their friendship is always for the highest bidder, and money is indeed the god of the Europeans.'

Muslims are pictured as noble people, who are bound by their Book to rule with law and justice. Agon asks his sons to swear a holy oath on the Qur'an that they will always rule in justice, as ordained by God. Throughout the play, references are made to God as the One who has ordained the fate of all humans, and the heroes of the play, Agon, Fathema and Hassan, derive from this notion the courage to face their enemies.

SIGNIFICANCE

Agon, sulthan van Bantam can be regarded as the first work of literature by a Dutchman to be openly critical of the colonial enterprise in the East. It depicts Muslims generally as noble human beings, in contrast to Europeans.

The play was seen by contemporaries as an attempt by a Dutch author to write a play in the French classical style, and it was judged unfavourably on the basis of its stylistic qualities. Considered 'unplayable', after some initial attempts to put it on stage, the play was shelved.

In the second half of the 19th century, critics rediscovered the play, considering it the very first critical reflection by a Dutchman on the colonial presence of the Dutch in the Indonesian archipelago. Another interpretative frame focuses on the connection between the play and the incestuous affair that put an end to van Haren's political career. Agon, the wise elderly statesman, is betrayed by one of his own children, who is under the influence of an evil outsider. The play's renegade character, Steenwijk, represents the Duke of Brunswick, whom van Haren saw as the evil genius behind the scandal. Another interpretative layer is the comparison with contemporary French plays such as *Mithridate* and *La Thébaïde*, both by Racine.

PUBLICATIONS

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Agon, sulthan van Bantam, treurspel in 5 bedryven*, Leeuwarden: Abraham Ferwerda, 1769; Cenetono34270 (digitised version available through Department of Dutch Language and Literature, University of Leiden)

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Agon, sultan de Bantan: tragédie en cinq actes et en vers*, The Hague: Constapel, 1770 (French trans.); ark:/12148/bpt6k5628903t (digitised version available through BNF)

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Proeve van Nederduitsche treurspellen, getrokken uit vaderlandsche gebeurtenissen. Inhoudende Agon Sulthan van Bantam, in vyf bedryven en Willem de eerste, Prins van Oranje, in drei bedryven*, Zwolle: Simon Clement, 1773; P.o.rel. 6591 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Proeven voor Nederlands toneel*, Zwolle, 1779; 297 M 21 [1-3] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Netherlands)

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Agon, sulthan van Bantam, treurspel*, Leiden, 1786

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Agon, sultan de Bantan. Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers*, Paris, 1812 (French trans.)

S.A., *Dichterlijke werken van Willem en Onno Zwier van Haren*, Amsterdam, 1824-7

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Onno Zwier van Haren's Agon, sulthan van Bantam. Treurspel, in vijf bedrijven*, Amsterdam, 1854

J. van Vloten (ed.), *Leven en werken van W. en O.Z. van Haren, Friesche Edellui*, Deventer, 1874

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Agon, sulthan van Bantam*, ed. G.C. de Waard, Zwolle, 1968

Onno Zwier van Haren, *Agon, sulthan van Bantam*, ed. G.C. de Waard, The Hague, 1979 (135 pages, with the play itself taking up pp. 57-133)

STUDIES

R. Erenstein, 'Onno Zwier van Haren en "Agon, sulthan van Bantam"', *Scenarium* 2 (1978) 41-66; http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/eren004onn001_01/eren004onn001_01_0001.php

A. Stakenburg, 'Onno Zwier van Haren', in *De Geuzen*, Santpoort, 1943, 23-32

E. du Perron, *Een schandaal in Holland*, The Hague, 1939

W.M.F. Mansveldt, 'Onno Zwier van Haren geen voorloper van Multatuli', *De Gids* 4 (1929) 307-19

J.A.F.L. Baron van Heeckeren, 'Een voorganger van Multatuli', *Taal en Letteren* 4 (1894) 329-38

C. Busken Huet, art. 'de van Harens', in *Litterarische Fantasieën en Kritieken VI*, Haarlem [1881], 1-56

J. van Vloten, *Leven en werken van W. en O.Z. van Haren, Friesche Edellui*, Deventer, 1874

J. van Vloten, 'Een edelman onder ploerten', *De Levensbode* 5 (1872) 161-204

Gé Speelman

Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek

'Compendium of decrees by the Government of the Dutch East Indies'

DATE 17th/18th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

After exploratory trips to Asia between 1595 and 1600, traders in the young Dutch Republic established the VOC (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*; Dutch East India Company). The VOC built, or captured from the Portuguese, fortifications along the route, or in key locations, for the spice trade from Arabia and India to the Malay Archipelago. Jan Pieterszoon Coen and his Dutch forces seized the west Javanese harbour of Jakatra (now Jakarta) in 1619, and established it as the centre for Dutch trade, renaming it Batavia. The town soon developed beyond being a secure garrison for traders, with the VOC quickly emerging as an administrative and territorial power. By the 1620s, the Dutch held sway in the capital of Batavia, the eastern island of Banda and the Christianised regions of the island of Ambon. Owing to the shortage of European women, even the 'white' population of Batavia was mixed race in character. However, the vision of an 'Indian Zion' or a Christian enclave amid the mostly Muslim population of Indonesia did not materialise.

In Batavia's first decades, several efforts were made to create a town free of Chinese temples, mosques and Islamic religious schools. It was primarily the few Protestant ministers who urged a ban on anything outside the sphere of 'Reformed religion', meaning Calvinist Christianity, in the form of the Dutch Reformed Church. In reality, however, a lively Muslim community continued to exist. The Batavia City Council enforced laws for this Muslim group in various ways, and these are to be found among the thousands of local regulations. In the collection of these regulations, as published in the 19th century, they are arranged according to years of promulgation. Here, we discuss some interconnected measures that were implemented across the years.

The first compilation of the recorded decisions of the City Council of Batavia was put together in 1641, followed by several collections in later years. However, none of these earlier collections of ordinances and

regulations has survived. The most complete compilation of the decisions of the City Council (identical with the leadership of the VOC's central office in Batavia) was brought together in 16 volumes (plus one volume of indexes) by J.A. van der Chijs between 1885 and 1900. These volumes are based on the Jakarta archives, and in print amount to approximately 10,000 pages. All references here will be to these van der Chijs volumes, unless otherwise indicated.

In many rulings, colonial society is identified as falling into three groups: full citizens (Europeans, Christians of native and mixed Eurasian origin), native Muslims, and other Asians. The Dutch Reformed Church had a privileged position. Within the boundaries of Batavia proper, no illicit religious meetings were to be held, under penalty of loss of individual property, physical punishment or banishment. Three groups are mentioned as frowned upon in what is termed 'the religion article' of the *Batavia Statuten* of 1642: 'errant Papism', 'dazzled paganism' and 'obscured Moorishness' (vol. 1, pp. 472-594, esp. pp. 474-5; see also Niemeijer, *Calvinisme*, pp. 123-4; for a long series of references to this exclusivist ruling, see Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism*, pp. 69-70).

In line with the general trend of the ordinances of the City Council, there is little theology or comment about the truth of religions in these administrative documents, but there is much surrounding the effect of religious difference in everyday life. In the early decades of Batavia, Reformed ministers made numerous complaints about the continuing religious activity of the Chinese and the Muslims. There were some measures to reward conversions. In 1635, the municipal authorities stipulated that everyone who was baptised would receive two crowns of 40 pennies from the company in order to encourage 'the Reformed faith and to show how we appreciate that our pagan and Moorish community attempt to seek their salvation through the only Saviour, the Lord Christ' (vol. 1, p. 371).

With regard to taxes, 'natives and Chinese' had to pay less than 'white' citizens, especially in the poll-tax and marriage payments (vol. 6, p. 702; see also vol. 14, p. 218). In contrast to the rules of *sharīʿa*, it was decreed by the VOC that converts to Christianity were still entitled to inherit from their Muslim parents (vol. 2, p. 412; vol. 10, p. 842). A short and incomplete note mentions that, on 28 February 1744, a permit was given by Governor General Van Imhoff to build a mosque for (and by) the community of Coromandel Muslims just outside the walled town of Batavia, at a location called 'Utrecht Gate'. The nomination of a 'Moorish priest'

as leader of this mosque was agreed by the City Council on 2 February 1748 (vol. 5, p. 548, although the permit to build the mosque is not referred to again in this publication). Numerous other records state that conducting non-Christian services was prohibited, as was the building of mosques and temples.

Notwithstanding repeated prohibitions of non-Christian religions, the administration was finally forced to recognise and regulate Islamic affairs to some degree. Provision was made in 1681 for a salary to be paid to the 'Mahomedan priest who had to administer the oath to Mahomedan witnesses on behalf of the college of aldermen' (vol. 3, p. 68). In 1754, a *Compendium of the most important Mahomedan laws and customs concerning inheritance, marriage and divorce* was compiled after consultation between the VOC 'Delegate for native affairs' and 'some Machomethan priests and Kampong officers'. This booklet stated that Islamic law was to apply to Muslims in cases where civil law would apply to Europeans (vol. 7, pp. 392-407).

These regulations did not imply that Europeans were beginning to accept Muslims. Within the city limits of Batavia, non-Christian religions continued to be banned, as was again stated in the *New statutes of Batavia* of 1776 (vol. 9, esp. pp. 29-30). This same 'civil code' of 1776 stipulated the official policy, stating that 'for Mahometan or Chinese as well as other pagan men and women all marriages outside one's own nationality are forbidden and declared to be invalid and will be punished'. Religion was a major factor in deciding one's nationality: native Christians were dealt with in the same way as Europeans (vol. 9, p. 416).

There was no fixed rule about Muslim pilgrimages to Mecca. In individual cases, and especially for important persons and rulers, the Dutch facilitated transport but, more often than not, there was an absolute prohibition on ships' captains taking on pilgrims as passengers (Vredenbregt, 'The Haddj', pp. 94-6). Arabs who travelled around as traders, preachers and pilgrims, and who were passing through on their return, regularly wanted to visit fellow believers in Batavia, but were often prohibited from coming ashore 'since such tramps are only harmful here because of the following among the Mohammedans' (vol. 4, pp. 76, 80). In 1687, it was ruled that for 'public meals, holidays and implementations of vows of Mahometans' no animals could be slaughtered without permission from the chiefs of the various nationalities. This was often due to the fact that no tax was required for slaughter for religious purposes, but the Batavian government feared that this exception was often abused. In

1740, a decree stipulated that no houses within the walled section of the town of Batavia should be sold to non-Christians. Muslims living in this central district at that time could continue to live there, but after their death these houses should be transferred to Christians (vol. 4, p. 514).

SIGNIFICANCE

The huge collection of decrees of the Batavia City Council gives a clear overview of the treatment of Muslims under the city's Christian government. These documents show the many everyday occasions where religion was an issue: marriage; burials; inheritance; building of schools and places of worship; dress codes; (often unsuccessful) segregation between Christian, Chinese and Muslim sections of the town; and many other situations. The collection of what are in the main practical rules is a helpful accompaniment to the treaties signed between the VOC and local rulers, many of whom were Muslims (they are published in *Corpus diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*). The collection shows the various ways in which this early colonial body negotiated with Muslims and implemented its religious policy.

The van der Chijs collection constantly switches between summaries and direct quotations of decrees, and in consequence we often do not have the full text of many decrees, though this record nevertheless provides useful historical material.

The documents in the collection have traditionally most often been used by historians of Dutch colonial policy, although some comparative studies exist. For the earlier period, we are still waiting for something comparable to Bousquet (*La politique musulmane*), who compared the French, British and Dutch strategies towards Islam as a factor in colonial history. In contrast to some historians who emphasise the separate worlds of the Christian colonisers and the native Muslims (Schutte, *Het Indisch Sion*; Niemeijer, *Batavia*), others describe the small colonial societies of the 17th and 18th centuries rather as multicultural melting pots (e.g. Gelman Taylor, *Social world of Batavia*; Blussé, *Strange company*).

PUBLICATIONS

P. Mijer, *Verzameling van Instructiën, ordonnanciën en reglementen voor de Regering van Nederlandsch-indië, 1609-1838*, Batavia, 1848; 003369066 (digitised version available through Harvard Library)

J.A. van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811*, 17 vols, Batavia, 1885-1900; (digitised version available through archive.org)

J.E. Heeres and F.W. Stapel, *Corpus diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum. Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten*, 6 vols, The Hague, 1907-55

STUDIES

H.E. Niemeijer, *Batavia. Een koloniale samenleving in de 17e eeuw*, Amsterdam, 2005

A. Heuken, *Mesjid-mesjid tua di Jakarta*, Jakarta, 2003

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

H.E. Niemeijer, 'Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur. Batavia 1619-1725', Amsterdam, 1996 (PhD Diss. Free University Amsterdam)

K.A. Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam. Contacts and conflicts, 1596-1950*, Amsterdam, 1993, esp. pp. 60-75

L. Blussé van Oud Alblas, *Strange company. Chinese settlers, mestizo women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, Dordrecht, 1986

J. Gelman Taylor, *The social world of Batavia. European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*, Madison WI, 1983

J. Vredenbregt, 'The Haddj. Some of its features and functions in Indonesia', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 118 (1962) 91-154

G.-H. Bousquet, *La politique musulmane et coloniale des Pays-Bas*, Paris, 1939 (English trans. *A French view of the Netherlands Indies*, London, 1940, repr. New York, 1978)

Karel Steenbrink

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1704
PLACE OF BIRTH Palembang, Sumatra
DATE OF DEATH Around 1789
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Arabia

BIOGRAPHY

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī was born in Palembang, Sumatra, to a father who had migrated from Yemen and who was initially a local teacher of Islam before taking up the position of mufti in Kedah, Malaya. As a young man, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad retraced his family's footsteps to Arabia, where he spent the greater part of his life, writing and studying with several prominent Malay scholars based there, including Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjarī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bugis. He also studied under Muḥammad al-Sammanī (d. 1776), an experience that enabled ʿAbd al-Ṣamad to play an indirect role in the later establishment of the Sammaniyya Sufi order in various locations in the Malay archipelago.

Of his eight written works, six survive, including his *magnum opus*, a Malay language free rendering of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā ʿulūm al-dīn*, completed in 1789 just prior to his death. The Malay version appeared under an Arabic title, *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā ʿibādat Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*, and the published version is still used today in some theological institutions in Malaysia and Indonesia. His writing was especially influenced by two great pillars of Sufi thought, al-Ghazālī and Ibn ʿArabī.

There is debate surrounding the date and place of his death. It is likely that he spent most of his life in Arabia, dying there around 1789.

Azra describes ʿAbd al-Samad as 'the most prominent Malay-Indonesian scholar in the eighteenth century networks' (Azra, *Origins of Islamic reformism*, p. 117). His writing reflects a call to more *sharīʿa*-conscious Sufi thinking during a period of considerable reflection and debate among South East Asian Muslim thinkers. It also reflects a desire to encourage Indonesian Muslims to wage jihad against the Dutch colonial presence that was encroaching ever further in the archipelago.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

N.J.G. Kaptein, art. ''Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī', in *EI3*

S. Rijal, 'Al-Palimbani, the national Islamic thinker in the 18th century and his divinity concept', *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 5 (2015) 138-42

O. Fathurahman, 'Penulis dan Penerjemah Ulama Palembang. Menghubungkan dua dunia', in H. Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sadur. Sejarah terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, Jakarta, 2010; http://oman.uinjkt.ac.id/2007/02/penulis-dan-penerjemah-ulama-palembang.html

A. Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia. Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern* 'ulamā' *in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, Honolulu HI, 2004, pp. 112-17

P. Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world. Transmission and responses*, London, 2001, pp. 184-6

H. Nasution et al. (eds), *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia*, Jakarta, 1992, pp. 33-4

A.H. Johns, 'Islam in Southeast Asia', in M. Eliade (ed.), *The encyclopedia of religion*, New York, 1987, vol. 7, pp. 404-22

G.W.J. Drewes, *Directions for travellers on the mystic path. Zakariyya' al-Ansari's* Kitab fath al-rahman *and its Indonesian adaptations with an appendix on Palembang manuscripts and authors*, The Hague, 1977, pp. 222-4

M.H. bin Dato Kerani M. Arshad, *Al-tārīkh salāsilah negeri kedah*, Kuala Lumpur, 1968, pp. 123-6

P. Voorhoeve, art. ''Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī', in *EI2*

R.O. Winstedt, 'A history of classical Malay literature', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31 (1958) 3-259, p. 125

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nasīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-muʾminīn faḍāʾil al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh wa-karāmat al-mujāhidīn fī sabīl Allāh, 'Advice for Muslims and an admonition for believers on the virtue of jihad in the way of God and honouring those who wage jihad in the way of God'

DATE 1772

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work consists of seven chapters and a conclusion, with the chapter titles providing a clear insight into the content of the work, as follows:

1. The virtue of and instructions on jihad in the way of God;
2. Hadith reports on the virtue of jihad in the way of God;
3. The virtue of preparation for jihad in the way of God;
4. Hadith accounts on the virtue of wealth allocation to the way of God and preparations for war;
5. The virtue of preparing equipment and weaponry training for jihad in the way of God;
6. The virtue of martyrdom in the way of God;
7. Certain specifics on jihad in the way of God;
8. Conclusion: The correct time for performing jihad and waging war.

The author largely limits his own views on jihad to the introductory comments and the Conclusion, preferring to let his sources articulate more detailed perspectives. He draws heavily on the Qur'an and the Hadith collections for verse references relevant to the topic of jihad, expounding its virtues and pointing to the noble character of those who choose to wage jihad. These references are supplemented by copious scholarly comments from luminaries such as Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Bayḍāwī, Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Nawawī, and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʾrānī.

In spite of his own Sufi leanings, which are reflected in his other writings, in this work al-Palimbānī portrays jihad as a duty of physical confrontation with the enemies of Islam, with the immediate relevance being the Dutch colonising power in Indonesia. He argues that it is mandatory for Muslims to wage jihad against hostile infidels, and concludes the work with a brief supplication intended to assure the jihad warriors of their invulnerability.

Most of al-Palimbānī's writings were in Malay. This particular work was probably written in Arabic for various reasons: first, because he was aiming for a wider audience than just Malay speakers; also because Arabic may have been seen as a more effective vehicle for issuing calls to jihad; and finally because the Arabic-language medium would have made the work less accessible to the Dutch colonial authorities.

SIGNIFICANCE

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, the Advisor on Native Affairs to the Dutch colonial government, considered this work as foundational to all

subsequent thinking on jihad in the Dutch East Indies. As such, *Nasīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-muʾminīn* was undoubtedly a pioneering exemplar of jihad literature in Muslim South East Asia. The later works that it inspired included the *Hikayat Prang Sabi*, which drew on it heavily and which triggered much support for the Acehnese resistance to the Dutch colonial presence in the late 19th century. *Nasīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-muʾminīn* was also significant as a trigger for the later rise of Indonesian nationalist sentiment. Such being the case, the work also played an indirect role in eroding the primacy of ethnic identification and enhancing Islamic identity in emerging nationalist movements.

This work points to al-Palimbānī's awareness of the socio-political challenges facing Indonesian Muslims from Dutch colonial rule in the 18th century, even though he himself was based in Arabia.

Finally, *Nasīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-muʾminīn* was also significant as a vehicle to disseminate further the work of great classical scholars of Islam among South East Asian Muslims.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Jakarta, National Library – MS A 209 (Date not known; Leiden University Library holds a microfilm copy)

MS Jakarta, National Library – MS W 51 (Date not known)

MS Umariyah Library, Palembang (Date not known; private collection)

STUDIES

A. Saefullah, 'Kautamaan jihad dan kemuliaan mujahidin menurut al-Palimbani', seminar paper, Jakarta, 10 December 2008, p. 15; https://www.academia.edu/6672281/Naskah_Nasihah_Al-Muslimin_Al-Palimbani

Sariyanti, 'Nasīḥat al-muslimīn wa-taẓkirat al-muʾminīn taʾlīf al-Syaikh Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī (1112-1203H), taḥqīquhā wa takhrīju aḥādiṣihā al-Nabawiyyah fīhā', Jakarta, 2008 (BA Diss. Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah)

N. Heer, *A concise handlist of Jawi authors and their works*, Seattle WA, 2010 p. 15; https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/bitstream/handle/1773/4870/handlist2_1.pdf?sequence=3

Fathurahman, 'Penulis dan Penerjemah Ulama Palembang'

I.K. Khan, *Islam in modern Asia*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 383

Iik A. Mansurnoor, 'Muslims in modern Southeast Asia. Radicalism in historical perspectives', *Taiwan Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 2 (2005) 3-54

Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia*, pp. 140-1

Hashim bin Musa, *A brief survey on the study of the Malay Sastera Kitab on Malay-Islamic thought*, Kuala Lumpur, 1999, p. 80
Drewes, *Directions for travellers on the mystic path*, p. 223
P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands*, Leiden, 1957, p. 249
C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Leiden, 1942-9, Supp. 2, p. 629

Jihad letters to Javanese rulers

DATE 22 May 1772
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
Apart from his treatise on jihad, *Nasīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-muʾminīn*, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī also composed at least three letters to Javanese rulers and princes, urging them to wage jihad on the Dutch colonial army. The three letters in their Dutch translation are held in the National Archives of the Netherlands. Originally in Arabic, the letters were translated into Javanese and then into Dutch. G.W.J. Drewes then produced an English translation in 1976, commenting that 'the result is a translation of a poor Dutch translation made from a Javanese translation of the original Arabic letters' (Drewes, 'Further data', p. 269).

The letters, sent from Mecca, were written under various *noms de plume*: Samat from Palembang, resident of Mecca, in the case of two of the letters, and Sekh Mohamat in the third. Drewes identifies the author of all three as al-Palimbānī (Drewes, 'Further data', pp. 267-73).

There is some uncertainly regarding the addressees. One letter was clearly intended for Sultan Hamangkubuwana I of Yogyakarta (r. 1749-92), identified in the letter as the sultan of Mataram, to encourage him during the Third Javanese War of Succession against his rivals and their Dutch allies. Uncertainty surrounds the identity of the addressees of the other two letters, given as Susuhunan Prabu Jaka in 'Solocarta' and Pangeran Paku Nagara.

The tone and intent of the letters are similar, all of them being designed to exhort the Javanese leaders to jihad against the infidel Dutch. A contrastive style of language of praise for the Javanese and demeaning

language for the non-Muslim Dutch is used in all the letters, such as: '… the king of Java, who maintains the religion of Islam and is triumphant over all potentates, and furthermore excels in good works in the war against those of other religion'. In similar vein, another letter states: '… Your Highness will always be victorious, which will lead to the protection of the Muslim faith and the extermination of all its malevolent adversaries.… we in Mecca have heard that Your Highness, being a truly princely leader, is much feared in battle. Value [the banner sent with the letter] and make use of it, please God, in exterminating your enemies and all unbelievers.'

In these letters, al-Palimbānī's call to action draws on the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions: 'The Lord reassures those who act in this way by saying, "Do not think that those who fell in the holy war are dead; certainly not, they are still alive"' (Q 2:154; 3:169). And further: 'Will it please Your Highness to also keep in mind that it says in the Qur'an, "Do not say that those who fell in the holy war are dead." God has said that the soul of such a one enters into a big pigeon and ascends straight up to heaven…'

Hadith accounts are also cited in support of al-Palimbānī's call to jihad: 'The Prophet Muḥammad says, "I was ordered to kill anyone but those who know God and me His Prophet." Those who are killed in the holy war are in odour of sanctity beyond praise; so this is a warning to all followers of Muḥammad.'

'Please think of the word of Muḥammad, who has said, "Kill those who are not of the Muhammadan religion, one and all, unless they go over to your religion."'

SIGNIFICANCE

These letters are significant in that they suggest that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī wielded some influence in Java, beyond his place of residence in Arabia and his place of origin in South Sumatra.

Furthermore, by these letters al-Palimbānī served as a transmission point for a spirit of revivalism, also expressed by his Arabian contemporary Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and seen later in the Paderi revivalist movement in Sumatra in the early 19th century.

Moreover, the language of the religious other in these letters was that of infidel unbeliever, suggesting a movement towards greater Islamic identity in the struggle against Dutch colonial rule.

PUBLICATIONS

MS The Hague, Nationaal Archief – KA 3256 (OB 1773) (Dutch renderings of Javanese translations of Arabic originals of the three letters)

G.W.J. Drewes, 'Further data concerning Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 132 (1976) 267-92 (Dutch renderings with English trans.)

STUDIES

Saefullah, 'Kautamaan jihād dan kemuliaan mujahidin menurut al-Palimbani'

Khan, *Islam in Modern Asia*, pp. 384-8

M.C. Ricklefs, *Mystic synthesis in Java. A history of Islamization from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries*, Norwalk CT: EastBridge, 2006, p. 191

Mansurnoor, 'Muslims in modern Southeast Asia', pp. 16-17

Azra, *Origins of Islamic reformism*, pp. 141-2

Drewes, 'Further data', 267-92

M. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792. A history of the division of Java*, Oxford, 1974, pp. 150-4

Peter G. Riddell

De Kerckenraeds van Gereformeerde Kerk te Batavia

The Church Council of the (Dutch) Reformed Church of Batavia (De Consistorie van Gereformeerde Kerk te Batavia) was founded along with the establishment of Batavia by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1619, under the fourth governor general, Jan Pieterszoon Coen.

As a maritime power, the VOC used both military force and diplomacy to secure their interests, centred mainly on trading in goods from Southeast Asia. The VOC's charter (1609) required the company to provide for the religious needs of its employees. All VOC ships, and later towns, were allocated at least one clergymen.

The Church Council in Batavia was not the oldest among its sister churches, but it was the most prominent. It served as a hub linking overseas churches with classes and synods in the Netherlands. Newly appointed church personnel were generally required to present themselves in Batavia before proceeding to their assigned churches.

In the 1790s, when the era of the VOC was drawing to an end, the Dutch Reformed Church of Batavia faced great difficulties. Later, towards the middle of the 19th century, together with all other churches in the archipelago, it faced a merger under the instruction of King Willem II (r. 1840-9), in 1844 becoming the *Protestantse Kerk in Nederland Indie* (PKNI). Later, in the 1940s, with Indonesian independence, it became the *Gereja Protestan Indonesia* (GPI).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

J. Mooij, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 3 vols, Batavia, 1927-31

Secondary

Y. Soleiman, *Pangumbaran ing bang wetan. The Dutch Reformed Church in late eighteenth century Java*, Zoetermeer, 2012

G. Knaap and G. Teiler (eds), *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Tussen oorlog en diplomatie*, Leiden, 2002

G. Schutte, *Het Indisch Sion. De Gereformeerde Kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Hilversum, 2002

J. Talens, *Een feodale samenleving in koloniaal vaarwater. Staatsvorming, koloniale expansie en economische ontwikkeling in Banten, West Java, 1600-1750*, Hilversum, 1999
H.E. Niemeijer, 'Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur. Batavia 1619-1725', Amsterdam, 1996 (PhD Diss. Free University Amsterdam)
C. Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indie. Haar ontwikkeling van 1620-1939*, The Hague, 1947
E. De Klerck, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, vol. 1, Rotterdam, 1938
J. van der Chijs, *De Nederlandsers te Jakarta uit de bronnen, zoo uitgegevene als niet uitgegevene*, Amsterdam, 1860

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Records of the Church Council of the Reformed Church in Batavia

DATE 1620-c. 1796
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

The presence and influence of Islam on the VOC during its first century in Batavia was probably insignificant. Batavia was a highly cosmopolitan new town with a population of people from all over the Indonesian archipelago as well as from Asia and Europe.

Communication between the VOC government and the Church Council in Batavia with regard to Muslims suggests that the Muslim presence in the town was a relatively minor concern from the perspective of the government, although the government appears, from time to time, to have countered the more hard-line attitudes and approaches of the church.

The attitude of the Church Council towards Islam seems in fact to have fluctuated over the years. In 1636, the Church Council asked the government to prevent the construction of a Muslim school for children in the Bandanese neighbourhood. This suggests that in non-European (Javanese, Bandanese, Ambonese and other Asian) parts of town there were limited Muslim communal facilities, and the church resisted Muslim encroachment. However, in 1641 the Church Council raised no objection to the plan to renovate a Muslim prayer house and orphanage for the children of Bandanese Muslims.

Muslims from the coast of Coromandel (also known as *orang Keling*) lived in the western part of Batavia, where there was a simple prayer

house (*langgar*), possibly used by visiting tradesmen from India. Foreign Muslim visitors built residences and prayer houses, initially for personal use, but later accessed by local Muslims. In 1644, the Church Council expressed concern to the government regarding a Muslim school in the western part of Batavia. After conducting an investigation, the government concluded that the school emphasised religious instruction rather than literacy in its programmes.

In another instance, when the church complained, in 1648 and again in 1649, about a 'Moorsche tempel' (mosque), the government replied that it needed to conduct an investigation into whether the mosque had indeed transgressed the regulations established by the former governor general (Anthony van Diemen, r. 1636-45). In the event, it remained unaffected until 1651, when the government passed a regulation (*plakkaat*) against this mosque, along with a Chinese temple. When Governor General Carel Reinieszoon (r. 1650-3) was succeeded by Joan Maetsuycker (r. 1653-78), permission was granted to build a new mosque. In his explanation to the ministers of Batavia, Maetsuycker stated that Muslims pray to the same God as Christians, the difference being that Muslims do not believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

In 1674, a further complaint was raised about a mosque to the north of the Ancol River, where people were reported to gather day and night. According to an investigation by the Church Council, there were already three Muslim schools in the area, a fact presented as a matter of some concern. However, due to past experience, the Church Council was no longer inclined to ask the VOC government to prohibit these schools and mosques. The Council reports instead suggested that the schools served a useful purpose in helping young people to spend their time in a beneficial educational environment, but nevertheless advised that the *koran-onderwijs* (learning of the Qur'an) should be limited, and the schools closed on Sundays.

By 1678, the number of mosques in Ancol had increased to three. After the fall of Bantam (Banten), there was a further increase in the number of Muslims in Batavia, and the influence they wielded.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Church Council records provide some of the earliest insights into attitudes to Islam among early colonial communities in the Dutch East Indies. They suggest that negative attitudes arose within the church from time to time, due to an increase in facilities for Muslim worship. These

records also suggest that the concerns of church authorities were not necessarily supported by the VOC government.

PUBLICATIONS

Mooij, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Protestantsche Kerk*

STUDIES

Niemeijer, 'Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur', ch. 5, § 23: 'Moslims en Moorse godsdienst' [Muslims and Moorish religion] (traces the reaction of the Church Council to the Muslim community in Batavia and surrounding areas from its early years up to the late 17th century)

Yusak Soleiman

Corpus Diplomaticum

Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum
VOC Treaties
Collected contracts of the Dutch Indian Administration, 1596-1799

DATE 1596-1799
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

On 23 June 1596, Cornelis de Houtman arrived in Bantam, West Java, at the head of the first Dutch fleet to reach Indonesia. On 1 July 1596, the first of many treaties with Asian rulers was signed with the sultan of Bantam, pioneering a practice of peace-making between the locals and the VOC (Dutch East India Company) that lasted from 1602 to 1799. These treaties often called for harmony and friendship and they frequently contained paragraphs in which specific rules of conduct were prescribed, appealing to religious sentiments. The first contracts of the 17th century were mainly the result of direct contact, but later treaties were created in light of political or economic developments. Between 1907 and 1955, a total of 1,198 contracts from the colonial archives were published in chronological order comprising six volumes of some 700 pages each. Only the Dutch versions were printed initially.

The majority of the publications end with a short description of the ceremonies at which the signing of the contracts took place. At these, oaths were taken on the Bible and on a copy (*Mushaf, mousahaphij* in vol. 2, p. 15) of the Qur'an. Often, a third ritual was added: the drinking of water 'that has been poured over *krisses* [daggers] which since ancient times signifies a pact of the highest order' (vol. 2, pp. 426, 453). The 18th-century contracts often carry the Muslim dates alongside the European dating.

In the first half of the 17th century especially, treaties often contained many passionate and optimistic statements about (inter-)religious harmony. The first treaty with the chiefs of Banda (23 May 1602) states in the first article that 'both parties, the Dutch and the Bandanese, will serve God Almighty, each according to the grace and gifts given to them by

God without preventing, inhibiting or hating in any way the other side, or blaming them in a way that might lead towards hostility, but they will treat the other party well and understand them and leave all other things to God' (vol. 1, p. 23). A second treaty with the chiefs (13 July 1605) repeats similar sentiments in the same language (vol. 1, p. 37).

Most of the religious elements in these treaties are not to do with doctrine or ritual, but concern practical interaction between the two groups. For example, a treaty of 1623 with Shah ʿAbbās of Persia endorses freedom of worship for the Dutch (vol. 1, p. 188, art. 11), and also stipulates that, if Dutch men are found with Muslim women, they will be handed over to the Dutch authorities to be punished in the proper way (vol. 1, p. 189, art. 15). Internal regulations of the VOC prohibited debates on religious issues, and this was even included in some treaties as a requirement for both sides (vol. 1, p. 102). Many rulings here also prohibit change of religion and mixed marriage. Changing one's religion was often treated on a par with desertion, and portrayed in such a way in the treaties. Those guilty of conversion were seen as runaways, to be sent back to their own community (Treaty with Muslims of Banda, 1621, vol. 1, pp. 164-5; with the sultan of Sumbawa, 1669, vol. 3, pp. 27, 311). A 1657 contract with the sultan of Tidore specifies a Dutch promise not to disturb, deride or scoff at the [Muslim] religion and belief, and never to attempt to encourage them to embrace the Christian religion, … in a way that for both parties is considered as useful for their salvation' (vol. 2, p. 103).

Special stipulations surround the use of Christian slaves. They are not to be sold to Muslims, and Muslims must refrain from forcibly circumcising them (vol. 3, pp. 41, 199, 496). In Malakka, runaway slaves from local Muslim towns who wanted to convert to Christianity were allowed to do so, while the Dutch governor of the town promised compensation for their former owners (vol. 5, p. 429, from 1746). In the Bantam sultanate, which was under strict Dutch control, it was stated that Christians must pay taxes to the VOC, while Muslims paid their (lower) taxes to the nominal sultan. In the cases of Chinese converting to Islam, they had to remain under Dutch rule and tax law, while only their children could eventually pay the lower tax rate (vol. 5, p. 115, from 1731; vol. 6, p. 415, from 1777).

In the late 17th century, a few Christian communities arose in Sanggir and North Celebes. With the already established Christian communities of Batavia and Ambon, these groups added to the Dutch-Christian influence. Their rulers promised in a long series of contracts that they would follow the Reformed Religion (as formulated at the Synod of Dort

in 1619), without allowing a 'Papist priest' or preaching by imams (vol. 3, p. 361; vol. 5, pp. 226-9; vol. 6, pp. 69, 168-70).

From 1750 to 1799 (vol. 6), contracts with Persia ceased, and only one was drawn up with mainland South East Asia (in Siam in 1754). There are 12 contracts concerning Bintauna, a small kingdom in North Celebes that had come under the direct authority of the VOC in 1677. Subsequently, several rulers had converted to Christianity (vol. 3, pp. 128-36) and received special attention from the Dutch, with protection against the Muslim majority in the region and against Spanish and Catholic groups connected with Manila. From 1755 onwards, the contracts stipulate that no imams are allowed to enter the territory and that further expansion of Islam is forbidden. The ruler must marry a member of the 'Reformed Religion'. Conversion under compulsion, either to Christianity or Islam, remains forbidden (vol. 6, p. 69, and further pp. 168-70, 252-5, 282-8, 311, 389, 472, 511-16). For Malakka, measures are announced to promote 'the true Christian religion', and in the case of runaway slaves who want to embrace Christianity, their owners will receive half their value. Those owners who take back their converted Christian slaves will be severely punished (vol. 6, p. 203). In the Sultanate of Banten, a large community of Chinese lived under Dutch rule and paid taxes. Those who converted to Islam were considered as subjects of the sultan, with lower taxes. In order to prevent conversions motivated by the prospect of the lower taxes, a ruling in the contract with the sultan of 1777 allowed access to these lower taxes only to the offspring of the converts, not the converts themselves (vol. 6, p. 415).

Finally, the Dutch administration promised the sultan of Ternate that only pagan natives of the region would be accepted in the colonial army and not Muslims, as the standard meal-time practice was to share with European soldiers who did not observe Muslim dietary requirements in their use of spices (vol. 6, p. 500).

SIGNIFICANCE

Muslims prescribed *dhimmī* status for non-Muslim citizens. With the transition from the VOC trading company to colonial empire under direct Dutch government rule, the status of Christians and Muslims within the territory had to be reformulated. Therefore, in the documented contracts we see the birth of a colonial state with specific protection for Christians, native Muslims and 'other Asians' (as was the formal wording in the 19th and early 20th century).

In the second half of the 18th century, the colonial administration increasingly favoured Christians. Marriage and the status of slaves are especially important issues in Christian-Muslim relations. In the 17th century, many measures were taken against non-Christian places of worship in the few regions with Christian majorities (the capital of Batavia and the island of Ambon). In these places, the terminology of *Indian Zion* was used to indicate the small Christian presence amidst an overwhelmingly pagan and Muslim population. Many more regulations concerning places of worship and learning in Batavia and local laws for the colonial capital have been published by J.A. van der Chijs in the *Plakaatboek*.

PUBLICATIONS

J.A. van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-indisch Plakaatboek 1601-1811*, Batavia, 1885-1900, 17 vols

J.E. Heeres and F.W. Stapel (eds), *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum. Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten*, 's-Gravenhage, 1907-55, 6 vols; 003811654 (digitised version available through Harvard Library)

The *Oxford Public International Law* project has put many of these contracts on its website: http://opil.ouplaw.com

STUDIES

K. Steenbrink, 'Frederick de Houtman', in *CMR* 11, pp. 321-31

H.E. Niemeijer, *Batavia. Een koloniale samenleving in de 17e eeuw*, Amsterdam, 2005

A. Heuken, *Mesjid-mesjid tua di Jakarta*, Jakarta, 2003

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

H.E. Niemeijer, 'Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur. Batavia 1619-1725', Amsterdam, 1996 (PhD Diss. Free University of Amsterdam)

K.A. Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam. Contacts and conflicts, 1596-1950*, Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 60-75

W.Ph. Coolhaas, *A critical survey of studies on Dutch colonial history*, The Hague, 1960 (revised repr. 1980), pp. 28-30

M.W. Jurriaanse, *Catalogue of the archives of the Dutch central government of coastal Ceylon, 1640-1796*, Colombo, 1943

Karel Steenbrink

Javanese court chronicles on the rising power of the Dutch, 17th and 18th centuries

DATE 17th and 18th centuries
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Javanese

DESCRIPTION

This entry concentrates on Javanese works produced for the major courts of the Sultanate of Mataram, located in the Yogyakarta-Surakarta area. These court chronicles were not written for entertainment, devotion or moral edification, unlike the many works on Muslim romantic figures such as Amir Hamzah, Iskandar Zulkarnain, Sultan Ibrahim, Muhammad Hanafiyya and many others representing Muslim lore, or those continuing the theatrical tradition of *wayang* shadow play and its representation of characters from the Indian epic stories. The court chronicles were, and still are, considered to be *pusaka*, i.e. documents that have an almost physical function as founding or constituting elements for life in the realm. They sit alongside other sacred objects such as daggers or *kris*, and gamelan musical instruments, comparable to the Crown Jewels in the British tradition. Reading these texts is often reserved for special people and can be done only after fulfilling specific conditions.

The best known and by far the most frequently printed and studied court chronicle of the Javanese kingdom of Mataram is *Babad tanah Jawi* (also *Djawi*), or 'The rise of the land of Java'. It was probably first written down in the first decade of the 17th century, to be followed by many updates mapping the changing political climate until the 1830s, when a final version in poetic form was made, while a text in Javanese prose was also produced for use by Dutch readers. Due to the different lengths of the many manuscripts, there is still much uncertainty as to the exact history of the different redactions and their relation to political developments.

The *Babad tanah Jawi* is alternatively named after the places in which the major palaces had been built: *Babad Majapahit*, *Babad Pajang, Babad Mataram, Babad Kartasura*. The discussion here refers to the most commonly used version, that of 1874, edited by J.J. Meinsma, translated in 1941 by W.L. Olthof, which covers 362 pages in print. The work is written as a chronicle of the world from its creation, telling the stories of the

prophet Adam and Seth, and moving on to personalities from the Hindu tradition such as Batara Guru and Lord Vishnu, then to the kingdom of Pajajaran in west Java, and the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit in central and east Java. The last Hindu ruler was Brawijaya V. He was succeeded (in about 1518) by his Muslim son, ruler of Demak and later the first Muslim ruler of the realm of Mataram. From here, the court chronicle is written as an account of events relating to the Mataram dynasty.

The work makes striking reference to the siege of the Dutch in Batavia/Jakarta by the army of the sultan in the Javanese year 1571 (corresponding to 1649 CE, which should actually be 1628-9; on this see Ricklefs, *Modern Javanese historical tradition*, pp. 250-4). There were two quite different leaders in the attack. The uncle of Sultan Agung, Prince or Pangeran Purbaya, uses his magical power to fly over the town. Dutch bullets cannot wound him, and he laughs at them, crying out: 'Heh, you stupid Dutch people, why are you shooting at me. Do you still trust the strength of your fortification?' He makes a hole as large as an adult in one of the walls and disappears, returning to his boat by means of his magical power.

On the other side of the town, more conventional forms of attack take place, with the Javanese artillery firing cannons. The Dutch return fire, but they are short of ammunition so instead they use excrement. This not only smells terrible but is also impure (*najis*), resulting in the Javanese soldiers returning to their capital Mataram some 500 km from the scene of the battle. For this, the two generals Mandureja and Baureksa are executed.

After Prince Purbaya returns to Mataram, he comments to the sultan, 'My Lord, as to the war in Jakarta, it would be best to stop it, because the Dutch only came here for trade.' The sultan is happy to hear this and quietly says, 'Uncle, you are right. Anyway, it is God's decision (*sampun pinesti karsa Allah*) that in future the Dutch will be helpers to my offspring who will become sultans. When in the future one of my offspring is defeated in war, the Dutch will certainly come to help him. The only reason I started this war was that I wanted to give an example, in order to make them somewhat afraid' (Meinsma, *Babad tanah Jawi*, p. 143; the references that follow are to this edition). This may reflect the *Realpolitik* adopted by the sultans, who had grown more circumspect after many defeats in the 17th and early 18th centuries. It is not the Islam of scriptural principles concerning jihad and *dhimmī* relations, but the language of what has been labelled by Ricklefs (*Mystic synthesis in Java*) as the 'mystic synthesis' of Javanese traditional lore with Muslim concepts, which describes the political process in spiritual, even religious terminology.

In 1677, nearly 40 years after the still slightly fragile alliance between the Dutch and the Javanese sultanate, Amangkurat I is succeeded by his son, who wishes to end the cooperation with the Dutch. The Dutch hire a sorcerer the size of a giant, who is tasked with killing the new ruler. After many adventures, he fights the ruler, who invokes God and utters magical spells, including the *du'a besmah* or the *bismillah* prayer, whereupon the sorcerer shrinks to the size of a small child and loses the ability to speak, which leads to the Javanese defeating the Dutch (pp. 273-4). This is another example of the tradition of 'mystic synthesis'.

The *Babad tanah Jawi* describes various revolts against Javanese rulers involving the Dutch as allies of the Javanese or, more frequently, as one of the warring parties. In the case of Surapati's uprising against the Dutch (1683-7), the Sultan of Ceribon, a vassal of the ruler of Mataram, openly resisted the Javanese ruler and requested Dutch assistance. However, he secretly supported Surapati, and implied that he was continuing his efforts because 'I have to tell you that it is the decision of Allāh (*karsaning Allah*) that you and your descendants will be enemies of the Dutch' (p. 220). Similarly, in other revolts the 'decision of Allāh' is given as an explanation of the outcome (see p. 371 for the revolt of the vassal Sultan of Blitar).

Surapati's uprising is described in a lengthy court history of its own, the *Babad Surapati* (totalling some 100 to 150 pages in various redactions). It relates the story of Surapati, who was probably a Javanese slave owned by a Dutchman in Batavia. He was adopted as a child by the governor general, and then had a love affair with the latter's daughter. Islamic law prohibits such a relationship, but according to the daughter, 'The Dutch religion permits this kind of relationship, even though you are my stepbrother, as long as we feel the same way. Let's go into the bedroom then and enjoy the pleasures of love' (Kumar, *Surapati*, p. 300).

A substantially more detailed depiction of Christians as relatively dubious followers of Jesus is given in a later Javanese literary work, the *Kitab Usulbiya*, a book on the origins and essence of the prophets, written by Queen Ratu Pakubuwana II in 1729-30 or on her behalf by a female courtier. This work begins by recounting that the first being created by God was the Prophet Muḥammad in the form of his 'secret essence', who was even allowed to sit on God's throne. Muḥammad is sent to earth, to Mecca, where the Prophet Jesus (*Nabi Ngisa*) is active. Jesus claims that 'only radiance preceded me, called the original jewel', upon which Muḥammad explains that he is this first light (the *nūr Muḥammad*) and Jesus accepts him as the first created being and as king of Mecca (Ricklefs,

Seen and unseen, pp. 74-5). Jesus supports Muḥammad's work and invites him to use his own palace. He also warns Muḥammad of the *Nasarani*, or Christians, who must be seen as enemies of Jesus. The text says nothing about what beliefs they held, but concentrates on their appearance: 'They are constantly urinating. They wear a pair of trousers and do not loosen their jackets ... They use a constant fragrance to conceal their stink' (Ricklefs, *Seen and unseen*, p. 68). In a revised version produced 14 years later in 1743, authored again by a female courtier, this long text (consisting of some 4,800 lines, or 160 pages) ascribes these negative qualities partly to *Nasarani* (Christians), but also partly to *Yahudi* (Jews). These references are unlikely to be associated with particular Christians or Jews known by the two female authors, as no Jews are known to have been living in Java at the time. However, the reference to Christians 'wearing their jackets day and night' may be indicative of how Dutch habits were observed by locals in central Java during this period. Even within the palaces, Javanese men, including the ruler and high dignitaries, were often bare-chested, while the Dutch were fully dressed according to the custom of their European homeland.

Serat Anbiya presents a long and comprehensive account of Jesus in the tradition of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, slightly adapted to Javanese culture and geography. When Mary tries to escape the gossip of the Jews after giving birth to her son, she does not go into the desert, as in the Middle Eastern accounts, but goes through a forest and mountain foothills, and finally arrives at a pool, where she sees a vine and a date palm. This text describes a much richer and more pleasant environment than the barren desert of al-Thaʿlabī's *Arā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, the basic source for the story followed here. However, there is no direct link to any Christians, although they had a significant presence in Java at the time this text was written (mid-19th century, though probably based on earlier versions; see Theria Wasim and Steenbrink, 'Javanese stories of Jesus').

A further text, *Serat Surya Raja* ('The book of the sun king' – no connection to the French *Roi soleil*), dates from 1774, the end of a period of civil wars and turmoil that resulted in the division of the Javanese kingdom into two realms, with the Dutch in a much stronger position than previously. The new court of Yogyakarta realised that it would be impossible to fight and defeat the Dutch. This resulted in a 'quasi-historical' text that, due to its wording and presentation, was thought to be sacred in character. It contained gold leaf illustrations and amounted to more than 1,000 handwritten pages in two volumes. The narrative describes how the kingdom of Yogyakarta fights a long war against unbelievers

from the north, undoubtedly a reference to the Dutch. After many minor skirmishes, love affairs and great battles, one of the unbelievers' generals falls seriously ill. His court prays to their god in vain. The general sends his wives away and prays in solitude, eventually receiving an answer, a voice telling him that it is God's will that he should convert to Islam and call upon Allāh, the Most High: 'If you follow Islam your enemies will surely withdraw themselves and you shall be healed. This Islamic faith is above, below are the believers in gods' (Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi*, pp. 204-5). The general converts and returns to good health. He recounts this miraculous cure to the leader of the (Dutch) unbelievers, who then also accepts Islam. In the end, the Javanese and their former opponents deliberate over mystical knowledge, and there is harmony and an exchange of goods and gifts. Ricklefs considers this text as a kind of prophecy, a mythical story that for its author(s) carried magical power, in that the act of writing it could influence events. In a later version of 1911, also written at the palace of Yogyakarta, the *Serat Surya Raja* has a different ending. The foreign king does not convert to Islam, but is instead annihilated after a prolonged series of bloody battles of the kind so popular in this literary genre (Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi*, pp. 211-12).

Serat Baron Sakender is an interesting poetic work designed, like all Javanese poetry, to be sung at meetings in the palace and other public places. It offers its readers a 'history' of how the Dutch fit into the supernatural pattern of Javanese society, not by conversion to Islam or extermination (the two options presented in the *Serat Surya Raja*), but by giving west Javanese ancestry to the first Dutch to arrive in Java. The first major personality in this complicated story (covering some 100 small pages in print) is a certain Baron Sakender (also called Kasender), son of a Spanish captain and trader, who was half-brother to the Spanish king. Sakender's mother was a woman from the archipelago, who bore him through an encounter with a somewhat disreputable hermit. Sakender is made king of Spain, but leaves his country to become a trader. Spain is poor, and is later divided among Sakender's 12 half-brothers. He returns from his trading expedition and establishes a *kumpeni* as a trading company for all his brothers. He explores the island of Java, flying on his horse Sembrani. However, as they pass the central Javanese court of the sultan of Mataram, his flying horse starts to lose its magical energy. Sakender lands and pays his respects to the powerful ruler, who is clearly superior to him. Sakender now disappears from the story and attention passes to his twin brother Sukmul, who sets out to seek him, landing with his fleet

of ships in west Java. He makes friends with the prince of Jakarta, buys an island off the coast and also gains possession of Tanuraga, a daughter of the last princess of the west Javanese Hindu Kingdom of Pajajaran (destroyed by the Muslim Sultanate of Banten in 1527). Sukmul takes her to Spain, where they have a child named Mur Jangkung, representing Major Jan (Pieterszoon) Coen, the best-known governor general of the VOC from 1618 to 1629. When Mur Jangkung grows up, he leaves Europe and arrives in Jakarta, where he is granted a permit to build a fortification. Relations between him and the prince of Jakarta deteriorate, and the narrative ends with a battle between them.

Baron Sakender, along with other 'Dutch' people who settle in the Indonesian archipelago, are identified in such literature as people of a different religion. *Serat Baron Sakender* mentions them as a 'people following the religion of the Prophet Moses'. They are identified as such when Baron Sakender is first described, and also in a later encounter, where the Dutch traders wish upon a Javanese host 'the blessings of the Prophet Moses'. Ricklefs comments that 'presumably the Javanese understanding of Christianity was as unsophisticated as the Dutch understanding of Islam' (Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi*, pp. 382 n. and 395.)

Serat Baron Sakender was probably written in the mid-18th century, and appeared in various redactions. Only one from 1808-12 (see Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi*, pp. 378-9) and one from 1845, appearing in Dutch in 1850 (by A.B. Cohen Stuart), have been published in part. Later scholars came to agree upon its social and political purpose (see works by Pigeaud, Ricklefs and Carey). Muslims in the central Javanese courts, with capitals in the interior, agreed that the Dutch could build their trading centre in the Dutch harbour town of Batavia because it was located in the western part of Java, which in previous centuries had already followed different forms of religion. Moreover, the Dutch presence in the inland capital of Mataram was only of minor importance, and here the superiority of Javanese Muslim rule had been proved by several miracles.

SIGNIFICANCE

While there is little, if any, theological reflection on the difference between Christianity and Islam in these texts, there is an intense sense of the deep religious and cultural distance between the two. In the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, this is expressed cautiously; there is a kind of divine permission to establish close contact with the Dutch, although this would

probably not have been the case had the Javanese not been compelled into such association. Exceptions to this rule are also sanctioned by a divine decision from Allāh. In the stories relating to the revolt led by Surapati, we glimpse the way religious differences between the Dutch and the Javanese are depicted in the suggestion of the customs surrounding sexual relations being more relaxed among the former. The texts of *Kitab Usulbiya* and *Serat Anbiya* hint at one major concern of this literature, namely the mythical interpretations of Islamic doctrines, especially concerning Muḥammad as God's first creation, and in many respects superior to Jesus. The VOC officials and later European citizens of the Dutch colony are not presented in these texts as firm followers of Jesus in Java. A different representation is found in the *Serat Surya Raja*, where opposition to the colonial regime finds hope in a vision of the ultimate conversion of the Dutch, which later transforms into divine annihilation of their power and, indeed, existence. A very different approach to religious attributes is found in the adventures of Baron Sakender, which inserts the Dutch into a pre-Islamic mythical structure of Javanese society, although the text contains wordings and imagery taken from the Muslim heritage.

Few Javanese writings of the period discuss contacts between the Dutch and the Javanese in terms of the meeting of two religions, be it in conflict or harmony. In this respect, more examples can be found in the writings of Dutch colonial officials. Does this signify that Dutch influence was largely restricted to economic activity? Would this support the remark in *Babad Tanah Jawi* that the Dutch only came for trade and had no influence on other aspects of society, at least not before 1800? One Dutch writer, Hella Haasse, who spent part of her youth in Java, has written that Dutch influence over the whole colonial period was little more than 'scratches on a rock' (Haasse, *Krassen op een rots*).

A further consideration here relates to the Muslim character of Javanese society, and gives rise to the question of whether Islam really was accepted by the majority of Javanese as their religion. The style and quality of Indonesian Islam has been subject to protracted scholarly debate. Willam Roff has written extensively about the specific practice and expression of Islam in this region (Roff, 'Islam obscured'). Merle Ricklefs is noted for his work on the concept of 'mystic synthesis', while work by Denys Lombard should also be mentioned. They all point to the at times outspokenly anti-Arab, or at least independent nature of Islam in Indonesia and in Java in particular. They suggest a Muslim influence,

although different from the Arab tradition (taking into consideration that Persians and Turks have their own developments as well).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Yogyakarta, Sultan's palace – *Serat Surya Raja* (unnumbered manuscript in the sultan's palace of Yogyakarta in the private rooms of *Prabayeksa*; dated 1700 AJ = 1774 CE)

MS Yogyakarta – *Serat Surya Raja*, Yogyakarta, Kraton MS F 7 (dated 1841 AJ = 1911 CE)

A.B. Cohen Stuart, *Geschiedenis van Baron Sakéndhèr, een Javaansch verhaal*, 2 vols, Batavia, 1850 (Dutch trans.); 880 E 22 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden)

J.J. Meinsma (ed.), *Babad tanah Djawi, in proza Javaansche geschiedenis loopende tot het jaar 1647*, 2 vols, The Hague, 1874, 1877; 3174 C 41 [-42] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

J.J. Meinsma (ed.), *Babad tanah Djawi, in proza Javaansche geschiedenis loopende tot het jaar 1647*, 2 vols, The Hague, 1903[3]

Baron Sakendher, Jakarta, 1931

J.J. Meinsma (ed.), *Babad tanah Djawi wiwit saking nabi Adam doemoegi ing taoen 1647*, trans. W.L. Olthof, The Hague, 1941 (Dutch trans., with Romanised Javanese text)

W.L. Olthof and J.J. Ras (ed.), *Babad tanah Djawi. Javaanse rijkskroniek*, Dordrecht, 1987 (Dutch trans.)

A. Kumar, *Surapati. Man and legend*, Leiden, 1976

I.W. Pantja Sunjata, I. Supriyanto and J. Ras (eds), *Babad Kraton*, 2 vols, Jakarta, 1992

STUDIES

A. Baso, *The intellectual origins of Islam Nusantara. A study on a globalising Indonesian Islam and reform of hegemonic reason*, Jakarta, 2017

P. Carey, *The power of prophecy. Prince Dipanegara and the end of an old order in Java, 1785-1855*, Leiden, 2007, esp. p. 167 on *Serat Baron Sakender*

M.C. Ricklefs, *Mystic synthesis in Java. A history of Islamization from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century*, Norwalk CT, 2006

A. Theria Wasim and K. Steenbrink, 'Javanese stories of Jesus', *Studia Islamika. Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 12 (2005) 219-45

A. Rahmat, *Baron Sakender*, Yogyakarta, 1999

E.P. Wieringa, 'An old text brought to life again. A reconsideration of the "final version" of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999) 244-63

M.C. Ricklefs, *The seen and unseen worlds in Java, 1726-1749*, St Leonards NSW, 1998, pp. 62-91, 293-305 for the *Kitab Usulbiya*

N.K. Florida, *Writing the past, inscribing the future. History as prophecy in colonial Java,* Durham NC, 1995

N.K. Florida, *Javanese literature in Surakarta manuscripts*, vol 1. *Introduction and manuscripts of the Karaton Surakarta*, Ithaca NY, 1993

J.J. Ras, *The shadow of the ivory tree. Language, literature and history in Nusantara*, Leiden, 1992, pp. 174-213, 243-95

D. Lombard, *Le carrefour javanais*, Paris, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 181-2 (*Serat Baron Sakender*)

W.R. Roff, 'Islam obscured? Some reflections on studies of Islam and society in Southeast Asia', *Archipel* 29 (1985) 1-34

D. Lombard, 'L'horizon insulindien et son importance pour une compréhension globale de l'Islam', *Archipel* 29 (1985) 35-52

M.C. Ricklefs, 'The evolution of *Babad Tanah Jawi* texts, in response to Day', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde* 135 (1979) 443-54

A. Day, 'Babad Kandha, Babad Kraton and variation in modern Javanese literature', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde* 134 (1978) 433-50

Sartono Kartodirdjo, 'The Baron Sakender story, mystical aspects of Mataram's self image', paper presented at the second Indonesian-Dutch historical conference at Ujung Pandang, 26-30 June 1978, copy in Leiden University Library, Mi 1262, 1979 mf

M.C. Ricklefs, *Modern Javanese historical tradition*, London, 1978

M.C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792*, London, 1974

H. Haasse, *Krassen op een rots*, Amsterdam, 1970

T. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, 4 vols, The Hague, 1967-80, esp. vol. 1, pp. 156-74

Karel Steenbrink

China and Japan

Ma Zhu

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1640
PLACE OF BIRTH Yunnan
DATE OF DEATH Approximately 1711
PLACE OF DEATH Yunnan

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Baoshan in Western Yunnan in about 1640, Ma Zhu claimed the title of *sayyid* by linking himself as a 15th-generation descendant to Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Dīn (1211-79), the first governor of Yunnan under the Mongol dynasty. After experiencing the turbulent uprisings that marked the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasties, he came to be highly regarded as the first, and one of the most important, Hui Muslim thinkers of the Qing period. With a traditional Chinese literary training and the ability since childhood to read the Confucian classics, he passed the civil service examination to become a secretary, and was later promoted to a higher official posting in the South Ming government for a short time. At the age of 30, he travelled to Beijing, where he studied Islam and classical Arabic and Persian texts.

Unlike other Confucian Muslim translators of Islamic (Persian or Arabic) texts into Chinese, Ma Zhu directly introduced Islamic ideas to Chinese readers through comprehensive explanations and justifications and by writing in Chinese. He finished his key work *Qingzhen Zhinan* in 1683, and left Beijing the following year to travel extensively, visiting different parts of China and associating with Muslim scholars, seeking their feedback on his work. Ma Zhu finally returned to Yunnan in order to teach.

Proud of his Islamic faith and of his direct descent from Muḥammad, Ma Zhu made three attempts to introduce *Qingzhen Zhinan* to the Qing emperor, Kangxi, hoping that his status of *sayyid*, and indeed his Islamic faith, would be officially recognised by the imperial court. Though he was not successful in this mission, his work has since been widely circulated and read among Chinese Muslims.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Ma Zhu, *Qingzhen Zhinan*, ed. Yu Zhengui, Yinchuan, Ningxia, 1988

Secondary
Ma Jianxiong, 'Re-creating Hui identity and the charity network in the imperial extension from Ming to Qing in the southwest Chinese frontier', in R.A. Brown and J. Pierce (eds), *Charities in the non-Western world. The development and regulation of indigenous and Islamic charities*, New York, 2013, 147-70
J.N. Lipman, *Familiar strangers. A history of Muslims in northwest China*, Seattle WA, 1997

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Qingzhen Zhinan, 'Compass to Islam' 'Guide to Islam'

DATE 1683
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION
Qingzhen Zhinan consists of ten volumes, covering a total of 439 pages in the 1988 edition, of which only one (p. 259) addresses the topic of Christian-Muslim relations. In this work, Ma Zhu emphasises the common ground between Confucianism and Islam, contending that the Islamic faith is compatible with Confucianism, and that the two mutually complement and enrich each other. Ma Zhu's overall concern is the Chinese Muslims' ignorance of their Islamic heritage, and the distraction of heterodoxy for them. The book brings together Muslim history, doctrines, philosophy, law, astronomy and folk traditions to guide Muslim readers on the straight path, like a compass.

In Volume 6 of the work, Ma Zhu distinguishes between *Tianzhu*, the Christian or Catholic notion of God, and *Zhenzhu*, the Islamic notion of Allāh. Though these two terms are similar, Ma argues that they are different in nature. He also underlines the fallacy of worshipping Jesus. He denies Jesus was God incarnate, and contends that to confess that Jesus was divine is a grave sin.

SIGNIFICANCE
This work provides the first known identification of a *Huiru* (Confucian Muslim), and is the first example of the genre of *Han kitab* (Islamic

books in Chinese). It explicitly engages the differentiation of the nature of divinity in Islam and Christianity, and provides a Muslim argument against Jesus' two natures as fully divine and fully human, and the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. This is the earliest Chinese written example of a self-identified Confucian Muslim's critical response to Christian doctrines.

PUBLICATIONS

Ma Zhu, *Qingzhen Zhinan*, ed. Yu Zhengui, Yinchuan, Ningxia, 1988

STUDIES

Xu Shujie and Yu Pengxiang, '*Zaoqi zhongguo musilin xuezhe dui jidujiano de taidu*' [Early Chinese Muslim intellectuals' attitude towards Christianity], *Social Science Front* 4 (2013) 265-6

Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, '"Western Gods meet in the East". Shapes and contexts of the Muslim-Jesuit dialogue in early modern China', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2011) 517-46

Yang Guiping, '*A zhong yisilan jiao yu jidujiao hexie yu going de lishi toushi*' [Relations between Islam and Christianity in the Arab world and China in history], *Arab World Studies* 5 (2007) 53-60

Wai Yip Ho

Liu Zhi

Liu Zhi (Jielian)

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1660
PLACE OF BIRTH Nanjing, China
DATE OF DEATH Around 1730
PLACE OF DEATH Nanjing

BIOGRAPHY

Liu Zhi was a prolific and renowned early Muslim literatus (*Huiru*) of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), whose work epitomised the Islamic-Confucian harmonisation expressed in the literary genre known collectively as the *Han kitab* (Islamic books in Chinese). He was born in Nanjing. His father, Liu Sanjie, also a Muslim scholar, was his first teacher before he moved on to study under Yuan Ruqi (born c. 1640) at the *jingtang* ('scripture hall'), or madrasa, of the Wuxueyuan mosque. His early studies included Islamic practice, Qur'an, and elementary Arabic and Persian. He also learned classical Chinese. He read the extant translations of Islamic texts in Chinese as well as texts written by earlier *Han kitab* authors. At around the age of 15, Liu Zhi began an eight-year study of the Confucian canon on his own. He then devoted six years to reading various Arabic and Persian texts. Rounding out his education, he spent four years reading Chinese Buddhist and Daoist scriptures, and finally 'Occidental books' (*xiyang shu*), probably Chinese Jesuit literature that had already been circulating in Nanjing for over a century. Liu Zhi's knowledge of languages and his broad literacy distinguished him as a leading polyglot, not only among his Muslim brethren, but also among the Chinese literati of his day.

After this education, Liu Zhi travelled around China in search of mentors, texts and patrons. He then embarked on his own writing career, which continued until his death at around the age of 70. Following in the footsteps of earlier *Han kitab* scholars, Liu Zhi used classical Chinese, especially Neo-Confucian philosophical discourse, to compose elegant explications of Islamic doctrine and practice. He made frequent allusion to the Confucian canon, harmonising Islamic and Confucian concepts and terminology. Indeed, he regarded both traditions as repositories of universal truth and identified the Islamic prophets with the ancient

sages of China. When it suited his conceptual needs, he also used Buddhist and Daoist terms, but he never strayed far from the orthodox Confucian viewpoint that polemicised the heterodox 'two teachings'. Typical of Muslim ideologues, he similarly referred obliquely to the errors of Jewish and Christian doctrine.

Liu Zhi relied heavily on Sufi texts, besides less esoteric Islamic sources. His writings contain numerous references to the metaphysical oneness of ultimate reality, showing influence from the theosophical school of Ibn ʿArabī (1165-1240). Of his dozens of books, ranging in topic from grammar and philology, and history and geography, to Islamic law and philosophy, the most famous constitute a trilogy: *Tianfang xingli* ('Metaphysics of Islam', 1704); *Tianfang dianli* ('Ritual of Islam', 1708 or 1710); and *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* ('True record of the ultimate sage of Islam', 1721), a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad. The last is the most widely read among Chinese Muslims, but the *Tianfang dianli* bears the distinction of being the only *Han kitab* included in the *Siku quanshu* ('Compendium of the four treasuries'), the great collection of Chinese literature commissioned by the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-96), which indicates its acceptability to the Chinese state.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Liu Zhi, *Tianfang xingli*, [s.l.], 1704 (repr. Shanghai, 1863; Beijing, 1922; 1987)

Liu Zhi, *Tianfang dianli*, [s.l.], 1708 (repr. Shanghai, 1923, 1924, 1932; Tianjin, 1988)

Liu Zhi, *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie*, [s.l.], 1708 (repr. Taipei, 1953; Hong Kong, 1971)

Liu Zhi, *Tianfang zhisheng shilu*, [s.l.], 1721, 1872 (repr. Beijing, 1984; Shanghai, 1995)

Secondary

J. Frankel, *Rectifying God's name. Liu Zhi's Confucian translation of monotheism and Islamic law*, Honolulu HI, 2011

S. Murata, W. Chittick and W. Tu, *The sage learning of Liu Zhi. Islamic thought in Confucian terms*, Cambridge MA, 2009

Z. Ben-Dor Benite, *The Dao of Muhammad. A cultural history of Muslims in late imperial China*, Cambridge MA, 2005

Z. Sha, *Zhongguode tianfangxue. Liu Zhi zhexue yanjiu*, Beijing, 2004

S. Murata, *Chinese gleams of Sufi light. Wang Tai-yü's great learning of the pure and real and Liu Chih's displaying the concealment of the real realm*, Albany NY, 2000

Y. Jin, *Zhongguo yisilan tanmi*, Beijing, 1999

J. Lipman, *Familiar strangers. A history of Muslims in northwest China*, Seattle WA, 1997
S. Bai (ed.), *Huizu renwu zhi (Qingdai)*, Yinchuan, 1992

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tianfang dianli zeyao jie
'Selected explanations of the ritual norms of Islam'
'Selected explanations of the rites and ritual of Islam'
'The ritual norms of Islam'
'The rites and ritual of Islam'

DATE 1708 (or 1710)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION

Liu Zhi's *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* ('Selected explanations of the ritual norms of Islam', 1708 or 1710) is the second book in the famous 'Tianfang trilogy', sandwiched between *Tianfang xingli* ('Metaphysics of Islam', 1704) and *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* ('True record of the ultimate sage of Islam', 1721). It consists of 16 *juan* (approximately 220 pages in modern editions) and is ostensibly a work on Islamic orthopraxy. Liu Zhi uses its first four chapters to establish the theoretical, theological and metaphysical reasoning undergirding Islamic faith and practice. In part apologetic, the book is principally a work of Confucian-Islamic harmonisation, in which Liu Zhi justifies Islam's orthodoxy by demonstrating its conformity and compatibility with the principles and norms of Confucianism. At times, this justification is framed by distinguishing Islam from other non-Confucian and, from the Confucian perspective, heterodox teachings, especially Buddhism and Daoism.

Adopting an unusually broad scope for his time and context, Liu Zhi either engages with or refers to all the major religio-philosophical traditions active in late imperial China, including Judaism and Christianity (in this instance, Catholicism). His take on Jewish and Christian doctrines and ritual practice is consistent with the dominant Islamic position that the religions of the People of the Book are based on distortions of previous, genuine divine revelations, and that, since the teachings of past prophets (e.g. Moses and Jesus) have been corrupted, their followers are

now operating in error; the Qur'an was revealed by God to Muḥammad to reconfirm the truth of earlier revelations as well as to correct any erroneous beliefs accreted to them over the centuries. Concerning this, Liu Zhi writes,

> As for the older scriptures, in the six hundred years after Jesus departed from the world, heresies arose in large numbers and in disorderly fashion. The people changed the scriptures and introduced errors. With these changes came falsehoods and exaggeration. For the most part, the truth of the older, original scriptures was lost. However, although the true words had already been lost, the people still revered and believed in them as the original scriptures. Obeying and abiding by them, they took hold of error and transmitted error, thus compounding error upon error. As this tendency developed, they did not stop until they had deviated from the scriptures and betrayed the Way. That is why the Sage (Muḥammad) received the mandate to delete some things and fix others in place. He preserved the truth and omitted falsehood. Returning from a broad range of subjects, he restored it to a simplified form. Oh, how vast and even the Great Way is. (*Tianfang dianli*, pp. 4-5)

Thus, when Liu Zhi occasionally makes reference to Christianity or Christians in the *Tianfang dianli*, whether directly or obliquely, it is usually in a polemical tone. For example, affirming the Islamic doctrine of *tawḥīd* (absolute monotheism), he translates and comments on Sura 112 of the Qur'an, affirming that *tawḥid* 'is not like the absurd claims of the heterodox sect, who say that their True Lord has a son, that he was begotten, and also that He is a father, who has begotten' (*Tianfang dianli*, p. 20). This is a clear repudiation of the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity. On other occasions, Liu Zhi makes explicit reference to Jesus as a noble sage (prophet) of Allāh, in fact the sage who directly preceded the 'ultimate sage' Muḥammad. So, his understanding of Jesus is completely consistent with the qur'anic teachings on the subject.

SIGNIFICANCE

In his discussion of Islamic dietary law, and the *ḥalāl* method of slaughtering animals for food, Liu Zhi demonstrates some familiarity with both Jewish and Christian dietary practices, although this may also have come from an unnamed Islamic source. He writes,

> ... whenever a living thing is slaughtered, it must be done by a fellow Muslim, must include cutting the two tendons of the throat, and must have the name of the Lord pronounced over it. As for invoking the name of the Lord, this is slaughtering while honouring the commandment of the

> Lord. If this is not done, this slaughtering is unlawful and is unclean. It is forbidden to eat an animal slaughtered in this way. If the Europeans or the Jews understand the need to invoke the name of the Lord when slaughtering, it is permitted to eat the meat they have prepared. But if the name of Jesus or Moses is invoked in the slaughtering, it is forbidden to eat such meat. Apart from these two denominations, none of the other religions understands the Way of the Lord. That which is slaughtered by someone who does not know the name of the Lord may not be eaten (*Tianfang dianli*, p. 195).

Notably, Liu Zhi refers to Christians as 'Europeans', and when he refers to Jesus in the context of Christian practice he writes *Yesu*, the transliteration of the Latin pronunciation used in Jesuit and Chinese Catholic writing, in contrast to his references to Jesus as an Islamic prophet, where he uses *Ersa*, which is clearly an attempt to transliterate the qur'anic *ʿĪsā*. This distinction suggests Liu Zhi's familiarity with 'European' (i.e. Jesuit) literature in Chinese.

PUBLICATIONS

Tianfang dianli, [s.l.], 1708 (repr. Shanghai, 1923, 1924, 1932, 2006; Tianjin, 1988; Beijing, 2007, 2012)

Tianfang dianli zeyao jie, [s.l.], 1708 (repr. Taipei, 1953; Hong Kong, 1971)

STUDIES

Frankel, *Rectifying God's name*

James Frankel

Eusèbe Renaudot

Eusebius Renaudot

DATE OF BIRTH 22 July 1646
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris
DATE OF DEATH 1 Sept 1720
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Eusèbe Renaudot was a French Jesuit who was known for his liturgical writings and his defence of the Catholic Church. He became a prominent literary figure in France and was influential in the court of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715). He was awarded membership of the French Academy in 1689 and of the Academy of Inscriptions in 1691. He became one of the great Orientalists and linguists of his period, learning Arabic and other Middle Eastern languages. His works include *A collection of ancient Greek and Oriental liturgies*, 2 vols, 1716, and *An ancient account of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century*, 1718, to which he added an appendix, 'An inquiry in to the origin of the Christian faith in China'.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Renaudot's dissertations are held in the Academy of Inscriptions, Paris.

M. de la Roche, *Memoirs of literature containing a large account of many valuable Books, Letters and Dissertations upon several Subjects*, London, 1722, vol. 7, p. 460

J.-P. Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la République des Lettres avec une catalogue raisonné de leurs ouvrages*, Paris, 1730, vol. 12

Art. 'Renaudot, Eusebius', in *A New and General Biographical Dictionary containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent persons in every nation*, London, 1798, vol. 13, 54

R. Kerr, *A General History and collection of Voyages and travels (Complete) Arranged in Systematic Order. Forming a Complete History of the Origin and Progress of Navigation, Discovery and Commerce by Sea and Land from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time*, Edinburgh, 1811, ch. 4

N.L.T., 'Inquiry respecting the work of two Mohammedan travelers, and Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela', *Oriental Herald* 5/16 (1825) 73-6 (letter to the editor concerning Renaudot)

'Eusebius Renaudot, *Ancient account of India and China*', *Chinese Repository* 1/1 (1832-3) 6-15, 42-5 (review article of book)

Secondary

S. Larzul and I. Landry-Deron, art. 'Renaudot Eusèbe', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalists de langue française*, Paris, 2012, 861-3

P. Damian-Grint, art. 'père Eusèbe Renaudot, abbé Renaudot', Electronic Enlightenment Project, 2010 (includes link to Renaudot's correspondence with John Locke)

C. Detlef and G. Müller, art. 'Eusèbe Renaudot', in F.W. Bautz and T. Bautz (eds), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Herzberg, 1994, vol. 8, 34-44

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, 'Ancient account of India and China'

DATE 1718

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

This work is a translation of an Arabic text that is generally dated to 1196 (its full title is *Ancienne relations des Indes et de la Chine. De deux voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle, traduit d'arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces relations*, 'Ancient account of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century'). It would appear that an Arab merchant named Sulaymān made the journey to India and China in about 850, and that Abū Zayd Ḥasan ibn Yazīd al-Sīrāfī, who was known for his travel writings, then wrote a commentary on this account, possibly in 915 or 916. It is Ḥasan who mentions a second traveller to China and includes information from him in his work.

When Renaudot published his translation in 1718, doubt was expressed as to whether Ḥasan's original Arabic work was a forgery or whether it even existed. The English translation of 1733 fuelled the controversy among English and other European scholars. However, this was settled when the Orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721-1800) found the original in the Bibliothèque Royale de Paris. He also showed that it had been

used by, among others, the 10th-century author al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) in his *Murūj al-dhahab*.

The English translation of Renaudot's French (the text is 416 pages in the original French, 278 pages in the 1733 English translation; references here are to the latter) consists of a preface, pp. i-xxxvii, followed by the account of the first journey, pp. 1-38 (noting that the beginning of the Arabic is missing), and the second, the 'Discourse of Abu Zeid al Hasan of Siraf', pp. 39-99. Then follow Renaudot's 'Remarks, or notes of the chief passages of the two foregoing accounts', including flora and fauna, and 'An inquiry into the origin of the Christian religion in China', which rejects the notion of the Apostle Thomas preaching the Gospel in China, but accepts that Christianity was present in China because of the discovery of the Nestorian stele. The history covers the known (at that time) period of the Church in China. An 'Inquiry into the time when Muslims first entered China' similarly discusses the historical arrival of 'Mohammedans'. Renaudot considers the differences in the ways Christians and Muslims spread their faith, with a clear bias towards the Christians.

SIGNIFICANCE

The original Arabic work is the first extant account of Muslim travellers into China, initially written some 400 years before Marco Polo travelled there. It is an enormously valuable source about China at this time. The translation into French was the first into a European language of the travels of 'Sulaiman, the merchant', and of Ḥasan ibn Yazīd al Sīrāfī's accounts of journeys in India and China. It contains valuable information about Muslims and Christians, as well as some information on Jews, and gives situational background to the context within which Christians and Muslims encountered each other in China. Renaudot opened up for European readers a sphere of encounters between Christians and Muslims about which few before had ever known.

PUBLICATIONS

Eusèbe Renaudot, *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine de deux voyageurs mahométans, qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle, traduites d'arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces relations, par Eusèbe Renaudot*, Paris: Coignard, 1718 (this was a reprint of an earlier publication; the original MS was found in the Compte de Seignelay's library, which is presumably the same as Renaudot's reference to 'MSS Arab in Bibiliotheka Colbertina'); RES 8-O2-58 (digitised version available through BNF)

Eusebius Renaudot, *Ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century*, London: Samuel Harding, 1733 (English trans.); ESTC T100403 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Eusèbe Renaudot, *Antiche relazioni dell'Indie e della China di due maomettani che nel secolo nono v'andarono. Tradotte dall'araba nella lingua francese ed illustrate con note e dissertazioni dal signor Eusebio Renodozio, ed insieme con queste aggiunte fatte italiane per un'anonimo*, Bologna, 1749 (Italian trans.)

Eusebius Renaudot, *Ancient accounts of India and China*, London, 1783

Eusebius Renaudot, *Ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century*, [s.l.], 1811

Eusebius Renaudot, *Ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century*, Tokyo, 1939

Eusebius Renaudot, *Ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century*, New Delhi, 1977, 1995

Stuart Vogel

The Yongzheng Emperor

Yinzhen; Shizong

DATE OF BIRTH 13 December 1678
PLACE OF BIRTH Beijing, China
DATE OF DEATH 8 October 1735
PLACE OF DEATH Beijing, China

BIOGRAPHY

Following the proclamation of the Sacred Edict (Chinese, *Shengyu*) in 1670 by the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662-1722), his son and successor, the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723-35; personal name Yinzhen; posthumous name Shizong) promulgated the *Amplified instructions on the Sacred Edict* (Chinese: *Shengyu guangxun*) in 1724. This edict influenced the place of Christianity in China, and most likely also Christian-Muslim relations in the country. Neither a Christian nor a Muslim, the Manchu Yongzheng Emperor ruled China for 13 years, during which time he was able to consolidate Qing power.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
F.W. Mote, *Imperial China: 900-1800*, Cambridge MA, 1999, pp. 887-911

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Shengyu guangxun
'Amplified instructions on the Sacred Edict'
'The Yongzheng edicts'

DATE 1724
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION
In 1670, the Kangxi Emperor instigated a series of instructions for use in local rituals known as the Sacred Edict (Chinese: *Shengyu*), which were

expanded upon by his heir, the Yongzheng Emperor, in 1724. Under the Yongzheng Emperor, the Sacred Edict became a set of 16 maxims that were disseminated throughout China by way of a widespread educational system of village lectures.

Of interest here is the seventh maxim, which states, *Chu yiduan yi chong zhengxue* ('Do away with errant teachings, in order to exalt the correct doctrine') (de Bary and Lufrano, *Sources of Chinese tradition*, p. 71). This can alternatively be rendered as, 'Degrade strange religions, in order to exalt the orthodox doctrine' (Qing and Milne, *Sacred Edict*, p. 70, 1870, 2nd edition) or, 'Extirpate heresy to exalt orthodoxy' (Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum', p. 318).

In the Yongzheng Emperor's expansion on the maxims, *Shengyu guangxun* ('Amplified instructions on the Sacred Edict'), he explicitly links this maxim to Christianity (here called *Xiyangjiao* or 'Western ocean teachings'). He notes that Christianity and the men who seek to spread it are corrupt, but that they are in government employ because of their skills in mathematics (Qing and Milne, *Sacred Edict*, p. 72). Despite their position, they should not be believed and their religion should not be mistaken as good (Qing and Milne, *Sacred Edict*, p. 88). This maxim acted to proscribe Catholicism in Chinese provinces apart from Beijing, although illegal missionary activity continued (Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, p. 43; Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum', pp. 311-12). In the year before the proclamation (1723), the neo-Confucian scholar Zhang Boxing (1652-1725), who was anti-Christian, had been promoted to the presidency of the Board of Rites, meaning that 'anti-Christian policy recommendations reached the new emperor' (Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum', p. 316). Meanwhile, other anti-Christians also took high-ranking positions, and lower-ranking members of the Board of Rites also presented anti-Christian memoranda to the emperor (Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum', p. 316), though the driving force behind the anti-Christian legislation was the emperor himself (Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum', p. 317).

Despite this, even after the promulgation of his maxims, the Yongzheng Emperor received the Jesuits at his court several times. On 21 July 1727, he lectured the missionaries on the inherent sameness of all teachings, including Islam and Christianity, linking this to the futility of the Christian mission (Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum', p. 330). However, the audience on 8 November 1724, when he received the lay surgeon Dionisio Gagliardi and the priest Nicolò Tomacelli, is

of particular interest. At this meeting, he explicitly juxtaposed his anti-Christian policy with his positive policy towards Islam, noting:

> Among the sects to be prohibited they proposed to me the religion of the Muhammedans, so that I would proscribe it. But I replied that the accusers do not consider in fact that the Muhammedans never provoke any disturbance, they propagandise their sect only among their own descendants, and do not oblige anybody to follow it, they accommodate themselves to the customs of the empire, do not offer any cause for accusations, and do not impede the cult and the doctrine of Confucius. (Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum', p. 324)

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Yongzheng's anti-heresy rulings were eventually applied to Muslim insurgents under the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1735-99) and subsequent rulers (Laamann, 'Anti-Christian agitation', p. 50), Zvi Ben-Dor Benite notes that in the early 20th century, at least, the anti-Christian nature of the Yongzheng Edicts was used by Muslim scholars as proof of historical Muslim innocence (Benite, '"Western gods meet in the East"', p. 523), because, unlike the Jesuits, Muslims were not guilty of the charge of proselytisation. In this sense, the Yongzheng Edicts have had a clear influence on present-day Christian-Muslim relations, at least in the academic sphere.

The effect the Edicts had on Christian-Muslim relations at the time they were promulgated is unclear, though the fact that the Yongzheng Emperor proscribed Christianity, specifically juxtaposing the reasons for this with the reasons for not proscribing Islam, is significant. It is possible that such a policy fostered further anti-Muslim sentiment among Christians and missionaries, and gave Muslims a sense (and very real position) of superiority over Christians. It may also be assumed that, given the village lecture system, which sought to spread the contents of the Edicts nationwide, individual Muslims and their communities were encouraged in anti-Christian sentiment.

PUBLICATIONS

Yongzheng, Emperor of China, *Sheng yu guang xun*, [s.l.], 1724

Yongzheng, Emperor of China, *Sheng yu guang xun*, ed. Ishida Jihei et al., Kyoto, 1788 (a *fubunkan* publication with two equally sized volumes)

Yongzheng, Emperor of China, *Sheng yu guang xun*, [s.l.], 1800

Yongzheng, Emperor of China, *Sheng yu guang xun*, [s.l.], 1808; Chinois 3430 (digitised version available through BNF)

Yongzheng, Emperor of China, *Sheng yu guang xun*, [s.l.], 1851

Yongzheng, Emperor of China, *Sheng yu guang xun*, Song zhu zhai, 1877

Yongzheng, Emperor of China, *Sheng yu guang xun*, Guangxu ji mao, 1879

Qing Shengzu and W. Milne (trans.), *The Sacred Edict, containing sixteen maxims of the Emperor Kang-He: amplified by his son, the Emperor Yoong-Ching; together with a paraphrase of the whole, by a Mandarin*, London, 1817 (English trans.); Ch 404.6.5 A (digitised version available through Harvard University Library)

Qing Shengzu and W. Milne (trans.), *The Sacred Edict, containing sixteen maxims of the Emperor Kang-He: amplified by his son, the Emperor Yoong-Ching; together with a paraphrase of the whole, by a Mandarin*, Shanghai, 1870 (English trans.)

J. Legge, 'Imperial Confucianism', *Chinese Recorder* 6 (1877) 147-8, 223-5, 299-10, 363-74 (English trans.)

F.W. Baller (trans.), *The Sacred Edict. With a translation of the colloquial rendering*, Shanghai, 1892, 1907, 1913; London, 1917 (Chinese text with English trans.)

Meng wen bian yi guan, *Sheng yu guang xun*, Xinjing: Meng wen bian yi guan, 1942

W.T. de Bary and R. Lufrano (eds), *Sources of Chinese tradition*, vol. 2. *From 1600 through the twentieth century*, New York, 2000, pp. 70-2 (English trans. of the 16 maxims, adapted from Legge)

STUDIES

E. Menegon, 'Yongzheng's conundrum. The emperor on Christianity, religions, and heterodoxy', in B. Hoster, D. Kuhlmann and Z. Wesolowski (eds), *Rooted in hope. China – religion – Christianity, Festschrift in honor of Roman Malek S.V.D. on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, Abingdon, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 311-35

Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, '"Western gods meet in the East". Shapes and contexts of the Muslim-Jesuit dialogue in early modern China', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012) 517-46

L.P. Laamann, *Christian heretics in late imperial China. Christian inculturation and state control, 1720-1850*, Abingdon, 2006

T.H. Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Rebellion and the blasphemy of empire*, Seattle WA, 2004

L. Laamann, 'Anti-Christian agitation as an example of late imperial anticlericalism', *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* 24/24 (2002) 47-64

de Bary and Lufrano, *Sources of Chinese tradition*, vol. 2. *From 1600 through the twentieth century*, pp. 70-2

James Harry Morris

Arai Hakuseki

Kinmi, Kimiyoshi, Kageyu, Yogorō, Denzō

DATE OF BIRTH 24 March 1657
PLACE OF BIRTH Edo (present-day Tokyo)
DATE OF DEATH 29 June 1725
PLACE OF DEATH Edo

BIOGRAPHY

Arai Hakuseki was the pen name of Arai Kinmi, a prominent neo-Confucian scholar and administrator in late 17th- and early 18th-century Japan. Born into a Samurai family in Edo on 24 March 1657, he rose to prominence within the Tokugawa establishment after working in several prominent domains. He studied and wrote on a number of topics, including neo-Confucianism, history, geography and literature, and he spearheaded economic reform in the country. He died in Edo on 29 June 1725.

Hakuseki (his first name) was neither a Christian nor a Muslim. However, conversations with the imprisoned Jesuit Giovanni Battista Sidotti (1668-1714) formed the backbone of some of his works, in which these conversations or material from them are recorded. Sidotti, a member of the Jesuit Order, was born in Sicily in 1668, and entered Japan in 1708, despite the ban on Catholicism. Shortly afterwards, he was captured and imprisoned in the Kirishitan Yashiki (a prison for Christians) in Edo. Here, he and Hakuseki developed what might be termed a friendship, with their conversations forming the basis of Hakuseki's works *Seiyō kibun* and *Sairan igen*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

F. Favre, 'A letter from F. Favre, missioner of the Society of Jesus, to F. de la Boesse, of the same Society. From the mouth of the Streight of Malaca, in the Bay of Bengale, January 17, 1711', in *The travels of several learned missioners of the Society of Jesus, into divers parts of the Archipelago, India, China, and America. Containing a general description of the most remarkable towns; with a particular account of the customs, manners and religion of those several nations, the whole interspers'd with philosophical observations and other curious remarks*, London, 1714, pp. 154-63 (digitised versions of the text are available on Internet Archive)

Arai Hakuseki, *Seiyō kibun*, [s.l.], 1807

Secondary

C. Capasso, 'Senkyōshi Shidotti no Kenkyū', *Ronshū* 49 (2002) 109-43

K.W. Nakai, *Shogunal politics. Arai Hakuseki and the premises of Tokugawa rule*, Cambridge MA, 1988

Ōkami Katsuyoshi and Isagai Hiroshi (trans), *Seiyō kibun*, Tokyo, 1980, pp. 9-48

J.I. Ackroyd, *Told round a brushwood fire. The autobiography of Arai Hakuseki*, Tokyo, 1979

Matsumura Akira Bitō Masahige and Katō Shūichi (eds), *Arai Hakuseki*, Tokyo, 1975, pp. 505-617

Takeo Kuwabara (ed.), *Arai Hakuseki Shū*, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 3-24

Miyazaki Michi, *Arai Hakuseki no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1969

U. Kemper, *Arai Hakuseki und seine Geschichtsauffassung. Ein Beitrag zur Historigraphie Japans in der Tokugawa-Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1967

Miyazaki Michi, *Arai Hakuseki*, Tokyo, 1966

Hasegawa Kōhei, 'Hakuseki to Shidocchi', *Nihon Rekishi* 30 (1950) 33-4

Tashinari, 'Senkyōshi Shidotti no Nihon e no ryokō', *Shigaku* (1940) 577-83

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sairan igen, 'Varying words observed'
'Strange stories acquired'
'Collection of strange things'
'Listening to other languages'

DATE Written 1713, published 1802

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Japanese

DESCRIPTION

Sairan igen is a five-volume geography based to some extent on Hakuseki's conversations with Sidotti and the Dutch, and his interaction with Dutch maps and Matteo Ricci's *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*. Its connection to European, and more specifically, Jesuit knowledge should therefore be evident. Each volume covers a different continent, and is structured so as to focus on individual geographies or nations. The second volume deals with Africa and the third with Asia, and it is here that references to Islam are found. The 1820 publication of the text, which includes all the volumes in a single edition, is 180 pages long. A 12-volume expanded and revised version of the text entitled *Teisei zōyaku sairan igen* by Yamamura Saisuke (1770-1807) was published in 1802. The original was completed around 1713, but was not published or made widely available until the 19th century, although 18th-century versions also exist. Shintaro Ayusawa notes that, whilst the work appeared in 1713, it is said to have been completed only a few days before Hakuseki's death. However, no such 1725 manuscript has been discovered, and versions used today are based on the 1713 original ('Geography and Japanese knowledge', p. 285). The first major publication of the text is Yamamura's 1802 version, with frequent reprints of both this and Hakuseki's original appearing from that time. Ayusawa claims that there was no official publication of the text during the Edo Period (1603-1868) owing to its relation to Christianity and the West, but that it was circulated and copied by scholars in secret. Fabio Rambelli also notes that the text circulated in a copied form, arguing that it had a significant influence on Japanese geographical thought ('Muhammad learning the Dao', p. 301, n. 20). Here the 1820, single-bound version is used.

Both *Sairan igen* and the later *Seiyō kibun* contain material based on conversations between Hakuseki and Sidotti. The former is said to be a more professional and better organised work, perhaps due to its composition in classical Chinese (the literary and legal language of the period). Joshua A. Fogel notes that there is debate regarding the language used by Hakuseki and Sidotti to communicate. Fogel favours the possibility that Latin was used by Sidotti and translated by Dutch interpreters ('New thoughts', p. 12, n. 15). Nevertheless, although Hakuseki notes in *Seiyō kibun* the presence of translators, he also refers to conversations in Japanese and praises Sidotti's Japanese skills (trans. Ōkami and Isagai, p. 61). As noted, information found in the text is not only derived from conversations with Sidotti, but also from other texts and sources available to Hakuseki at the time of composition. It is therefore difficult to link all

of Hakuseki's comments on Islam to Christian sources. Indeed, Rambelli notes the influence of Chinese and Japanese language texts such as Li Xian and Wan An's *Da Ming yi tong ji* (1461), Fei Xin's *Xincha shenglan* (1436), and Terashima Ryōan's *Wakan sansei zue* (1712) ('Muhammad learning the Dao', pp. 301-2).

Hakuseki's discussion of Arabia (*Arabiya*) is particularly important for the topic of Christian-Muslim relations. In the main body of the text, he provides lengthy quotations from the Chinese works *Xincha shenglan* and *Da Ming yi tong ji* (Rambelli, 'Muhammad learning the Dao', pp. 301-2). On the whole, it therefore seems to lack Christian influence. However, in an appendix to the Arabian section, he relates more detailed information on Islam. Here, Hakuseki makes several observations, including the fact that Muslims do not eat pork, historical information about the Prophet, and so on (Hakuseki, *Sairan igen*: no page numbers given). Keiko Sakai notes that Hakuseki's historical observations share much with the Chinese version of the legend of Waqqas (Sakai, 'Islam, Muslims, neighbors in Asia?', p. 127). Nevertheless, references to Muslim dietary and other practices also bear similarities to texts from the Chinese mission field composed by Christians, such as Álvaro de Semedo's *Imperio de la China* (1642). Perhaps the most interesting statement that Hakuseki makes in this section is that Christianity (Catholicism) and Islam are of the same origin, and that they are separate sects of the same religion (Hakuseki, *Sairan igen*: no page numbers given). Rambelli notes that such a statement is congruent with contemporaneous Christian thought, which described the Prophet as a schismatic and Islam as a heresy. He also links the statement to conversations with Sidotti (Ramelli, 'Muhammad learning the Dao', p. 303).

A second passage of importance is Hakuseki's description of the Mughal (*Mogoru*) Empire. Here he devotes a large section to exploring Islam explicitly, linking the passage to Sidotti's testimony (Hakuseki, *Sairan igen*: no page numbers given). He notes the widespread presence of Islam in the region and the history of its arrival there, before describing the global geographical spread of religions with particular reference to Buddhism and Islam. It is particularly interesting to note that here he writes that Islam is different in origin from Buddhism, and dissimilar to Christianity. In a quotation attributed to Sidotti (here described only as the man from Rome), which ends the passage, Hakuseki writes that there are three types of religion, Christian (*Kirisuteyan*), heathen (*Heiden*) and Muslim (*Māgometan*). He continues to note the geographical distribution of these religions, writing that Islam is found throughout the Mughal

Empire, Asia and Turkey (*Toruka*). When this is compared to the appendix in the Arabia section, which describes Islam and Christianity as two sects of the same religion, it may appear that there is a contradiction here. Nevertheless, we may assume that, as Hakuseki found no contradiction when he composed the passages it posed no issue in his mind.

Hakuseki also mentions the widespread presence of Muslims in Ormuz (*Orumusu*), Goa (*Goa*), Bengal (*Benkara*), Malacca (*Maroka*) and Java (*Yawa*), but such references are short and insignificant. Furthermore, in his exploration of Russia (*Mosukobiya*), he debates whether the area's inhabitants (who share common ancestry with the Mughals) are Muslim. Notably, he does not appear to refer to Islam or Muslims in his passages on Persia (*Harusha*) and Turkey (*Toruka*). Although some of this information was gained through interaction with Sidotti, the Dutch, and European maps, the influence of Christians is unclear.

Linguistically, the text mostly uses the Chinese term *Huihui jiao* (Japanese *Kaikaikyō*) to refer to Islam, and follows other Chinese literary conventions when referring to facets of Islam. However, in passages linked to Sidotti, the term *Māgometan* is used.

SIGNIFICANCE

Sairan igen had a strong influence on Japanese geographical scholarship, and the text is considered to be the origin of the world geographies written in the Edo period (Yazawa, 'Fr. Matteo Ricci's world map', p. 198). It even influenced the evolution of the Japanese language with its version of place names becoming the commonly used renderings. Although it influenced Japanese impressions of Islam (and indeed Christianity), it had no other particular significance for the development of Christian-Muslim relations. Rambelli notes that much of the information it records is several centuries old ('Muhammad learning the Dao', p. 302), whereas Hans Martin Krämer notes that Japanese impressions of Islam remained inaccurate until the mid-19th century ('Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents', p. 621). Contemporaneously, the practice of Christianity was prohibited and foreign trade highly restricted, and so the text was not exported. Moreover, it does not appear to have retained popularity in the modern period, with few reprints being made in the 20th century. Despite all this, by quoting Sidotti and utilising Sidotti's thoughts, Hakuseki's work records Christian views on Islam of the time. These are primarily descriptive in nature and are neutral in tone, lacking any of the negative connotations one might associate with European works. This was probably the result of Hakuseki's authorship of the text rather than neutrality on the part of Sidotti. As noted, however, the knowledge shown of Islam

is dated, and more often than not its practices or rumours about the religion appear to be treated as exotic curiosities.

PUBLICATIONS

Arai Hakuseki. *Sairan igen*, [s.l.], 1820 (digitised copy available from Waseda University Library's online *Kotenseki sōgō* Database; earlier copies from the mid-18th century exist in the University of Tokyo Library and Kyoto University of Foreign Studies Library; a two-volume reprint was made by Shiroishi-sha in 1881, and is available on Japan's National Diet Library Digital Collection)

Arai Hakuseki, *Arai Hakuseki Zenshū*, vol. 4, Tokyo, 1906, pp. 813-55

STUDIES

J.A. Fogel, 'New thoughts on an old controversy. *Shina* as a toponym for China', in J.A. Fogel (ed.), *Between China and Japan. The writings of Joshua Fogel*, Leiden, 2015, 24-46

H.M. Krämer, 'Pan-Asianism's religious undercurrents. The reception of Islam and translation of the Qur'ān in twentieth-century Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 73 (2014) 619-40

F. Rambelli, 'Muhammad learning the Dao and writing Sutras. Early Japanese representations of Muhammad', in C. Gruber and A. Shalem (eds), *The image of the Prophet between ideal and ideology. A scholarly investigation*, Berlin, 2014, 295-310

Keiko Sakai, 'Islam, Muslims, neighbors in Asia? The transformation of Japan's perceptions of Islam as shown in its media', in T.Y. Ismael and A. Rippin (eds), *Islam in the eyes of the West. Images and realities in an age of terror*, Abingdon, 2010, 125-47

Yazawa Toshihiko, 'Fr. Matteo Ricci's world map and its influence on East Asia', *Tong'a yon'gu* 3 (1983) 185-204

Ōkami Katsuyoshi and Isagai Hiroshi (trans), *Seiyō kibun*, Tokyo, 1980

Shintaro Ayusawa, 'Geography and Japanese knowledge of world geography', *Monumenta Nipponica* 9 (1964) 275-94

Seiyō kibun, 'Accounts of the West'
'Western accounts'
'Tidings of the West'

DATE Written between 1713 and 1725

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chinese

DESCRIPTION

There is some debate over when *Seiyō kibun* was written, but most scholars agree that it was completed sometime between 1713 or 1715 and 1725 (Nakai, 'Arai Hakuseki's Confucian perspective', p. 261), and most favour an earlier dating of 1715, with some placing it earlier than *Sairan igen*. The text is usually divided into three volumes, the first an account of conversations with Sidotti, the second a global geography, and the third addressing several topics, most notably Christianity and religion more generally. The material on Islam matches what is found in *Sairan igen*, but in comparison Islam lacks detailed description. Here, the 1980 modern Japanese translation by Ōkami Katsuyoshi and Isagai Hiroshi is referred to, alongside Matsumura Akira's 1975 reprint of the original.

The first reference to Islam appears to come in the second volume during Hakuseki's exploration of the Mughal Empire. Here, much of the lengthier material found in *Sairan igen* is absent, although Sidotti's description of the world's three religions (Christianity, heathenism, and Islam), which appears there, is present (pp. 125-6). One important difference is that, whereas *Sairan igen* states that Islam is found in the Mughal Empire, Asia and Turkey, by contrast *Seiyō kibun* records the Mughal Empire, Africa and Turkey as the loci of Islam (p. 125). Although there is this slight difference, the information presented should not be seen as erroneous as, according to Hakuseki, Turkey is located within Africa. He also notes that he suspects the *Māgometan* religion is probably the same as the Chinese *Huihui jiao* (Japanese *Kaikaikyō*), although he cannot confirm this through use of Ricci's *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* and Dutch maps, because the Mughal Empire and *Huihui* (here meaning Uyghur rather than Islamic) region are separated by a great distance (p. 126).

The next (and final) reference to Islam appears in the third volume. Following a lengthy discussion of Christianity, Hakuseki turns to other religions. Here he reiterates the world's three religions, and adds greater detail than he had in the previous passage, by discussing denominations, for instance (p. 199). He refers to Islam not only by the term *Māgometan*, but also as *Kaikyō* (p. 200). Hakuseki devotes more space here to describing its geographical spread than in the passage in the second volume, but adds little more than the fact that the religion is perhaps also found in Russia (p. 200).

SIGNIFICANCE

Unlike *Sairan igen*, this work has remained popular into the modern period, with regular reprints and translations into modern Japanese. This

has also been reflected in modern scholarship, with a greater number of academic works focusing on the text. An English translation of Hakuseki's description of the three world religions from the third volume has also been published (Josephson, *Invention of religion in Japan*, pp. 263-4). Nevertheless, due to the scarcity of references to Islam and the restrictions on Christianity and foreign trade mentioned above, like *Sairan igen* this text generally lacks much significance for Christian-Muslim relations as such. References to Islam, which are attributed to Sidotti, are short and neutral in nature. All references to the religion are part of passages describing the names and geographical spread of world religions, and are purely descriptive. Unlike *Sairan igen*, here the sense that Islam is an exotic curiosity is absent, and there are no references to the practices of the religion.

PUBLICATIONS

Arai Hakuseki, *Seiyō kibun*, [s.l.], 1807 (digitised copy available from Waseda University Library's online *Kotenseki Sōgō* Database)

Matsumura Akira (ed.), 'Seiyō kibun', in Matsumura Akira, Bitō Masahige and Katō Shūichi (eds), *Arai Hakuseki*, Tokyo, 1975, 7-82

Ōkami Katsuyoshi and Isagai Hiroshi (trans.), *Seiyō kibun*, Tokyo, 1980, pp. 52-210 (modern Japanese trans.)

J.A. Josephson, *The invention of religion in Japan*, London, 2012, pp. 262-4 (partial English trans.)

STUDIES

K. Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, Abingdon, 2009

K. Nakai, 'Arai Hakuseki's Confucian perspective on government and society', in W. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of East Asian tradition*, vol. 2. *The modern period*, New York, 2008, 256-62

M. Campana, 'Seiyō kibun. Shidotti to no kikai ni yotte hiyaku shita Arai Hakuseki no yōgaku to sono seikaku', *Historical and Geographical Studies in Kansai University* 107 (2008) 1-18

Ishibashi Hiroko, 'Kirishitan to Jukyō ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu', *The Bulletin of Misono Gakuen Junior College* 34 (2004) 71-80

Capasso, 'Senkyōshi Shidotti no Kenkyū'

Toshihiko, 'Fr. Matteo Ricci's world map'

Ayusawa, 'Geography and Japanese knowledge'

James Harry Morris

Mémoires concernant les Chinois

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois. Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, 'Memoirs concerning the history, sciences, arts, customs, usages, etc. of the Chinese. By the missionaries in Beijing'

DATE 1776-1814
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
Mémoires concernant les Chinois is a collection of missionary letters, translated texts and essays from the 18th-century Jesuit mission to China, including writings by prominent missionary figures such as Jean Joseph Marie Amiot (Chinese: Qian Deming, 1718-93) and Pierre-Martial Cibot (Chinese: Hánguó Yīng, 1727-80). References to Islam and more regularly to Muslims are scattered through 12 of the 16 volumes. It is possible to categorise these references as follows:

1. Muslim involvement in miscellaneous secular topics.
2. Conflict with Muslims through rebellion and war.
3. The presence and nature of Islam and Muslims in China.
4. The place of Muslims in Chinese history, drawing upon Chinese sources.

In many cases these categories overlap. A portion of the references to Muslims are fleeting and miscellaneous, focusing on Muslim involvement in secular aspects of Chinese society such as the production of silk or the trade in jade. They are descriptive in nature and lack either positive or negative comment on the Muslims involved. Muslims or Islam are not themselves the primary subjects but are mentioned in these passages by virtue of their association with the topic of discussion. Nevertheless, whilst seemingly insignificant for Christian-Muslim relations because they lack detail and assessment, such references illustrate that the Christian missionaries who authored them were willing and able to record the place and roles of Muslims in Chinese society without recourse to any

anti-Muslim biases which they may (or may not) have held. The authors commonly use the term 'Mahométans' to refer to Muslims and 'Mahométisme' to refer to Islam. They also tend to favour national and ethnic categories such as 'Hoei-tsee' (Chinese: *Huíhuí*), 'Turcs' (Turks), and 'khalife' (caliph). On occasion, they use the term 'Musulmans'.

The first references to Islam and Muslims appear in the very first volume of the *Mémoires*, in Jean Joseph Marie Amiot's (Chinese: Qián Démíng, 1718-93) *Monument de la conquéte des Eleuths* ['Memorial on the conquest of the Oirats'] (*Mémoires*, vol. 1, pp. 329-99). This explores the expedition of the Qiánlóng Emperor (1711-99) against the Dzungar, and includes extensive notes on the Chinese military, the Dzungar government, and geography (A. de Backer and A. de Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 3, Liège, 1886, p. 34) with the first mention of Islam in a footnote to Amiot's description of east Turkestan (here denoted as 'Hoa-men' or 'Hoei-pou'). He notes that Hoei-pou (Chinese: *Huìbù*) meaning 'the horde of Mahometans' is the general term used by the Chinese to refer to Tartars (p. 379). Following this, he describes briefly the conquest of east Turkmenistan by the former Dzungar leader Galdan Tseren (d. 1745), noting that Tseren gave the Muslims laws (p. 379). Amiot then provides an account of the rulings regarding the Muslims and military campaigns against them following their revolt (pp. 381-94). He refers, in reported speech, to particular Muslims as barbarous (p. 383). The footnotes from pages 381-94 provide extensive information on these events and the Muslims to which Amiot refers. However, the text appears to record primarily secular events in which Muslims were involved and, despite the apparent negative slant of the Christian chronicler, the record is essentially arreligious in nature.

Muslims are also referred to in secular accounts of political changes and governance in Amiot's *Monument de la transmigration des Tourgouths des bords de la mer Caspienne dans l'empire de la Chine* ['Memorial on the transmigration of the Tourgouths from the shores of the Caspian Sea in the Empire of China'] (*Mémoires*, vol. 1, pp. 401-18, particularly pp. 406, 409), as well as in his *Extrait d'une lettre du P. Amiot, missionaire en Chine, à M. Bertin, Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat* ['Extract from a letter from P. Amiot, missionary in China, to Mr. Bertin, minister and secretary of state'] (*Mémoires*, vol. 1, pp. 419-27, particularly p. 425).

Interestingly, references to Muslim rebellions and Sino-Muslim wars are extensive. These appear very frequently in vols 1, 9, 11, and parts of 15 and 16. The lengthy explorations of Sino-Muslim conflict suggest

that it was of importance. For the most part, the relevant passages are descriptive in nature, recording events in chronological sequence based on the Chinese sources available to the authors. Although the lack of overt personal judgement or comment on the involvement of Muslims in these events is notable, this does not mean that the recording of the events lacks interpretation. Indeed, the Christian authors tend to favour the imperial opinion on events, offering the perspective of the emperor or other high-ranking figures rather than their own. By favouring the Qīng discourse, the authors present an image of Muslims that is simultaneously both positive and negative – there are both acceptable and unacceptable Muslims. An example of this comes in vol. 11, where Amiot quotes the emperor's proclamation that rebellious Muslims should be punished, whilst law-abiding Muslim citizens should come to no harm. In the same volume, Amiot labels the white-capped Muslims as the main perpetrators of the rebellion and, although he notes that there was quarrelling between the red- and white-capped Muslims, comment on the other sects generally remains neutral.

Vols 2, 3, 7 and 12 appear to feature no references to Muslims or Islam. However, in vol. 4, a chapter composed by the French Jesuit Pierre-Martial Cibot (Chinese: Hánguó Yīng, 1727-80) entitled *Observations de physique et d'histoire naturelle de l'Empereur Kang-hi* ['Observations on physics and natural history of the … Emperor Kang-Hi'] (*Mémoires*, vol. 4, pp. 452-83) refers to Muslims on two occasions. On the first, Cibot notes the dispatch of Muslims to Hāmì and the fear that they had been incapacitated due to the extreme heat of the region (p. 459). However, on returning to Beijing because of illness, the Muslims reported that Hāmì was high up and had a large fresh water supply, meaning that the drawbacks of the hot weather could easily be overcome (p. 459). The second brief reference is to Muslims in the north-west of China and is concerned with the type of silkworms they breed, and the advantages of these silkworms in comparison to those elsewhere in China (p. 471).

Although not as extensive as vol. 1, vol. 5 (1780) contains several key references to Muslims. At the beginning of his *Idée générale de la Chine (i), Et de ses premières relations avec l'Europe* ['General ideas on China (i), and its first relations with Europe'], Cibot notes the celebration of the lives of Mongol leaders by contemporary Arab historians (*Mémoires*, vol. 5, p. 2). He provides an account of Louis IX of France's (1214-70) visit to Palestine and his belief in the existence of Prester John, although it lacks reference to Louis's interactions with Muslims (p. 3). Following this, he provides an account of the journeys of the Franciscan missionary

William of Rubruck (1220-93), noting that he was obliged to return to Europe following disputes with Muslim 'priests', idolaters and Syrian Christians (p. 4). He covers other early Sino-European relations, including the journeys of Marco Polo (1254-1324) and the early Jesuit missions, although these lack reference to Islam or Muslims (pp. 4-22) as such. The first and only direct reference to Muslims in connection with the 17th-century Jesuit missions comes with his discussion of the astronomical controversies between the Jesuits (especially Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1591-1666) and Muslims (p. 22). Here he notes that the Chinese emperor expelled the Muslim mathematicians, and comments that they had been present for some three centuries following the foolish decision of the Mongols to introduce them to China (p. 22).

In the third part of the treatise, entitled 'De la chronologie, de l'histoire et des religions de la Chine' ['Chronology, history, and religions of China'], Cibot makes several further references to Muslims. He notes that he has little to say with regard to their religion (p. 67). It was introduced, he argues, by the Mongols, and continued under the Míng dynasty (p. 67). He goes on to say that the Muslims monopolised the Bureau of Astronomy, upon when Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-88) successfully illustrated their ignorance and had them dismissed (p. 68). Furthermore, he argues that Muslims are tolerated in China because they are quiet, do not quarrel with each other, and do not evangelise (p. 68). Finally, he notes that in total there are only 5,000 to 6,000 Muslim families, all of low income (p. 68). The second part of the final chapter of this volume, entitled 'Pour compléter ce cinquième volume, on y a joint quelques notices sur différens objets, III. Notices du royaume de Ha-mi' ['To complete the fifth volume, we have attached some notes on different objects. III. Notices on the Kingdom of Hāmì'], written by Cibot, contains a lone reference to Muslims. This is a historical note to the effect that, following the fall of the Táng dynasty, the Muslims (already in control of Persia, the Caspian and other areas) conquered Hāmì (p. 488). Cibot notes that the area retained a ruler, though he was dependent on Mongol patronage (p. 488).

In vol. 6, a single reference to Muslims appears in *Extrait d'une lettre de M. Amiot, à M ***, du 28 septembre 1777. Observations sur le livre de M. P**, intitulé: Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois* ['Extract from a letter from M. Amiot to M ***, September 28, 1777. Observations on the book of M. P**, entitled: Philosophical investigations on the Egyptians and the Chinese']. Writing about the abandonment of

children in China, Amiot notes among some other examples that there are those who hope when they abandon a child that some charitable Muslim, wanting to provide proof of their faith, will seek to save them (*Mémoires*, vol. 6, p. 327). He states that by saving the child's life the Muslim will be able to create a new convert (p. 327).

A single short reference to Muslims occurs in vol. 8 (1782) in a portion entitled *Extrait d'un lettre d'un missionnaire: Ecrite de Pékin le 16 novembre 1778, sur le retour de l'Empereur Kien-Long, qu'on avoit cru mort* ['Extract from the letter of a missionary: Written from Peking on 16 November 1778, on the return of Emperor Qiánlóng, who had been thought dead'], written by François Bourgeois (Chinese: Cháo Jùnxiù, 1723-92). In this, Bourgeois notes that an affair (unspecified in content) involving Muslims had been resolved following the emperor cutting off the Chinese who had vexed them (p. 289).

Vol. 9 (1783) contains several references to Muslims. In *Observations: De M. Law de Lauriston, sur l'ouvrage intitulé: Voyage de M. Sonnerat aux Indes orientales & à la Chine* ['Observations: From Mr. Law of Lauriston, on the work entitled: M. Sonnerat's voyage to the East Indies and China'], Cibot explores the design of some rupees which refer to the second son of Aurangzeb (Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad, 1618-1707), here rendered Cha Alem (Bahadur Shah, 1643-1712) (*Mémoires*, vol. 9, p. xx). The inscription on the coins describes Cha Alem as a defender of Islam and a person blessed with the goodness of God. Nevertheless, beyond this quoted description from the coins, no assessment or further details are provided. More pertinent in this volume are references in Amiot's *Extrait d'une lettre. Ecrite par M. Amiot, missionnaire, contenant, 1°. les services rendus par Akoui; 2°. une lettre de l'empereur au Talaï-lama* ['Extract from a letter written by M. Amiot, missionary, containing 1. The services rendered by Akoui; 2. A letter from the emperor to the Dalai Lama']. The letter records military campaigns undertaken by the Manchu general Āguì (1717-97) during the 1781 rebellions of the Muslim Salar people in Lánzhōu. Amiot writes that, whilst Āguì was working on strengthening fortifications in north-west China, the emperor dispatched a courier to inform him that Muslims from Níngxià and those in the provinces under Āguì's charge had begun causing disturbances in Hotcheou (Turfan) (*Mémoires*, vol. 9, p. 442). These Muslims had destroyed bridges and were besieging Lánzhōu, and the emperor therefore requested Āguì to act against them. Āguì successfully broke the siege but, instead of waiting for reinforcements, he sought to chase down the fleeing Muslim armies only to find

his own forces surrounded by them and their local supporters, though he was eventually able to defeat the Muslim forces (pp. 442-4). The report also contains the quoted speech of Āguì, including reference to the Muslim forces (p. 445). The second part of the letter, which is a quoted letter from the emperor to the Dalai Lama, includes one reference to Muslims, which notes that Muslim ambassadors (among those of other races and nations) paid homage to the emperor at his summer residence in Gehol (modern-day Chéngdé) (p. 449).

The majority of vol. 10 (1784) contains an index to previous volumes, noting instances where Muslims and Islam were referred to. In many cases, this list, entitled *Table générale des matieres contenues dans les dix précédens volumes des mémoires concernant les Chinois* ['General table of subjects contained in the ten previous volumes of memoirs concerning the Chinese'], provides background details on figures and events mentioned that were not explicitly marked as relating to Islam or Muslims in the text itself. For example, the index lists several figures, including details of their religious affiliation or their interactions with Muslims, as well as geographical notes regarding areas with high numbers of Muslims (pp. 181, 261, 296, 478 and 498). These are noted in some cases as absent in the text in previous volumes. The index entry on 'Chinese wars' refers to exploration in vol. 9 of Āguì's battles against revolting Muslims in Lánzhōu (p. 258); the entry on silk refers the reader to references to Muslims in vol. 4 (p. 403); and the entry on religions in China points the reader to vol. 5 for details regarding Islam (p. 389). Entries on Amiot, stone, the Emperor Qiánlóng, salt and Chinese superstitions also refer to Muslims or Islam (pp. 189, 356, 379, 394, 415). Explicit references to 'Mahométans' and 'Mahométisme' in the index point the reader to Amiot's account in vol. 1, and Cibot's introduction to Chinese religions in vol. 5 (p. 310).

There are two references to Islam in vol. 11 (1786). The first occurs in *Observations sur les plantes, les fleurs & les arbres de Chine, qu'il est possible & utile de se procurer en France* ['Observations on the plants, flowers and trees of China which it is possible and useful to obtain in France'] by Cibot. Here, Cibot argues that China is set apart from other Muslim and heretical empires by doing more for its colonists through treaties, to which it owes much of its power, wealth and peace (*Mémoires*, vol. 11, p. 259). The second reference is extensive and appears in *Extrait d'une lettre de M. Amiot, ecrite de Pé-king le 29 Novembre 1784* ['Extract of a letter by M. Amiot, written in Peking on 29 November 1784']. Describing

the area of Gānsù and north-west China, Amiot notes that it is divided into several hordes (p. 590). All openly profess their religion (that of the Qur'an) known as Hoei-tsee (*Huíhuí*) (p. 590). The Muslims are divided into three sects, the 'Houng-mao-hoei-tsee' (*Hóng mào Huíhuí* – Uyghurs) who wear red caps, the 'Pe-mao-hoei-tsee' (*Bái mào Huíhuí* – Arabs) who wear white caps, and the 'Tchan-teou-hoei-tsee' (*Chántóu huí* – another term for Uyghurs) who wrap their heads with a turban only when paying tribute to the emperor or receiving permission to gain a new sultan (pp. 590-1). He does not note the black-capped Muslims (*Hēi mào Huíhuí*), a term used to refer to Persians (Ting and Xiansheng, 'Hui people', p. 124). Amiot notes that the red- and white-capped Muslims were involved in religious disputes, and due to their high numbers in the province of Gānsù such disputes entered public life (*Mémoires*, vol. 11, p. 591). These quarrels were tolerated unless they caused disorder in Chinese cities (p. 591). The document goes on to give details on Āguì and Lǐ Shìyáo (d. 1788), focusing on the events of the 1781 Muslim rebellions in the province, and notes that Lǐ was promoted following Āguì's recommendation, but, accustomed to tranquil places where his orders were followed, Lǐ was unable to have his orders instated efficiently in Gānsù. Lǐ ordered the Muslims to live in peace with one another and refrain, under threat of punishment, from disputes that affected public peace (pp. 591-2). However, the Muslims continued to quarrel as usual, and became more enraged following their punishment (p. 592). Amiot notes that the main aggressors were the white-capped Muslims, who regarded all other Muslims as degenerate, urging them to follow the Qur'an more purely (p. 592). It is interesting to note that, in this statement regarding the white-capped Muslims' dislike of other Muslims, Amiot uses the term 'Musulmans' rather than his usual 'Mahométans' (p. 592). Lǐ considered the Muslims to be foreigners and fewer in number than they had been in the past, and he therefore decided to expel rebellious members of the white-capped Muslims, totalling approximately 10,000 families, without informing the emperor (p. 592). The protests of those to be expelled fell upon deaf ears, although Lǐ declared that they could still visit for trade if they did not disturb the peace (pp. 592-3). Amiot notes that in their anger the exiled Muslims became 'rebellious, fierce and cruel' (p. 593) and began preparations for war (p. 593). They rallied around a descendant of a former ruler who, because of his youth, had been spared in the massacres in Dzungar when the Qīng had conquered the region (described in vol. 1), and persuaded him to lead them

(pp. 593-5). Amiot then covers logistics and military preparations as well as the beginning of the rebellion (pp. 595-7). Lǐ's forces were outnumbered and, not wanting to act without imperial permission, he sent a courier to request assistance from the emperor. In the meantime, he dispatched a limited number of his men to face the rebellion (p. 597). Some of the forces he sent were wiped out by the more numerous Muslim forces, whilst others hid and later reported the situation to him (p. 597). He dispatched these reports to the emperor, who also received letters from other Chinese living in the region (p. 597). The emperor arrested and tried Lǐ, who was found guilty of harshness, negligence and failure to report the unstable nature of his province to the emperor (p. 597).

Lǐ was sentenced to be executed, but Amiot notes that Āguì's influence may eventually have saved him from punishment (pp. 597-8). He then provides an account of the putting down of the rebellion by Āguì and comments on the war in general for his European audience (pp. 598-603). He notes that the emperor promised that he would ensure no harm came to ordinary Muslims who did not revolt (p. 598). Indeed, Amiot provides a quotation from the emperor following the suppression of the revolt, in which the emperor argues that he had graciously allowed the Muslims to live according to their own religion, laws and customs, but they had forgotten this, seeking instead to slaughter his officers, rob his granaries and treasury, sway the opinions of his subjects, and take the empire. Such a treacherous nation, he argued, should be destroyed (pp. 603-4). Those under the age of 15 would be spared and given as slaves to Muslims who had remained faithful to the empire (p. 604). Amiot notes that the order was carried out, and the land was cleared to make way for a new nation, though in Amiot's opinion this could in the future also rise against its masters (p. 604). Āguì wrote to the emperor asking him to grant the land to well-deserving subjects and to settle Chinese there, to build a city, and to keep Lǐ's successor Fúkāng'ān (1753-96) in his position as head of the province (p. 605). He details the promotions and other practical actions taken in the province by the emperor (pp. 605-9), and in the postscript he writes that Lǐ's fate remains unclear, although the emperor seems to be showing him mercy (p. 609).

Vol. 13 (1788) contains two references to Muslims in Cibot's *Seconde notice sur les pierres de Yu, par le même* ['Second notice on jade']. Noting the rarity of jade, Cibot writes that most comes from the north-west and is found by the Muslims who reside there (*Mémoires*, vol. 13, p. 393). The second reference reiterates the first, noting again that both the Muslims

and the Chinese search riverbeds and areas near mountains to find jade (p. 394). Vol. 14 (1789) contains numerous references to Muslims, the majority found in Amiot's *Introduction à la connoissance des peuples qui ont été ou qui sont auctuellement tributaires de la Chine* ['Introduction to the knowledge of peoples who have been or currently are dependent on China'], which occupies most of the volume. Amiot first refers to the *Sìyí guǎn* (Institute of four foreign languages), noting its subdivisions (*Mémoires*, vol. 14, p. 7). The premier department is the *Huíhuí* or Muslim department (p. 7), which has produced several works, including a dictionary (p. 7). Amiot provides details on the Muslim *Huíhuí* with a sub-chapter devoted to them in which he notes that their department is responsible for all matters in the kingdoms of a Muslim majority (pp. 9-10). One of the areas supposedly under the department's remit is Japan, but Amiot argues that this must be a mistake as Islam does not exist there (p. 10).

Contrary to the Chinese indifference to foreign religions, which Amiot notes are categorised according to their exterior similarities, he argues that the Chinese are quite familiar with Islam; they are aware of Muḥammad (stylised here as 'Mo-han') and his status, and of the kingdom of Medina ('Mo-te-na') (p. 10). Amiot writes that the *Huíhuí* honour heaven, but they lack representations of their object of worship (pp. 10-11). Furthermore, they own many books, and one town contains a library comprised of 30 interconnected departments with a total of some 3,000 volumes (pp. 10-11). Amiot also claims that there may be a link between their written language and French (p. 11). He notes that the first Muslims in China came during the Suí dynasty (581-618) (p. 11) and provides the name *Sa-ha-pa-sa-ngan-ty-kan-see-ke* as the first Muslim visitor (p. 11). This appears to be a reference to someone linked to Muḥammad, as indicated by the term *Sa-ha-pa* ('Sahaba'). It is possibly a reference to one *Sa-ha-ba S-a-di Gan-go-sz'*, who is referred to by E. Bretschneider in *Medieval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources* (London, vol. 1, 1888, p. 266).

Amiot provides further details of the arrival of Islam in China in his footnotes (*Mémoires*, vol. 14, p. 11, n. 2). Using Chinese sources, he claims a probable date of 590 or, in his opinion, around 596, marking the middle of the Emperor Wén's (here rendered as Kai-hoang; r. 581-604) reign (pp. 11-12, n. 2). In the same footnote, Amiot writes also about the origins of Islam. He notes that Muḥammad was not seeking to found a new religion but rather declared himself a prophet in order to hide from his wife,

Khadīja (here rendered 'Chadighe'), the true cause of the convulsions he suffered (p. 12, n. 2). Debating the date of the birth of Muḥammad, he rejects later dates provided by other historians (p. 12, n. 2). Focusing on the year 571, he notes that Muḥammad's first marriage would have occurred in 596 when he was 25 years old (p. 12, n. 2). With such dating, he argues, it would be unlikely that Muslims visited China during Wén's reign, as Muḥammad, at the age of 25, would not yet have disciples to dispatch as emissaries to foreign lands, and indeed he did not begin to systematise his teachings until he was 40 years old (p. 12, n. 2). However, following other scholars, Amiot notes that if Muḥammad was born in 560 and married in 585, he would have had time to make followers who could have visited China within his and Wén's lifetime in or before 604 (p. 12, n. 2). Accepting this dating, Amiot notes that it would be possible for Muslims to have visited China in the middle of Wén's reign (as attested in Chinese sources) (p. 13, n. 2).

Continuing his description of Muslims in China in the main body of his text, Amiot states that Muslims have their own cities, palaces, gardens and markets, and that they are involved in astronomy, medicine and the arts (pp. 12-13). He comments briefly on religious practices, noting that Muslims do not eat pork, they fast for one month each year and wash during that time, pray in a westerly direction every day, and have one unified religion (pp. 12-13). He notes they make velvet, flannel, cloth and canvases, and that they possess lions, rhinoceroses, camels and horses (pp. 13-14). Finally, he notes the receiving of ambassadors in 1426 in the reign of the Emperor Xuāndé (r. 1399-1435) (p. 14). In the subchapter exploring the region of Turfan (Tourfan), he refers to Muslims within this region, arguing that their poor relations with other Chinese Muslims are due either to different interpretations of the Qur'an or to their use of idols (pp. 23-4).

Following this, and using Chinese sources, he refers to Mecca (rendered by Amiot as 'Tien-fang' – in Chinese pinyin *Tiānfāng*). Here, he returns to the topic of the ambassadors received by Xuāndé during the Míng dynasty (1368-1644) (p. 24). In the footnotes, he provides details on the Chinese Muslim Zhèng Hé's journey to Mecca, quoting from Zhèng (pp. 24-6, n. 2), who notes that the residents of Mecca follow the religion of Muḥammad and describes a temple in which there are five chapels, one of which is reserved for the clergy (p. 25, n. 2). Zheng records that the inhabitants of Mecca are wise and always happy, and mentions the time it takes for pilgrims to arrive by sea or foot from Hormuz and Calcutta or Cochin (pp. 25-6, n. 2).

A second quotation refers to 'Kou-ly', which Amiot identifies as Calcutta or Cochin. Amiot provides some comments on place names and their rendering in Chinese (pp. 25-6, n. 2). In the main text here, he provides a description of Mecca as a place of temperate climate, where men and women shave their heads and drink mare's milk, where there is no taxation, no thieving, and where there is a lunar aspect to the priest's worship (p. 26). He notes the existence of a square temple within the city, made of wood, fine yellow marble and stones of all colours (pp. 26-7). The city is home to precious stones, coral and horses (p. 27). Amiot states that the city has maintained relations with China from the reign of Xuāndé to the current emperor (p. 27). In his discussion of 'Koua-oua' (perhaps Borneo or Java), Amiot notes that the religion of the people there is Islam (p. 101), as is the case with 'Man-la-kia' (Malacca) (p. 124).

A final reference to Muslims in vol. 14 appears in *Parallèle des mœurs et usages des Chinois, ou les mœurs et usages décrits dans le Livre d'Esther: Extrait d'un commentaire sur ce livre, par seu M. Cibot, missionnaire à Péking* ['Parallels between the customs and usages of the Chinese and the customs and usages described in the Book of Esther: Extract from a commentary on this book, by M. Cibot, missionary in Beijing'], where Cibot notes Muslims amongst recently conquered peoples (p. 432).

Vol. 15 (1791) also contains extensive references to Muslims. The first part is *Suite de parallèle des mœurs et usages des Chinois, avec les mœurs et usages décrits dans le Livre d'Esther* ['Continuation of parallels of the customs and usages of the Chinese, with the customs and usages described in the Book of Esther'] by Cibot, a continuation of the extract in the previous volume. Exploring the presence of Jews in Persia, he provides comments on the presence of Muslim Oriats (Eleuths) in China, noting that they came with their wives and children and were distributed throughout various small towns (*Mémoires*, vol. 15, p. 188). He notes that, although the group is hated by the Chinese, the government does not interfere with their religion but rather treats them honestly because they are foreigners (pp. 188-9).

All the remaining references to Islam or Muslims in the volume are found in Antoine Gaubil's (Chinese: Sòng Jūnróng, 1689-1759) *Abrégé de l'histoire de la Chinoise de la grande dynastie Tang* ['Abridged history of the Chinese of the great Tang dynasty']. Exploring the region of Arabia as recorded in Táng dynasty (618-907) histories, Gaubil notes that Muḥammad, having found a black stone on a mountain near Medina,

took it and deceived the people, eventually founding a state (*Mémoires*, vol. 15, p. 407). He goes on to note that Muḥammad's descendants conquered Persia (p. 408). Later he records the Turks and the *Huíhuí* among the four great powers that warred with Táng China (pp. 408-9). He also notes that both Christianity and the religion of Islam and the caliphs were recorded in the history of the Táng dynasty (p. 409). The final references appear in footnotes mentioning wars, battles and related secular events in which Muslims were involved (p. 450, n. 2; pp. 455-6, n. 3; p. 468, n. C; p. 474, n. 2). These are not substantial in terms of content.

Vol. 16, the final one of the series, published in 1814, some 23 years after vol. 15, also contains references to Islam and Muslims. These all occur in Gaubil's continued version of his *Abrégé de l'histoire de la Chinoise de la grande dynastie Tang* in a text entitled *Suite de l'abrégé de l'histoire de la Chinoise de la grande dynastie Tang* ['Continuation of the abridged history of the Chinese of the great Tang dynasty']. First, Gaubil focuses on Táng expansion into Turkish regions, noting Turkish defections to the Chinese side and the allocation of land to these Turks (pp. 8-9). He records the presentation of the title 'Ko-han' (Chinese: *Dēnglì Kěhàn*, often rendered 'Tengri Qaghan') to a ruler selected by the Turks, and that this leader was desirous to build cities and temples (pp. 10-11). He also notes Turkish uprisings in 717 against the Chinese that followed these events, which involved troops from Tibet and the caliphate (probably referring to the Türgesh Kaganate) (pp. 11-12). They attacked towns in Kashgar, but the Chinese, assisted by other Turks, were able to lift the sieges. Settlements with the Tibetans and with western and northern Turks were made the following year (p. 12). In 719, he notes several envoys asking for Chinese protection against the caliphate (p. 12). In the footnotes, Gaubil states that the Táng histories record that the emperor received a lion from Syria or the Roman Empire (the kingdom of Ta-tsin, in pinyin rendered *Dàqín* – Gaubil suggests this refers to Greece) (p. 13, n. 2). The kingdom also sent a priest of great virtue (p. 13, n. 2). Gaubil writes that, due to the wars with Muslims, the roads that these envoys took were dangerous and difficult (p. 13, n. 2). Throughout the rest of the main text, he continues to record intermittently details about wars and the eventual peace settlement with the Turks, and subsequently mentions Islam directly in a reference to a monk who used Muslim mathematical methods (p. 16, n. 2).

Much later in the text Gaubil turns to the topic of Muslims, but again only in his footnotes. Here he records details of an emissary from the

fifth ʿAbbasid caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786-809, here referred to as 'le Khalifie Ga-lun'), who took part in a Chinese ceremony to greet the emperor (p. 144, n. 3). Gaubil argues that the first ambassadors had difficulty with Chinese ceremonies (p. 144, n. 3), noting that the Chinese histories record that the Muslims initially objected to kneeling as they only knelt as part of religious ceremonies. However, following explanations of Chinese ceremonies, their objections thawed (p. 144, n. 3). In a further footnote focusing on the spread of foreign religions, Gaubil states that the Táng histories recorded that Muslims honour the spirit of heaven, and that this religion is generally practised in Tibet and in western countries (p. 229, n. 10).

Towards the end of the text, Gaubil includes a chapter entitled *Additions a l'historie de la grande dynastie Tang* ['Additions to the history of the great Tang dynasty'], which contains a subsection entitled *Sur les Mahométans* ['On the Muslims']. This contains the most substantial material on Muslims. Gaubil records a story from the Táng histories of incidents occurring in the reign of Emperor Yáng (569-618) of the Suí dynasty (p. 372). Although he does not openly state that this is a story of the origins of Islam, the story's position in the text and also the footnotes suggest that this is the case. He writes that a man who was guarding his flock on a mountain heard the voice of a beast, which said that to the west of the mountain were caravans, good weapons and a black stone, the owner of which would become king (p. 372). The man found these items, took up arms and, by deceiving many people, made himself king (p. 372). In the footnotes, Gaubil notes that this story was about incidents that occurred in Arabia (pp. 372-3, n. 1) and that sources only distinguish between Persia and Arabia following the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad (p. 373, n. 2). He records that Chinese historians of later periods assert that Muḥammad sent two of his disciples to China to preach the religion, and that, according to the Táng histories, the first Arab visitors to China introduced the religion (p. 373, n. 3). The text does not provide details of the early Muslim conquests (see p. 373, n. 4).

In a second set of footnotes, but numbered in the same fashion as the preceding ones, he records historical inaccuracies in the text (p. 372, n. 1) and the position of Arabia in relation to China according to Chinese sources (p. 372, n. 2). Following this passage, Gaubil records in the main text an embassy from Arabia in 651 (p. 373). The first footnote attached to this section explores the origins of the Chinese word for the Arabs and Arabia, 'Ta-che' (*Dà shí*) (pp. 373-4, n. 1), and an additional footnote states that this term referred to Muslim countries in general (p. 373, n. 4). The

editors explore the term further, noting its links to the Persian term *tazi* (p. 374, n. 1). In the second footnote to the main text, Gaubil makes brief notes about some of the genealogies of Middle Eastern leaders and caliphs recorded in the Táng histories (p. 374, n. 2). The third footnote states that the Táng histories record the existence of a mosque in Si-gan-fou (Xī'ān), however, it also states that Gaubil himself has been unable to confirm whether or not this was so (p. 375, n. 3). The fourth footnote refers to the invasion of Transoxiana by armies of the caliphate, with Gaubil noting that 'the Chinese history clearly speaks of this irruption of Muslims' (p. 375, n. 4).

In the fifth footnote, Gaubil states that the number of Muslims in Táng China cannot be accurately ascertained (p. 375, n. 5). He suggests that figures given in other academic texts are probably exaggerated (p. 375, n. 5). Like the fourth footnote, the sixth records some further descriptions of Muslim wars and tributary relationships which appear in the Táng histories, and distinguishes between the Turks and the caliphate (p. 375, n. 6). Further references to Islam appear elsewhere in *Additions a l'historie de la grande dynastie Tang.* In an exploration of the Nestorian stele, Gaubil argues that the term 'Yu-see' (Yēsū?) refers to Christ and followers of his religion, and is derived from Arabic, Persian and Transoxianan Muslim terminology (p. 382). Some further brief notes regarding the geographical spread of Muslims are also given (p. 390, n. 7), and these record the Chinese receiving deputies from the Muslims during a war with Tibetans and the caliphate in 716 (pp. 594-5, n. 9).

The authors of the *Mémoires* in various passages write about the nature and presence of Islam in China. Although these are shorter in length than descriptions of Sino-Muslim conflict, they are arguably of greater significance for understanding Christian-Muslim relations in the period as they encapsulate direct Christian comment of Muslim practices. For the most part, these references are descriptive. In some cases, it appears that the authors wish to portray Islam as insignificant. In Amiot's *De la chronologie, de l'histoire et des religions de la Chine*, Islam is the last religion he explores. He states that he has little to say regarding the religion, and he draws attention to the small size of the Muslim population. Nevertheless, Amiot also provides a positive and somewhat apologetic assessment of the religion. Seeking to answer the question of why Muslims are tolerated, he notes that they neither quarrel nor evangelise. It is perhaps significant that he must explain the toleration of Muslims, though his answer illustrates to his European audience that quarrelling and evangelisation are not typical of Islam. But Amiot appears to retract

such comments in his *Extrait d'une lettre de M. Amiot, ecrite de Pé-king le 29 Novembre 1784*, which describes the three Islamic sects present in China. In this he refers to quarrelling between the sects.

This might illustrate a development in Amiot's thought and understanding of Islam in China, but it may also reflect the propensity of the authors to accept the Qīng imperial discourse. His descriptions of Islam in *Introduction à la connoissance des peuples qui ont été ou qui sont auctuellement tributaires de la Chine* are mostly neutral in tone. However, his linking of the *Huíhuí* language with French and his praise of their libraries betray a positive assessment of the Chinese Muslims. Overtly negative assessments of Muslims in China are also given: Cibot's *Suite de parallèle des mœurs et usages des Chinois, avec les mœurs et usages décrits dans le Livre d'Esther*, for instance, notes that Muslims are hated by the Chinese, but tolerated nevertheless.

There are also references that draw heavily on Chinese sources regarding the place of Muslims in Chinese history. These are mostly descriptive in nature, but occasionally they include the author's own interpretations in footnotes. Such descriptions include details of the arrival of Islam in China, Sino-Middle Eastern embassies, and the origins of Islam. Amiot offers his own opinions in footnotes, providing a lengthy argument regarding the date of Muḥammad's birth based on the Chinese dating of the arrival of Islam in China. These passages, which for the most part do not offer any assessment, are significant as they seek to interact with contemporary European texts and to contribute to European debate. Gaubil's work in *Abrégé de l'histoire de la Chinoise de la grande dynastie Tang* and *Suite de l'abrégé de l'histoire de la Chinoise de la grande dynastie Tang* are significant as early European explorations of the Chinese written histories. While parts of the work appear to be anti-Muslim in nature, these aspects are supposedly present in Gaubil's sources and therefore do not directly reflect Gaubil's own thought. Gaubil's footnotes occasionally illustrate doubt regarding the spread of Islam in the China of the past, as in his note that he could not confirm the existence of a mosque in Xī'ān or his note that the population of Muslims cannot be accurately estimated. Such statements possibly betray the author's potentially anti-Muslim sentiment. However, these judgements are not particularly polemical in nature and are perhaps better understood as a means of questioning the accuracy of the Chinese historical sources.

Arguably the most important text for Christian-Muslim relations on the place of Islam in Chinese history appears to be Cibot's *Idée générale de la Chine (i), Et de ses premières relations avec l'Europe*, as it broaches

the topic several times. Muslims are said to be partially responsible for Rubruck's return to Europe, and the positions of Jesuits such as Schall von Bell and Verbiest are defended with reference to Muslim mathematical error and ignorance, as well as the foolishness of the Mongols for having employed them in the first place. These statements are simultaneously the only direct references to Christian-Muslim interaction in Chinese history within the volumes and the most overtly anti-Muslim statements throughout the volumes. This suggests, in the case of Cibot at least, that he held anti-Muslim views when Muslims negatively influenced Christian missionaries.

Nevertheless, while these statements refer directly to Christian-Muslim relations they are insubstantial in terms of length, and appear to repeat in shortened form the details and judgements of earlier Jesuit texts from the region. The references illustrate the use of earlier sources to inform contemporary opinions on Christian-Muslim relations, although they do not appear to have been particularly significant for shaping the future of these relations. As with other references to Muslims in the *Mémoires*, the relevance of these references is grounded in the fact that there are few other documents written by Christians referring to Muslims or Islam in China during the period. The *Mémoires* also appear to have been used regularly by scholars in the 19th century.

In summary, there appear to be four approaches to Muslims and Islam in the descriptions of their character and presence in China: mostly neutral descriptions, positive assessments, negative assessments, and assessments drawn from the imperial Chinese perspective. Both positive and negative assessments could be overt or unobvious. Due to the rarity of information about Muslims in China authored by Christians during the 18th century, these assessments and descriptions are highly significant for the history of Christian-Muslim relations in the region. The references do not hint that the missionaries directly interacted with Muslims, although they provide important European historical descriptions of Muslims and Islam in the region and period.

It is difficult to assess the views of the missionaries about their Muslim counterparts other than that they appeared more to accept the imperial Chinese position than any European attitudes. It is likely that this allowed the authors to portray China as good and Muslim rebels as bad without further need for anti-Muslim polemical argumentation. However, the imperial position offers a slightly more nuanced vision of Islam, in which both good (or at least not bad) Muslims and bad Muslims exist.

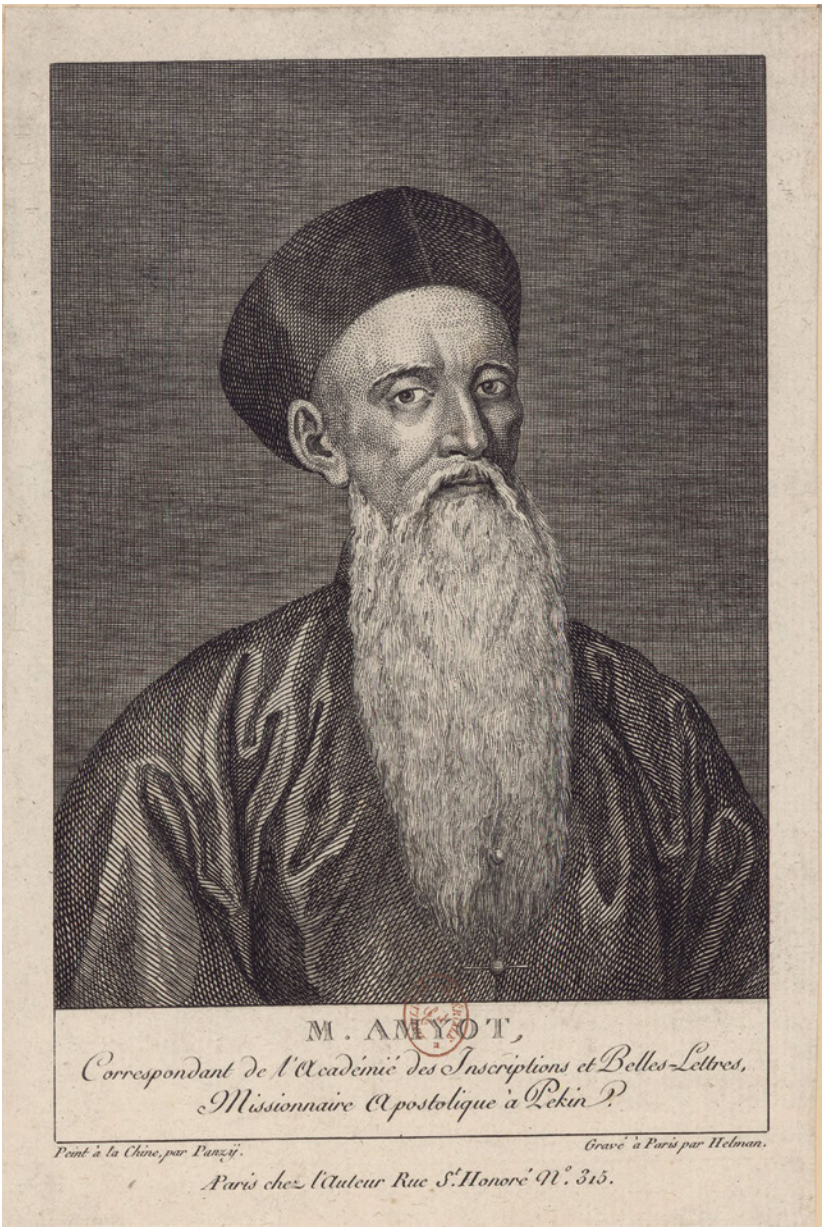


Illustration 15. Engraving of Jean Joseph-Marie Amiot wearing Chinese dress, in *Recueil. Portraits de Joseph Marie Amiot, le Révérend Père (1718-1793), missionnaire en Chine*

SIGNIFICANCE

To identify the significance of this material, which, prima facie, seems rather tangential to the history of Christian-Muslim relations, we need to return to the categories noted at the outset of the Description and explore each in turn, and also the whole corpus as reflecting something of the nature and state of Christian perceptions of and interest in Islam and Muslims. While many passages record important descriptions of an aspect of Muslim history, they do not seek to be particularly polemical or apologetic, and therefore do not consciously attempt to influence the contemporary state of Christian-Muslim relations in Europe, China or elsewhere. Nevertheless, this material did, and does, have a wider significance for Christian-Muslim relations.

In Europe, the collection became an important resource for the study of China in the 18th century. In a general sense, the fact that the collection devoted a large amount of space to describing Islam in China (in comparison to the description of other minority religions) probably influenced conceptions abroad on the place of Islam in China and the country's religious make-up. Following its publication, there appears to have been an increase in the number of European texts referring to the place of Islam in China. This may reflect advances in printing as much as it reflects the text's influence, of course. Nevertheless, the *Mémoires* was referenced as early as 1778, when Amiot's *Monument de la conquéte des Eleuths* appeared in German in Liborius von Bergmann (1754-1823) and Christoph Meiners's (1747-1810) *Abhandlungen sinesischer Jesuiten* ['Treatises of the Chinese Jesuits']. Following this (and until the late 19th century), the *Mémoires* became a widely-used resource in scholarship on Islam in China. Like the *Mémoires* itself, most of these works recorded Muslim involvement in miscellaneous secular topics, Muslim conflicts and the place of Muslims in Chinese history. An example is the *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* ['Bulletin of historical and descriptive geography'](Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section de géographie historique et descriptive, *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, vols 9-10, Paris, 1894), a government publication that draws on Amiot's descriptions of Muslim presence in Western China (p. 124). Another example is Joseph Toussaint Reinaud (1795-1867) and William MacGuckin Baron de Slane's (1801-78) introduction to their *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Paris, 1840), a translation of Abū l-Fidā''s *Taqwīm al-buldān*, which draws heavily on Gaubil's history of the Táng Dynasty in order to describe the spread of Islam in China (pp. 374, 385 396, 398, 400). Indeed,

this text has had a long influence, being reprinted in 1963 in Baghdad and adding to ongoing discussions on the place of Muslims in China (among other topics) into the 20th century. These sorts of predominantly French-language texts are relatively common, with numerous works on China referencing passages in the *Mémoires* on the place of Muslims in China. Nevertheless, other works by the contributors not included in the *Mémoires* appear to have had a wider influence on discussions of Islam in China, such as Gaubil's translation of the *Yuán shi* (*Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute la dinastie des Mongous ses successeurs* ['History of Genghiz Khan and of the entire dynasty of the Mongols his successors'], Paris, 1739). As many of the texts that reference the *Mémoires* appear to maintain the neutrality they exhibit, it could be suggested that the volumes contributed to a greater neutrality on the topic of Islam in China, and by implication on relations between Christians and Muslims in China, in scholarly texts especially when compared to texts from the 17th century which, due to Christian-Muslim conflict, often sought to demonise the religious other. This is potentially the most important contribution that the *Mémoires* made to discussions of Chinese Islam in Europe.

However, on occasion references from the *Mémoires* are used to make negative judgements on Islam. For instance, Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat's (1788-1832) *Recherches sur les langues tartares, ou Mémoires sur différens points de la grammaire et de la littérature des Mandchos, des Mongols, des Ouigours et des Tibétains* ['Research on the Tatar languages, or memoirs on different points of grammar and literature of the Manchu, Mongols, Uyghurs and Tibetans'] (Paris, 1820) used the *Mémoires* to claim that Islam in China was corrupt and mixed with Buddhist concepts (p. 299). This is particularly interesting, as it illustrates that texts originally containing relatively neutral descriptions of Islam were repurposed to make negative descriptions of the religion, thereby feeding into anti-Muslim sentiment present in Europe. It is most likely that the choice between either upholding the *Mémoires*'s neutral account, or using it to produce negative judgements on Islam in China, fell to the discretion of the later author.

It is surprising to discover that the attempts of the authors of the *Mémoires* to contribute to ongoing debates on Islam, such as discussions on the dating of the birth of Muḥammad, are not referenced in contemporary European scholarship. Indeed, this suggests that the authors' attempts to contribute to European debates on Islam, which could potentially be significant for Christian-Muslim relations, were ignored. Nevertheless, the fact that the texts appear to have popularised not only

discussions on Chinese Islam, but also overwhelmingly non-judgmental treatments of Chinese Islam, illustrates an instructive development in Christian-Muslim relations as pertaining to East Asia, where 17th-century records were polemical and anti-Muslim in nature.

As some of the only European sources written in China, references in this text to Sino-Muslim conflict are certainly significant for the study of Muslim rebellions that occurred in China in the 18th century. However, the narratives primarily describe Sino-Muslim relations and are therefore less significant for Christian-Muslim relations in the period. As the work was compiled for a European audience, it might be the case that it influenced other Christian thinkers, missionaries and religious figures in their own interactions with Muslims. But the mostly neutral way in which the passages refer to Muslims probably allowed readers to impose their own assumptions and judgements onto the text. Certainly, texts that have a direct bearing on the contemporary conduct of Christian-Muslim relations in China are rare.

PUBLICATIONS

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 1, Paris, 1776

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 4, Paris, 1779

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 5, Paris, 1780

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 6, Paris, 1780

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 8, Paris, 1782

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 9, Paris, 1783

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 10, Paris, 1784

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 11, Paris, 1786

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 13, Paris, 1788

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 14, Paris, 1789

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 15, Paris, 1791

Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, & c. des Chinois: Par les Missionnaires de Pékin, vol. 16, Paris, 1814

Digitised versions of the text can be found on Internet Archive, Google Books, Gallica, and the HATHI Trust.

STUDIES

Lee Chao Ying, *Visions de l'empire du milieu au 18e siècle en France. Illustrations des Mémoires concernant les Chinois 1776-1791*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2016

Jiang Ting and Tian Xiansheng, 'The Hui people. Identity, policies, developments, and problems', in Li Xiaobing and Patrick Fuliang Shan (eds), *Ethnic China. Identity, assimilation, and resistance*, Lanham MD, 2015, 123-38

I. Togan, 'Court historiography in early Tang China. Assigning a place to history and historians at the palace', in J. Duindam, T. Artan and M. Kunt (eds), *Royal courts in dynastic states and empires. A global perspective*, Leiden, 2011, 171-98

R. Entenmann, 'The myth of Sonom, the Hmong King', *Hmong Studies Journal* 6 (2005) 1-14

J.N. Lipman, *Familiar strangers. A history of Muslims in northwest China*, Hong Kong, 1998

J. Dehergne, 'Une grande collection. Mémoires concernant les Chinois (1776-1814)', *Bulletin de l'École Français d'Extrême-Orient* 72 (1983) 267-98

James Harry Morris

Africa and the Americas


N
Algiers
Tunis
Fes
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tripoli
Alexandria
Cairo
TENERIFE
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS
River Senegal
Saint Louis
Dakar
River Gambia
Cacheu
GUINEA BISSAU
SIERRA LEONE
River Niger
RED SEA
ARABIA
Dongola
Suwakin
Debarwa
Massawa
SUDAN
Sennar
Gondar
Lake Tana
ETHIOPIA
GULF OF GUINEA
ZANZIBAR
MADAGASCAR
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
CAPE COLONY
Cape Town
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
0 300 600
Miles

Map 4. Africa



Map 5. The Americas (Eastern part)

Introduction: 18th century Africa and the Americas

Martha Frederiks

As to his Religion, 'tis known that he was a Mahometan, but more moderate in his Sentiments than most of that Religion are. He did not believe a sensual Paradise, nor many other ridiculous and vain Traditions, which pass current among the Generality of the Turks. He was very constant in his Devotion to God; but said, he never pray'd to Muhammad, nor did he think it lawful to address any but God himself in Prayer. He was so fixed in the Belief of one God, that it was not possible, at least during the Time he was here, to give him any Notion of the Trinity; so that having had a New Testament given him in his own Language, when he had read it, he told me he had perused it with a great deal of Care, but could not find one Word in it of three Gods, as some People talk …[1]

Introduction

The year 1734 saw the publication of Thomas Bluett's best-seller *Some memoirs of the life of Job, the son of Solomon, the high priest of Boonda in Africa*.[2] The book, a slave narrative, relates the story of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, son of a Fulani 'high-priest' from Bundu (present-day Senegambia), who was kidnapped and enslaved when, ironically, he was *en route* to the Gambia River 'to sell two Negroes and to buy paper, and some other necessities'.[3] Purchased by a Mr Denton in Annapolis, Maryland, Diallo's religious practice and literacy drew the attention of the well-known British philanthropist James Oglethorpe, who in 1733 mediated his release and facilitated his return to Bundu via Britain. During his stopover in England (April 1733-July 1734), Diallo became something of a celebrity. He was received by the royal family, his portrait was painted by William Hoare, and Bluett published his life story. In July 1734, Diallo

[1] M.A. al-Ahari (ed.), *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*, Chicago IL, 2008, pp. 59-60.

[2] T. Bluett, *Some memoirs of the life of Job. The son of Solomon the high priest of Boonda in Africa, who was a slave about two years in Maryland, and afterwards being brought to England, was set free and sent to his native land in the year 1734*, London, 1734.

[3] Al-Ahari (ed.), *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*, p. 44.

returned to Africa on a ship of the Royal African Company, and served as its local contact for some time.[4] Bluett concludes:

> His Knowledge is now extended to a degree which he could never have arrived at in his own Country; and the Instruments, which he carried over, are well adjusted to the Exigencies of his Countrymen. Who can tell, but that thro' him a whole Nation may be made happy? The Figure which he makes in those Parts, as presumptive High-priest, and the Interest he has with the King of that Country, considering the singular Obligations he is under to the *English*, may possibly, in good time, be of considerable Service to us also; and we have reason to hope this, from the repeated Assurances we had from JOB, that he would, upon all Occasions, use his best Endeavors to promote the *English* trade before any other.[5]

Diallo's slave narrative touches upon a range of 18th-century concerns. Among them are the slave-trade, emerging abolitionism, European perceptions of African Muslim enslaved, Muslim literacy, the envisaged role of emancipated slaves in forging transatlantic commercial networks and missionary aspirations of Muslim conversion through Arabic texts. Diallo's slave-narrative, however, also hints at broader 18th-century political and economic contexts, such as the existence of theocratic Islamic states in 18th-century West Africa, the multifaceted connectivities between European nations and their overseas colonies, and the rivalry between European nations for resources (human as well as other) in Africa and the Americas. This essay aims to sketch briefly some of these political, economic and religious contexts in 18th-century Africa and the Americas, with an emphasis on issues that bear relevance to understanding 18th-century encounters and representations of Christians and Muslims.

Western Africa

Ayuba Suleiman Diallo was a Fulani Muslim from Bundu. Situated in present-day Senegambia, Bundu was the first of several West African Fulani theocracies that were established between the late 17th and early 19th centuries. Around 1790, Malik Sy, a scholar from Futa Toro, seized power in the Kingdom of Gajaaga and founded the imamate of

---

[4] See for example, F. Moore, *Travels to the inland part of Africa*, London, 1738, p. 69; also M. Frederiks, 'Francis Moore', in *CMR* 12, 782-8.

[5] Al-Ahari (ed.), *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*, p. 63.

Bundu.[6] Some decades later, Ibrahima Musa Sambeghu, better known as Karamokho Alfa, launched a jihad in the Futa Jallon highlands (1725-7), which resulted in the imamate of Futa Jallon.[7] The mid 1770s saw the emergence of yet another Fulani imamate, when the Torodbe Shaykh Sulayman Bal toppled the Denianke dynasty of Futa Toro north of the Senegal River. Fulani jihadism continued in the 19th century. In northern Nigeria, warriors under the leadership of Uthman dan Fodio launched a jihad in the border area between Nigeria and Niger and proclaimed the Caliphate of Sokoto (1804).[8] Fifteen years later (1818), Amadu Lobo established the Caliphate of Hamdullahi (also known as the Massina Empire) in present-day Mali; the caliphate collapsed at the hands of yet another Fulani jihadist, al-hajj Umar Tall,[9] who successfully waged a jihad against the Bambara states of Kaarta and Segu (1861). Along the Gambia River, Fulani jihadists rose up against their Soninke overlords in a series of clashes, jointly known as the Sonkinke-Marabout wars.[10]

The Fulani jihads were part of a wider upsurge of Islamic reform in West Africa that is thought to have commenced with the late 17th-century Toubenan movement of the Zawaya scholar Awbek ben Ashfaga, and continued until the late 19th century.[11] Not all reform movements preached military intervention: in the second half of the 18th century, Shaykh Side al-Mukthar al-Kabir al-Kunti waged a spiritual jihad of learned debates

---

[6] A.F. Clark, 'The Fulbe of Bundu (Senegambia). From theocracy to secularization', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 29 (1996) 1-23; M.A. Gomez, *Pragmatism in the age of jihad. The precolonial state of Bundu*, Cambridge, 1992; B. Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic slave trade*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 94.

[7] L. Sanneh, 'Futa Jallon and the Jakhanke clerical tradition. Part 1: The historical setting', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 12 (1981) 38-64; L. Sanneh, 'Futa Jallon and the Jakhanke clerical tradition. Part 2: Karamokho Ba of Touba in Guinea', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 12 (1981) 105-26; B. Davidson, *West Africa before the colonial era. A history to 1850*, London, 2014, pp. 86-8.

[8] Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Studies in the history of the Sokoto caliphate*, Sokoto, 1979; J.P. Smaldone, *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate. Historical and sociological perspectives*, Cambridge, 2008.

[9] C. Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa 1860-1960*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 169-70; O. Kobo, *Unveiling modernity in twentieth-century West African Islamic reforms*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 44-6 (Uthman dan Fodio), 46-8 (al-hajj Umar Tall). For an overview of West African jihads and Muslim states, see R. Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa. A historical anthropology*, Bloomington IN, 2013, pp. 108-34.

[10] M. Frederiks, *We have toiled all night. Christianity in The Gambia 1456-2000*, Zoetermeer, 2003, pp. 128-50. Not all jihads on the banks of the Gambia were instigated by Fulani.

[11] M. Frederiks, 'Louis Moreau de Chambonneau', *CMR* 11, 611-16; P.D. Curtin, 'Jihad in West Africa. Early phases and interrelations in Mauretania and Senegal', *Journal of African History* 12 (1971) 11-24.

in the vicinity of Timbuktu.[12] Nor were all jihads initiated by Fulanis: the Ineslemen Muhammad al-Jaylani endeavoured to establish a classless urban Muslim state in Air, while, further south, the Dyula Samoré Touré conquered the Buré goldmines and established the Wassoulou Empire (c. 1870), which he gradually transformed into an Islamic state.[13] Peter Clarke has argued that the motives of these West African reform movements were diverse, stating that their leaders often pursued social, political and moral, as well as religious, reform. For example, Clarke attributes the prominence of the Fulani among them to their quest as pastoralists for new grazing grounds.[14]

European explorers and commercial agents to West Africa such as Louis Moreau de Chambonneau, James Watt, Brian O'Beirne and Gordon Laing, were fascinated by these Muslim states, and wrote elaborate descriptions of them. Their reports often constitute the only source of information on these Islamic reform movements. Their journals also provide insight into the cultural intricacies and political pitfalls that rival European companies faced in West Africa.[15]

The jihads of the 18th (and 19th) centuries significantly advanced the spread of Islam in West Africa, but concurrently produced numerous captives of war, who were sold into slavery. Some of the enslaved were set to work locally. James Watt, for example, observed that the agricultural production of the Imamate of Futa Jallon was based on slave-labour, while Brian O'Beirne made similar observations about the Islamic state of Moria (present-day Guinea Conakry).[16] The majority, however, were transported to the Americas, with European nations vying for their

---

[12] P.B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, London, 1982, pp. 89-93.

[13] Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, pp. 124-7; Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, pp. 83-5, 123-8.

[14] Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, p. 125.

[15] C.I.A. Richie, 'Notes and documents. Deux textes sur le Sénégal (1673-1677)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noir*, Série B Sciences Humaines 30 (1968) 289-353; A.G. Laing, *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima countries in Western Africa*, London, 1825; B.L. Mouser (ed.), *Guinea journals. Journeys into Guinea-Conakry during the Sierra Leone phase, 1800-1821*, Washington DC, 1979 (Richard Bright's journal, pp. 31-113; Alexander Smith's journal, pp. 115-36; Brian O'Beirne's journal, pp. 137-280); J. Watt, *Journal of James Watt. Expedition to Timbo capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, ed. B.L. Mouser, Madison WI, 1995. For studies, see e.g. B.L. Mouser, 'Continuing British interest in coastal Guinea Conakry and Fuuta Jaloo Highlands (1750-1850)', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 43 (2003) 761-90; B.L. Mouser, 'Amara, Alimamy of Moria from 1802-1826', unpublished text 2008; http://www.tubmaninstitute.ca/sites/default/files/file/amara%2070s.pdf.

[16] Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, p. 115; Watt, *Journal of James Watt*, pp. 51-2; Mouser, *Guinea journals*, pp. 217, 220.

share in the slave trade. As the narratives of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, Bilali Mohammed and Ibrahima Abdul Rahman (who claimed to be the son of the famous Futa Jallon imam Ibrahima Sori) demonstrate, occasionally African Muslims also fell victim to enslavement.[17] It was not just the Islamic reform movements that accelerated the supply for the chattel slavery. Further down the coast, the rise of the Ashante, Dahomey and Oyo empires led to such a proliferation in the supply of slaves that the littoral along the Gulf of Guinea became known as 'the slave coast'. Nevertheless, due to economic reforms and market economy, the demand for slaves in the American plantations still surpassed the supply. Therefore, longstanding slave-ports in West Central Africa remained important providers, with Luanda being the single largest port of slave embarkation during the late 18th century, supplying slaves to Portuguese, Dutch, English and French companies alike.[18]

Developments on both the African and American continents brought the transatlantic slave-trade to an all-time high in the 18th century.[19] Simultaneously, however, abolitionist voices grew stronger during the second half of the 18th century, resulting in major abolitionist victories such as the 1792 Danish Slave Trade Act and the 1807 act of William Wilberforce. Between 1808 and 1836, the United States of America, France, the Netherlands and Portugal followed suit.[20] The subsequent introduction of monocultures to facilitate 'legitimate trade', as well as the policy of civilisation through Christianisation, laid the foundations for the European 'scramble for Africa'.

Among the first tangible results of abolition was the 1787 establishment of the colony of Granville Town on the coast of present-day Sierra Leone, sponsored by the British Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor. Beset by disease, death and the hostility of indigenous Africans, the colony failed, with most of the settlers dying and Granville Town

---

17 A.D. Austin, *African Muslims in antebellum America. Transatlantic stories and spiritual struggles*, New York, 1997, pp. 51-64 (Job ben Solomon), 65-84 (Abd al-Rahman), 84-114 (Bilali Mohammed); T. Alford, *Prince among slaves. The true story of an African prince sold into slavery in the American south*, Oxford, 1977.

18 Davidson, *West Africa before the colonial era*, pp. 196-206; D.B. Domingues da Silva, *The Atlantic slave trade from West Central Africa, 1780-1867*, Cambridge, 2017, pp. 32-3.

19 J.F. Searing, *West African slavery and Atlantic commerce. The Senegal river valley 1700-1860*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 1, 5.

20 F.W. Thackeray and J.E. Fielding (eds), *Events that changed the world in the 18th century*, Westport CT, 1998, pp. 153-68. For details of the various countries, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *The suppression of the African slave trade to the United States of America 1763-1870*, Oxford, 2007; P.C. Hogg, *The African slave trade and its suppression. A classified and annotated bibliography of books, pamphlets and periodical articles*, New York, 2013.

being set ablaze by the neighbouring Temne. In 1792, the settlement was re-founded when a group of 1,131 Nova Scotians arrived on the coast. The Nova Scotians, also known as Black Loyalists, consisted of free Afro-Americans and African enslaved who had supported the British during the American War of Independence. The year 1800 saw the arrival of about 600 'maroons' from Jamaica and, from 1807 onwards, British ships cruising the West African coast on the lookout for slaving ships set ashore large numbers of recaptives in what became known as 'Freetown'. Most of the Nova Scotians and maroons were Christians; in the 19th century, their settlement Freetown became a regional base for Protestant mission work in West Africa.[21]

Eastern Africa

The capture of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in 1698 by the Omani, signalled the end of the Portuguese period in East Africa; by 1728, the Portuguese had lost all their East African strongholds on the coast. This success inaugurated a period of Omani Arab influence on the Swahili coast, though the Omanis faced too many challenges at home to establish any form of permanent control over East Africa. Despite this, the impact was substantial, evidenced for example by Omani influence on architecture, language and religion, and Omani dominance in trade along the Swahili coast from the 18th century onwards. The conquest also initiated a new wave of migrations from Oman and Hadramawt; among them was the Mazrui family, who, from the 1750s onwards, established themselves as the hereditary rulers of Mombasa. The Mazrui rule brought a period of great prosperity.[22] Robert Maxon sums up the 18th-century developments on the Swahili coast as follows:

> For much of the eighteenth century the coast was free from foreign domination and control, a situation no doubt pleasing to the majority of city-states, which had struggled against Portuguese dominance for some two hundred years. The future, however, would witness a renewal of foreign

---

[21] J.W.St.G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists. The search for a promised land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*, Toronto, 1999, pp. 94-114; A.G. Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone. An interpretative history*, London, 1989, p. 54. In the early 19th century, a similar initiative by the Presbyterian minister and co-founder of the American Colonization Society, Robert Finley, eventually resulted in the foundation of the Republic of Liberia (1846); M. Tyler-McGraw, *An African republic. Black and white Virginians in the making of Liberia*, Chapel Hill NC, 2007.

[22] R.M. Maxon, *East Africa. An introductory history*, Morgantown VA, 2009[3], pp. 48-51.

> domination. Indeed, the nineteenth century would bring renewed attempts by powers outside East Africa to gain control of the coast, and they would be far more successful than in any previous era.[23]

Meanwhile, further inland the 18th century saw the disintegration of the Funj sultanate. The introduction of coinage in Sennar (c. 1700) produced a merchant middle class that, over time, progressively challenged the supremacy of the sultans, who also lost power to the local *faqi*s. The Egyptian conquest (1820-1) signalled the definite end of the sultanate.[24] In neighbouring Darfur, Abd al-Rahman al-Rashid (r. 1786-1800) consolidated a gradual process of Islamisation in the institutionalisation of a centralised sultanate.[25] Further south, the Kingdom of Buganda began to gain power from the 1750s onwards, and eventually seized control over the trade routes to the Swahili coast.

Ira Lapidus has argued that the joint factors of population growth and the formation of states in the East African interior resulted in an organised system of commodity exchange via caravans between the coast and the hinterland. Travelling with the coastal traders and their merchandise was Islam, leading to a gradual spread of the religion beyond the coastal area in the 19th century. During the 19th century, alliances of Arab and Swahili traders and African Muslims in the hinterland (e.g. Yao) began systematically raiding the East African interior for slaves. Their raids depopulated entire areas, and its unfortunate victims were used to transport ivory and other merchandise to the coast, where both the slaves and the goods they carried were sold as commodities.[26] This past may partly explain why in local East African memory conceptualisations of Islam and Muslims became entangled with the slave trade.[27]

Meanwhile, further south, Madagascar saw the rise of the Sakalava kings from the mid-17th century onwards. Etienne de Flacourt's *Histoire de la Grande Isle Madagascar* (1658) documents how, through warfare and intermarriage, the Sakalava kings managed to forge links between

---

[23] Maxon, *East Africa*, p. 51.

[24] I.M. Lapidus, *A history of Islamic societies*, Cambridge, 2002², pp. 621-2.

[25] Lapidus, *History of Islamic societies*, pp. 622-3.

[26] I. van der Biezen, 'Slave trade wars', in A.L. Stanton et al., *Cultural sociology of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. An encyclopedia*, London, 2012, pp. 195-6.

[27] Maxon, *East Africa*, pp. 83-4; Lapidus, *History of Islamic societies*, p. 629. Similarly, Islam spread via the trade route from Kilwa and Malindi to the Lake Malawi area. For Islam in East Africa, see also Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, pp. 210-47. For the slave trade, see H. Ménard and S. Doyle (eds), *Slavery in the Great Lakes regions of East Africa*, Athens OH, 2007; P. Lovejoy, *Transformations in slavery. A history of slavery in Africa*, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 219-43.

lineages in the highlands and coastal lineages involved in the Indian Ocean trade. The kingdoms reached the summit of their power in the period 1730-60, and firmly tied Malagasy kingdoms into the worldwide economy of exchange.[28] Meanwhile, highland kingdoms such as Imerina began to emerge; the constant warfare and ruthless practices of highland kings, such as Madagascar's famous king Andrianampoinimerina (c. 1750-1809) turned Madagascar into a major supplier of slaves and, during the 18th century, Madagascar changed from a victualling port for ships en route to Asia into an important port of call for the purchase of slaves, supplying Arabia, Persia, the Americas, the Cape Colony and, from the mid-18th century onwards, also the French plantation economies of Île de France (Mauritius) and Ile de Bourbon (Réunion).[29] The Malagasy slave trade began to decline after 1817, when Ramaha I of Imerina made a pact with the British governor of Mauritius, Robert Farquhar, which prohibited it.[30] However, internal slave raids, as well as trade in slaves by the coastal kingdoms, continued, supplying Arab traders with slaves for Zanzibari clove plantations.

On mainland Africa, the Cape Colony Muslim community experienced major change during the 18th century. The product of Dutch colonialism (through the VOC), the initial Cape Muslim community was comprised of slaves from Sri Lanka, Bengal and Madagascar. However, the 1713 smallpox epidemic, which killed half of the colony's slave population, also seriously affected the Muslim community. Subsequent deportations of South East Asian Muslims to the Cape Colony by the Dutch transformed it into a predominantly Malay community. As Roman Loimeier observes, because the Cape Malay community grew in opposition to Dutch colonialism, Islam became 'the language of the oppressed and the language of resistance'. Notwithstanding a prohibition by the Dutch of further deportations of Muslims to the Cape from the mid-18th century onwards, the Cape Muslim community continued to grow through the arrival of free Muslims from Ambon, India and Madagascar, and through local conversions among the Khoikhoi and the San.[31]

---

[28] S. Randiaranja and S. Ellis, *Madagascar. A short history*, London, 2009, pp. 99-122, esp. pp. 100-1.

[29] Randiaranja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, pp. 106-7, 115. Randiaranja and Ellis suggest that, under the kingship of Adrianampoinimerina, the Mascarenes may have imported as many as 110,000 slaves from Madagascar in the period 1767-1810.

[30] Randiaranja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, p. 123.

[31] Loimeier, *Muslim societies in Africa*, pp. 248-9.

Towards the end of the 18th century, Dutch hegemony of the Cape Colony was repeatedly challenged by the British, resulting in 1814 in an Anglo-Dutch treaty that ceded the sovereignty of the Cape to Britain.

South America

The death of Charles II, the last Spanish Habsburg king, in November 1700, and the subsequent War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13) heralded a new era in the history of the Spanish Empire.[32] Spain under the Habsburg monarchy had, in the words of Bradford Burns, 'foundered in a morass of inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy in the seventeenth century'. As a result of the dominant economic philosophy of mercantilism, wealth was not gathered 'to develop the national economy, but to accumulate it, put it in the national treasury, build it up but not reinvest it. Hence the colonies had to be milked dry of their wealth and resources.'[33]

Philip V of the House of Bourbon (1683-1746), who succeeded the Habsburg dynasty as king of Spain, began an extensive programme of reform in an attempt to modernise Spain's medievalist, feudal and premodern economy and administration both 'at home' and in the colonies. Howard Wiarda observes: 'The Bourbons, especially Charles III (1759-88) were more enlightened, more Europe-oriented and more modern in their thinking than the Habsburgs. [...] They brought new Renaissance ideas and even some aspect of the Enlightenment into Spain and Latin America.'[34] As a result of the Bourbon reforms, administrators were selected on the basis of their abilities rather than of their birth, thus creating a middle class, and the responsibilities of the Council of the Indies were transferred to the minister of the Indies.[35]

---

[32] Spain suffered considerable loss of territory as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) that ended the War of Spanish Succession, and had to concede to a trade concession that granted Britain the exclusive right to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves for the next 30 years; B. Keen and M. Wasserman, *A short history of Latin America*, Boston MA, 1984, pp. 106-8.

[33] H.B. Burns, *A short interpretative history of Latin America*, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1972, p. 53; H.J. Wiarda, *The soul of Latin America. The cultural and political tradition*, New Haven CT, 2001, p. 98.

[34] Wiarda, *Soul of Latin America*, p. 107.

[35] D.A. Brading, 'Bourbon Spain and its American colony', in L. Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Latin America*, vol. 1. *Colonial Latin America*, Cambridge, 1984, 389-440. See K. Cook, 'Legislation restricting Muslim presence in Colonial Spanish America', in *CMR* 12, 867-73.

In order to govern Spanish America more effectively, the administrative system was also reorganised: Philip V (1683-1746) ceded the Viceroyalty of New Granada (1739) from the Viceroyalty of Peru, while Charles III (1716-88) ceded the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (1778) from the Viceroyalty of Peru. Charles also established the intendancy system and created a colonial militia headed by Creole officers, signalling a tendency towards smaller, more manageable administrative units, thus effectively both reforming and centralising colonial administration.[36] Another key measure taken under Charles III was the liberalisation of the economy. To maximise colonial revenue, European engineers modernised mining techniques, and a special College of Mining was set up in Mexico. In Spain, the trading monopoly of Cádiz was gradually phased out, leading in 1778 to free commerce between all Spanish ports and all American provinces except Mexico and Venezuela, though these followed in 1789. Customs regulations were also simplified.[37]

In the Portuguese colony of Brazil, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis de Pombal (1699-1782), Secretary of State for Internal Affairs of the Kingdom (1750-1777), introduced similar reforms both in Portugal and in Brazil, streamlining the administration, reorganising its economic, financial and fiscal systems, and expelling the Jesuits in 1759 to facilitate secular education.[38]

The combination of the Bourbon and Pombaline reforms and improvement of Europe's economy also stimulated the economy in Spanish America and Brazil, especially in the production and export of cash-crops. But the intensification of cattle breeding, whaling, production of sugar, cocoa and cotton, as well as mining (gold, diamonds) dramatically increased the demand for slaves. According to Herbert Klein, there were more than a million African enslaved around 1800 in Brazil alone.[39]

Though effective in many ways, the Bourbon reforms did not succeed in realising fundamental changes in the monopoly of land belonging to the nobility, nor did it grant more self-government to the colonists. Rather, the reforms, and their emphasis on centralisation, profitability and efficiency, were often perceived as an unsolicited intervention and

---

[36] Burns, *Short interpretative history of Latin America*, pp. 53-4.

[37] Keen and Wasserman, *Short history of Latin America*, p. 110.

[38] Keen and Wasserman, *Short history of Latin America*, p. 131. See also F. Mauro, 'Portugal and Brazil. Political and economic structures of empire, 1580-1750', in L. Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Latin America*, vol. 1. *Colonial Latin America*, Cambridge, 1984, 441-68.

[39] H.S. Klein, *African slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, New York, 1990, pp. 67-88 (quote on p. 81).

imposition in Spanish America, in contrast to the greater local autonomy that obtained under Habsburg rule, and they met with resistance from many sectors of society. Fear that the French Revolution might find support in Spain brought the Bourbon reforms to an abrupt halt by the end of the 18th century; under King Charles IV of Spain (r. 1788-1808), this resulted in the imprisonment or expulsion of reformers and a prohibition on French revolutionary and rationalist literature.[40]

In the West Indies, the 1730s and 1740s saw the sugar production of Jamaica and San Dominique beginning to surpass and replace that of the smaller sugar colonies such as Martinique and Barbados. Both Jamaica and San Dominique soon developed into monocultures and became the most important sugar producers of their respective empires. Soon the British, French and Dutch empires clashed over both the supply of slaves and access to European markets for the sugar industry. The slave population on Jamaica and San Dominique outnumbered the white population by ten to one and the majority of its enslaved (up to 75 per cent) worked in sugar production.[41] While there had been slave risings on various islands in the West Indies, none of these had had the impact of the 1781 rebellion in San Dominique.[42] Inspired by the French Revolution, slaves in San Dominique rose up in revolt, led by Toussaint Louverture. After prolonged fighting for 13 years, which left thousands of people dead (the majority of whom were enslaved) and the plantations destroyed, Haiti declared its independence from France in 1804. The Haitian revolution not only resulted in a sharp increase in sugar prices, but also brought about 'a considerable tightening of the slave laws and slave-control mechanisms in every slave-dominated society'.[43]

Sylvaine Diouf has hypothesised that Muslim enslaved, and more specifically the military expertise and spiritual powers (amulets, potions) of West African marabouts, may have played a role before and during the Haitian revolution.[44] But while it is conceivable that there were Muslim enslaved among the revolutionaries, the evidence for their role in the Haitian revolution is limited, though there are indications of Muslims

---

[40] Keen and Wasserman, *Short history of Latin America*, p. 108.

[41] Klein, *African slavery*, p. 54.

[42] For a revolt in the Danish colony of St Thomas in 1733, see e.g. J.E. Sensbach, *Rebecca's revival. Creating black Christianity in the Atlantic world*, Cambridge MA, 2005, pp. 8-13.

[43] Klein, *African slavery*, p. 90.

[44] S.A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah. African Muslim enslaved in the Americas*, New York, 2013, pp. 219-20.

using Islamic amulets for protection in slave uprisings in Bahia in 1807 and 1835, and in Essequibo, Guyana, in 1807.[45]

In general, information about Muslims among the enslaved in the West Indies, Spanish America and Brazil is scarce, and most of the references are brief and fragmentary (often in Christian missionary sources). Nevertheless, together they document the presence of African Muslims in the Americas from the early 17th century onwards.[46] Alonso de Sandoval's catechism (1627), written in Cartagena de Indias, for example, mentions Muslim 'slaves who do not want to be baptised' and 'refuse to leave their sect and false law'.[47] Likewise, a Fr Chevillard, at a Jesuit station in Guadeloupe, in 1658 also observed Muslim resistance to Christianity. Fr Jean-Baptist Labat, who worked in the French West Indies between 1693 and 1705, also commented that Muslim enslaved from 'Cap-Verde' (coast of Senegal) 'never embrace the Christian religion'.[48] Bryan Edwards' *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies* (1798) testifies to African Muslims in late 18th-century Jamaica; Edwards mentions Muslim Mandingos (possibly enslaved during the West African jihads) who were literate and able to recite the Qur'an.[49] While these references are not sufficient to write a comprehensive history of Muslims in South America and the West Indies before 1800, and give very little information about the resilience of Muslim allegiance over the generations, the references do provide evidence that, along with the enslaved, Islam made its way from Africa to the Americas, and that missionary endeavours to convert Muslim enslaved to Christianity met with defiance.[50]

---

45 Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 186-90, 232.

46 As K. Cook has demonstrated, there were also Muslims and Moriscos among the Spanish settlers in the Americas; K. Cook, *Forbidden passages. Muslims and Moriscos in colonial Spanish America*, Philadelphia PA, 2016. See also M. del Mar Longroño Narbona, P.G. Pinto and J.T. Karam (eds), *Crescent over another horizon. Islam in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Latino USA*, Austin TX, 2015.

47 M. Frederiks, 'Alonso de Sandoval', in *CMR* 11, 530-7.

48 Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 73-4.

49 B. Edwards, *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies*, London, 1798, pp. 60-2. See K. GhaneaBassiri and S. McElroy, 'Bryan Edwards', in *CMR* 12, 861-66.

50 For an overview, see e.g. S.A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah*; A. Gomez, 'Muslims in early America', *Journal of Southern History* 60 (1994) 671-710. For Christian mission in the West Indies, see e.g. R.W. Smith, 'Slavery and Christianity in the British West Indies', *Church History* 19 (1950) 171-86; M. Craton, 'Christianity and slavery in the British West Indies, 1750-1865', *Historical Reflections* 5 (1978) 141-60; A. Lampe (ed.), *Christianity in the Caribbean. Essays on church history*, Kingston, Jamaica, 2001; H.H. Stockel, *Salvation through slavery. Chiricahua Apaches and priests on the Spanish colonial frontier*, Albuquerque NM,

North America

When Ayuba Suleiman Diallo was put to work at Mr Denton's tobacco plantation in Annapolis in 1730, Maryland was still a British colony. Before the century was over, the political landscape had changed profoundly. The French and Indian War, also known as the Seven Years War or the Great War for Empire (1754-63), and the last and most decisive of the Anglo-French wars fought in the North American colonies, signalled a halt to French colonial expansion in North America and removed the barriers for British colonial expansion westwards. On the British colonist side, the joint action during colonial wars brought more unity among the American colonies, whilst their resentment of their scornful treatment at the hands of British soldiers and the Stamp Act of 1765, which was intended to pay the costs of a British army stationed in North America, laid the foundations for the War of Independence (1775-83).[51] After a protracted eight-year war, during which the French-American alliance won a number of decisive victories over Britain, a peace treaty was signed in Paris in 1783, signalling Britain's recognition of the independence of the United States.[52]

The newly gained independence soon proved to have its hitches. While the newly united states were in the process of developing a joint governance structure at home, foreign affairs also demanded attention. On 24 July 1785, corsairs from Algiers seized the merchant vessel *Maria* from Boston, followed less than a week later, on 30 July 1785, by the capture of the *Dauphin* from Philadelphia. The corsair attacks were the consequence of the fact that the new United States government had not yet completed negotiations over tribute with the Barbary states. The crew of the *Maria* and the *Dauphin* were taken to Algiers and held hostage; those who survived the manifold health hazards, had to wait 12 years to be ransomed.[53] Soon, other American vessels suffered a similar fate. In the decades that followed, the United States negotiated a number of amity treaties with the Barbary states, which regulated the relationship

2008; S.K. Bryant, R.S. O'Toole and B. Vinson (eds), *Africans to Spanish America. Expanding the diaspora*, Urbana IL, 2012.

[51] J.E. Findling and F.W. Thackeray (eds), *Events that changed America in the eighteenth century*, Westport CT, 1998, pp. 39-58 (French and Indian War), 59-76 (Stamp Act 1765), 95-150 (American Revolutionary War).

[52] Findling and Thackeray (eds), *Events that changed America*, p. 117.

[53] L.A. Peskin, *Captives and countrymen. Barbary slavery and the American public, 1785-1816*, Baltimore MD, 2009, p. 8.

and allowed free passage in the Mediterranean.[54] However, a growing aversion to the huge financial burden of these tributes made Thomas Jefferson decide to campaign against the payments, eventually resulting in the Barbary Wars (1801-15).

In the period when narratives of African enslaved became increasingly popular, the reminiscences of Barbary captives (often representing their plight as 'slavery') also found a keen readership.[55] Kambiz GhanneaBassiri writes:

> A number of Americans who fell victim to the corsairs of North Africa wrote about their experiences as 'white, Christian slaves' in Muslim Africa. This genre of captivity narrative had captured the American imagination at the turn of the nineteenth century to such an extent that some literary entrepreneurs published fictional Barbary captivity narratives.[56]

The Barbary slavery experience also raised questions about American slavery, especially among novelists and intellectuals. Mathew Carey remarks in *A short account of Algiers* (1794): 'For this practice of buying and selling slaves, we are not entitled to charge the Algerines with any exclusive degree of barbarity. The Christians of Europe and America carry on this commerce an hundred times more extensively than the Algerines.' Similarly, the novelist Royall Tyler has a mullah remark in his *The Algerine captive* (1802) that, unlike American masters, Algerians immediately freed any slave who converted to Islam: 'We leave it to the Christians of the West Indies, and Christians of your southern plantations, to baptise the unfortunate African into your faith, and then use your brother Christians as brutes of the desert.'[57]

The Barbary captivity narratives formed one vehicle that shaped American perceptions of Islam and Muslims. Enlightenment texts that presented Muḥammad as law-giver, and the availability of George Sale's English translation of the Qur'an (characterised as an 'Enlightenment

---

[54] GhaneaBassiri writes that enslaved 'moors' (North Africans) in North America 'proved diplomatically valuable in U.S.-Barbary relations and to American trade in the Mediterranean'. K. GhaneaBassiri, *A history of Islam in America. From the New World to the New Order*, Cambridge, 2010, p. 26.

[55] Peskin, *Captives and countrymen*, pp. 71-3. For an anthology of 18th- and early 19th-century slave narratives, see H.L. Gates (ed.), *The classic slave narratives*, New York, 2002; for an anthology of Barbary captivity narratives, see P. Baepler, *White slaves, African masters. An anthology of captivity narratives*, Chicago IL, 1999.

[56] GhaneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*, p. 25.

[57] Both cited in Peskin, *Captives and countrymen*, p. 72.

Qur'an' by Ziad Elmarsafy,[58]) were other, more scientific sources that helped shaped American conceptualisation of Islam. The young Thomas Jefferson, reading widely about various traditions of law, is known to have bought a copy of the second American printing of Sale's Qur'an in 1764.[59]

The presence of Muslim enslaved formed another source of information about Islam. Though Diallo was one of the first African Muslims who gained prominence in America and Britain, he was by no means the first Muslim in North America of whom there is documented evidence.[60] Among the early settlers in America was one Anthony Jansen van Salee, who had migrated to America in the 1670s as a colonist for the West India Company. Son of a Dutch father who was a victim of the Barbary corsairs and a 'moorish' mother, Jansen represents what GhaneaBassiri has called a 'near forgotten category' of free Muslims from North Africa who settled in America.[61] Most Muslims in antebellum America, however, were Muslim enslaved, of either North or West African descent. Both Edward Curtis and GhaneaBassiri have argued that white Americans tended to de-africanise African Muslim enslaved, baffled by the literacy and education of men such as Abdul Rahman Ibrahima (c. 1762-1829) and Omar ibn Said (c. 1770-1864) 'on account of their literacy and their purported noble background', 'making them into Moors, Turks etc. both geographically and physiologically'.[62] Slaveholders, abolitionists and Christian missionaries alike were fascinated by the literacy of Muslim enslaved even though for different reasons, since Muslim literacy formed a distinction as well as potential threat to security.[63] Curtis writes:

> American slaveholders wanted to understand the ethnic identities of slaves such as Job and Abd al-Rahman so that they might better use and

[58] Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, London, p. 2014.

[59] K.J. Hayes, 'How Thomas Jefferson read the Qur'an', *Early American Literature* 39 (2004) 247-61.

[60] For an overview of Muslims in America, see e.g. GhaneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*; O. Safi and J. Hammer (eds), *The Cambridge companion to American Islam*, Cambridge, 2013; A. Alryyes (ed. and trans.), *A Muslim American slave. The life of Omar Ibn Said*, Madison WI, 2011; A. Austin, *African Muslims in antebellum America. Transatlantic stories and spiritual struggles*, Hoboken NJ, 2012; al-Ahari, *Five classic Muslim slave narratives*; T.C. Parramore, 'Muslim slave aristocrats in North Carolina', *North Carolina Historical Review* 77 (2000) 127-50, especially p. 161.

[61] GhaneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*, pp. 9-11.

[62] GhaneaBassiri, *History of Islam in America*, p. 24; E.E. Curtis, 'Stereotypes', in E.E. Curtis (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Muslim-American history*, New York, 2010, p. 531.

[63] Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 159-209.

> control them; for them, these Muslims were quite literally a breed apart. Christian missionaries also used the stories of these Muslims to raise funds for their efforts to win souls for Christ rather than Allah and to show that Africans were capable of benefiting from schooling and other institutions of 'civilization.' In the case of Abd al-Rahman, abolitionists seized upon the image of the noble African to show the inherent humanity and intelligence of slaves.[64]

Views about American Muslim enslaved, which were initially relatively positive, changed after 1831; Nat Turner's slave revolt had made Americans wary and suspicious of all enslaved.[65]

Finally, books and pamphlets written during the Second Awakening also shaped conceptualisations of Islam and Muslims; Islam in the particular form of the Ottoman Empire featured prominently in the millennial beliefs prevalent during the Second Awakening. In his *The probability of the second coming of Christ around AD 1843*, the Methodist minister Josiah Litch prophesied the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the return of Christ in the year 1843.[66]

Together, these sources shaped American perceptions of Islam and Muslims. Extensive American missionary exposure in predominantly Muslim contexts, and the rise of the scientific study of religion in the 19th century, would bring more in-depth knowledge of Islam and Muslims among the American Christian public.

---

[64] E.E. Curtis, *Muslims in America, a short history*, New York, 2009, p. 11.

[65] Curtis, *Muslims in America*, p. 11.

[66] E.E. Curtis, 'Islam', in P. Goff (ed.), *The Blackwell companion to religion in America*, Malden MA, 2010, p. 587.

North American perceptions of Islam in the 18th century (freed from European influences)

R.A. Leo

We should frankly state the obvious at the outset of this essay, namely, that for most of the 18th century it was nearly impossible to separate North American perceptions of Islam from European influences. Excepting the indigenous populations, North America was essentially a continent of Europeans not more than one generation removed from the streets of London and Leiden. Even families who had resided in the New World for a century or more still maintained strong European allegiances. They were, after all, still citizens of their motherland. The obvious turning point for this intellectual and ideological entanglement between North America and Europe was the American War of Independence and its immediate aftermath. So, in a very real sense it was not until the last two decades of the 18th century that Americans began to view Islam through a lens that was truly their own.

The purpose of this essay, then, is to trace the arc of North American thought on Islam as it evolved over the course of the 18th century from being virtually indistinguishable from European thought to taking on its own characteristics shaped by its own new political, economic, religious and demographic realities. In order to accomplish our goal, we shall consider dominant themes that characterised the general sense of American thought on Islam as told through the writings of key individuals during this transitional century. North America was a very different place at the dawn of the 19th century from what it had been at the dawn of the 18th, and American perceptions of Islam around the year 1800 demonstrate this fact.

A barbarian religion founded by an impostor

'[We] were carry'd all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors … [I] was kept by the captain of the Rover, as his proper prize, and made his slave…'[1] So begins Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel, *Robinson*

[1] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, London, 1868, p. 17.

Crusoe, which would go on to become one of the most widely published books in history.[2] What Defoe correctly surmised was that having a main character who commences a tumultuous journey as a captive of the notorious Barbary pirates would connect deeply with his audience. The success of *Robinson Crusoe* is a telling indicator of the interest that the Anglo-American public had in the mysterious, *barbarous*, Muslim states of North Africa.[3] What kind of religion was this that enslaved civilised people such as the innocent traveller Crusoe?

Surely the irony of this question was not lost on those in Great Britain and North America who were already sympathetic to the abolitionist cause. Yet, sadly enough, most early 18th-century Anglo-Americans seemed blissfully unaware that their condemnation of states such as Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli was equally a condemnation of their own practice of enslaving West Africans in Great Britain and her North American colonies. This realisation would come later.

One literary work that swayed popular 18th-century opinion on Islam far more than Daniel Defoe's novel was Humphrey Prideaux's calumnious biography, *The true nature of imposture displayed in the life of Mahomet*.[4] First published in London in 1697, the hagiography antitype was widely read by academics, pastors and lay persons alike, profoundly influencing societal perceptions of Muḥammad and his 'deceptive' religion. Although Prideaux's primary intent was an assault on deism (see the full title in the footnote below), the result was a much wider and deeper impact on the collective European and American consciousness regarding Islam. The image of Muḥammad as an impostor had long been circulating in Orientalist circles; Prideaux's book simply popularised it for the masses.

---

[2] While Defoe's fame then and now is chiefly due to his best-selling novel, there is a work which has been attributed to him (probably in error) in which Islam is critiqued directly. See *Dictionarium sacrum seu religiosum: A dictionary of all religions, ancient and modern. Whether Jewish, Pagan, Christian, or Mahometan*, London, 1704; ESTC T138451 (digitised version available through *EEBO*).

[3] The term 'barbarian' is related to 'Berber', a name for the indigenous residents of North Africa and the Maghreb. They are also known as the Amazigh. Islamised in the 7th century during the Muslim conquest of North Africa, these 'barbarians' ironically produced one of Christianity's most iconic figures, St Augustine of Hippo (354-430). Etymologically, the word can be traced back to the Greek *barbaros* and the Arabic *barbara*, which both refer to the 'babbling' sound of a foreign language. Eventually the word came to mean 'uncivilised' or 'savage'.

[4] Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture displayed in the life of Mahomet: with a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge; offered to the consideration of the deists of the present age*, London, 1697; Wing 848:01 (digitised version available through *EEBO*).

In December of that same year, there appeared a document in the *Monthly Mercury* called *The Turkish fast*, which was promptly reprinted in Boston by B. Green and J. Allen on 13 May 1698. The anonymous piece glories in the sullen state of the Ottoman Empire after a series of defeats that began with the Battle of Vienna on 12 September 1683 and culminated in the Battle of Zenta on 11 September 1697 – crushing blows to the Ottomans at the hands of the Austrians and their allies. The majority of *The Turkish fast* is a description of a period of fasting and mourning that the Turkish Grand Signor has decreed, in the hope that Allah may once again buttress the Turkish state against all her enemies. Replete with violent imagery, *The Turkish fast* purports to know details of the prescribed time of mourning.

> Six thousand Turks shall lead the way cloath'd in Sackloth, girt with Cords, bare-foot, & without Turbans, carrying a Box full of dead Mens Bones, with broken Scimitars, small rusty Firearms, &c. Three thousand other Musselmen all bloody, cover'd with Ashes, shall follow them, bewailing themselves, and tearing their Cloaths … At the end of every Mile they shall put to the Sword a Christian Slave, and a Jew; and they shell let 'em die in their own Blood … and at the end of every Mile they shall lift up their Hands to Heaven, and cry, Vengeance against the Christians, and say, 'Allah Jekfa, Ja Allah erraman,' 'Tis enough, Lord, most Merciful God.'[5]

Although both 1697 pieces originated in England, they resonated widely enough across the Atlantic to demand reprinting in America. Between Prideaux's rejection of Muḥammad's prophethood in favour of his 'imposterhood' and the vivid imagery depicted in *The Turkish fast*, it is not difficult to see why early 18th-century North Americans were convinced that Islam was a barbarian religion instituted by a deceiver.

Picking up on these themes in 1703, Massachusetts Bay's Cotton Mather praised the Almighty for the faithfulness of those Christian captives who did not convert to Islam under the threat of a violent death. 'Let us admire Sovereign Grace, and shout, Grace! Grace! upon it, that though these our Friends, were covered with the shadow of Death, yet they did not Forget the Name of our God, into which they had been Baptised, nor deal falsely in their Baptismal Covenant; nor stretch out their Hands unto the Impostor Mahomet, and his accursed Alcoran!'[6]

---

[5] *The Turkish fast, out of the Monthly Mercury, for December, 1697*, Boston MA, 1698; 39333 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[6] Cotton Mather, *The glory of goodness. The goodness of God celebrated; in remarkable instances and improvements thereof: and more particularly in the redemption remarkably*

That the Muslim faith was barbarous was also the opinion of Solomon Stoddard, Jonathan Edwards' maternal grandfather and renowned precursor in the pulpit of Northampton, Massachusetts. In December of 1712, Stoddard told his congregation that 'Bodily Captivity, especially among barbarous People, Indians or Turks is a great Misery', before warning them that 'this Spiritual Captivity is much greater'.[7] For Mather, Stoddard and their fellow New Englanders, barbarian cruelties such as the hacking to death of those who refused to denounce Jesus, were the sorts of things to be expected from religionists who followed an impostor.

For 18th-century Christians in Europe and North America, the image of Muḥammad as an impostor stemmed from direct comparisons with Jesus as the true revelation of God. One need look no further than the Bible and the Qur'an to discern the genuine from the counterfeit. Jesus said, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do' as he was being nailed to the cross.[8] Muḥammad narrated, 'The penalty for those who fight against Allāh and His Messenger and strive to cause corruption in the land is that they should be killed or crucified or their hands and their feet should be cut off on opposite sides …'[9] If that were not enough, one could simply look at the lives of the two figures. Jesus never picked up a weapon, even in self-defence. Muḥammad led or ordered scores of raids, skirmishes and battles. To European and American minds, the savagery exhibited by the Muslims of North Africa in enslaving and murdering innocent, civilised people was exactly what one might expect from those who followed the violent injunctions of the Qur'an and the *sīra* of Muḥammad. This is what Cotton Mather probably had in mind when he was relaying the story of one Englishman's martyrdom at the hands of the Moors, who 'cut him till he fell down, and hack'd and hew'd him, as if they had been butchering an Oxe'.[10] Islam was a religion that both appealed to barbarians *and* created them at the same time. This is why Muḥammad was seen as an impostor. Claiming to represent the same God as Jesus in the New Testament, the words of the Qur'an and

---

obtained for the English captives, which have been languishing under the tragical, and the terrible and the most barbarous cruelties of Barbary, Boston MA, 1703, p. 39; 1123 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*). See S. Harwood, 'Cotton Mather', in *CMR* 12, 821-9.

[7] Solomon Stoddard, *The efficacy of the fear of Hell to restrain men from sin*, Boston MA, 1713, p. 120; 1651 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[8] Luke 23:34.

[9] Q 5:33 (author's translation).

[10] Mather, *Goodness of God*, p. 40.

the actions of Muḥammad seemed to Christians a very poor replica of the original.

Christians were not the only ones who saw Islam as a barbarian religion founded by an impostor. The French satirist and avowed enemy of Christianity, Voltaire, wrote *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète* ('Fanaticism, or Muḥammad the prophet') in 1736. In the play, Muḥammad is described as an 'impostor', a 'false prophet' and a 'hypocrite'.[11] That these tropes were equally as pervasive in London and Paris as they were in Boston and New York reflects our earlier observation about the similarity of European and North American thought in the first part of the 18th century. That they were held by deists and Christians alike speaks to the fact that Islam was a common enemy of Europe and North America for different reasons to different parties. For deists such as Voltaire who did not believe in the eventual triumph of Christianity, the success of the 1683 Battle of Vienna was possibly only a temporary reprieve from what was an existential threat. For Christians such as Mather, who believed that the worldwide Protestant cause would triumph before the second coming of Jesus Christ, Islam was more of an ideological threat. For merchant travellers such as Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, Islam was an economic threat. The formidableness of the former threats notwithstanding, ultimately it was the latter that prompted a fledgling United States to take action at the start of the 19th century. Before we come to that, however, we must first consider some more prominent themes in North American thought on Islam, and how views began to change towards the middle of the 18th century.

The fulfilment of prophecy and eschatological necessity

Equally pervasive as the view of Islam as a barbarian religion founded by an impostor was the predominant 18th-century Christian belief that Islam was both a fulfilment of biblical prophecy and an eschatological necessity. In a sermon delivered to the Presbyterian Synod of New York, Aaron Burr Sr, president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), attributed the rise of Islam to the fulfilment of prophecy. He said,

> according to the prophetic Description of the Rise of this Impostor, Rev. ix. 2 … he opened the bottomless Pit, and there arose a Smoke out of the

[11] T. George Smollett et al. (eds), *The works of Voltaire. The dramatic works of Voltaire*, Akron OH, 1905, p. 12.

> Pit, as the Smoke of a great Furnace, and the Sun and Air were darkened by Reason of the Smoke of the Pit, and out of the Smoke Locusts came, which fitly enough describes the Misery and Woe, stupid Ignorance and Superstition, which every where attended the Progress of the Mahometan Religion. The coming up of the Locusts, and Destruction they make where ever they go, emphatically represents the amazing and destructive Progress of the Saracens.[12]

For Burr and his ministerial colleagues, the coming of Islam made for an irresistible historicist interpretation of Revelation. Jesus had revealed to the Apostle John what would 'soon take place', and this included the opening of a bottomless pit out of which an army of locusts would spread and cover the earth. That the text predicts the locusts' appearance as horses prepared for battle, yet with human faces, was all the more reason for divines to associate this prophetic picture with the armies of Arabia, so renowned for their equestrianism. This view had been expressed over a century earlier by Englishmen such as Thomas Brightman, John Downame and Thomas Goodwin, as well as by Frenchmen such as Charles Daubuz and Pierre Jurieu. In carrying forward this imagery to North America, Burr was not alone. The majority of American Puritanism's most recognisable names concurred with him that Islam was the historical fulfilment of the ninth chapter of Revelation. 'Prophesied of in Revelation. Those tormenting Scorpions proved a bitter Plague to the Christian World,' Increase Mather told his Boston congregation.[13] Most also concurred that 'The Saracens' fulfilled 'the first wo trumpet', and the Turks fulfilled 'the second wo trumpet, prophesied of in the Revelation', and 'were let loose upon the apostate christian world' as a form of divine judgment.[14]

And here we gain an insight into the reason why a sovereign God would allow Muḥammad's 'soul-killing religion'[15] to spread so quickly. According to the minds of 18th-century Reformed thinkers, God did not approve of the evils of the Eastern Roman Empire. Foremost among

---

[12] Aaron Burr, *The watchman's answer to the question, what of the night*, New York, 1756, p. 9; 7864 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*). See R.A. Leo, 'New England Puritans and Islam', in *CMR* 12, 849-60.

[13] Increase Mather, *Kometographia*, Boston MA, 1683; Wing 1363:09 (digitised version available through *EEBO*).

[14] Increase Mather, *Heavens alarm to the world*, Boston MA, 1681; 306 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[15] Jonathan Edwards, *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 5. *Apocalyptic writings*, New Haven CT, 1977, p. 168. See R.A. Leo, 'Jonathan Edwards', in *CMR* 12, 830-42.

these iniquities was the failure of the Assyrian Church of the East and the Eastern Orthodox Church to accept the Council of Chalcedon in 451 as authoritative Christological doctrine. If even the wretched and blind Roman Catholic Church accepted Chalcedon, then what was one to make of the Eastern churches which did not? As Jonathan Edwards put it, the Turks 'have been the most terrible scourge to Christendom, that ever divine providence made use of'.[16] Islam, then, was penultimately a ploy of Satan to defeat the Church, but ultimately a tool used by God to accomplish his sovereign purposes in disciplining her.

Lest we be too smitten by the Chalcedonian doctrinal agreement between 18th-century Reformed thinkers and their arch-enemy in Rome, we should note that Islam was seen as one of *two* Antichrists that had arisen as a precursor to the End Times. The main Antichrist was to be found in the Holy See, and was represented by the pope. But the secondary Antichrist hailed from the desert of Arabia, and was represented by Muḥammad, the false prophet. Eighteenth-century Reformed Christians did not necessarily conceive of the Antichrist as one particular individual. Instead, they often envisaged the concept as a spirit that manifested itself in the form of major world religious systems that were set up against Christ and his Kingdom. 'Scripture speaketh of Two great Antichrists, one in the West, the other in the East, or, one within the Church, the other without; one is called Mahomet or God [sic] and Magog, Ezek. 38. Rev. 20. the other is the Pope,' wrote Eric Tobias Björck.[17] His fellow New Yorker, Samuel Buell, concurred that the two Antichrists, the 'Pope in the West, and Mahomet in the East' would soon come to their destruction.[18]

Islam originated in order to discipline the Church, and it would endure until the last days as one of two salient embodiments of the spirit of the Antichrist. For 18th-century Christians who maintained a high view

---

[16] Jonathan Edwards, *An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's Kingdom on earth, pursuant to Scripture-promises and prophecies concerning the last time*, Boston MA, 1747; DRT Digital Store RB.23.a.19457 (digitised copy available through British Library). See *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 5, p. 407.

[17] Eric Tobias Björck, *A little olive leaf put in the mouth of that* (*so called*) *Noah's dove, and sent home again to let her master know that the waters are abated from off the face of the ground, and that for the sake of Jesus Christ, whose servant to the end of my life I shall endeavour to be*, New York, 1704; 1165 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[18] Samuel Buell, *A faithful narrative of the remarkable revival of religion, in the congregation of East-Hampton, on Long-Island. In the year of our Lord 1764*, New York, 1766; 10250 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

of God's sovereignty, Islam was prophetically predicted and eschatologically necessary.

A harbinger of the Millennium

Millennial expectation has been a part of the Christian faith since the earliest times; Jesus reminded his disciples always to be ready, because no one knows the hour or the day (Matthew 24:36). While the fervour of millennial expectation has been generally constant over the centuries, there have been times when it has peaked, and the middle of the 18th century was one of these. As Samuel Buell's hopeful prediction above indicates, something changed near the middle of the century that altered the way North American Christians thought about Muslims, albeit not necessarily about Islam.

The transatlantic phenomenon known as the Great Awakening in America and the Evangelical Revival in Britain was the largest religious revival the Anglo-American world had ever experienced. While Europe had seen her fair share of religious awakenings over the years, America had not yet experienced anything like it. By the time it abated in the late 1740s, the Great Awakening had touched nearly every city, town and village in the colonies. During and after the Awakening, American divines began to trumpet the cause of worldwide evangelism on a large scale. What they had seen in their midst, what they had read about in England and Scotland, must surely be available to all the nations of the world. Indeed, the Bible predicted an age in which the Gospel of Christ would spread far and wide so as to cover the earth 'as the waters cover the sea' (Isaiah 11:9). Surely this included 'the full enlightening and conversion of all Mahometan and heathen nations'.[19] For the first time, American Christians began to speak of a distinction between Muslims as people and Islam as a religion.

One of the enduring convictions of the Great Awakening was that no one was beyond the reach of the Gospel, as the movement had seen countless drunkards, prostitutes and others swept from the kingdom of darkness into the Church. The Gospel was no longer just for 'good Christians', but for men and women of all backgrounds. This included Muslims. However, just as a drunkard who came to faith in Christ was expected to leave his drinking at the door of the church, so too was there

[19] Edwards, *An humble attempt*, p. 410.

the expectation that Muslims should receive the love of Christ as members of his worldwide body, but Islam as a religion should be ultimately vanquished. While well-known heroes of the Great Awakening such as Edwards were busy noting the numbers of 'persons, who were formerly pagans or Mahometans' that were now being baptized into the Church in other parts of the world, even ordinary citizens such as Joseph Bean happily noted that he had heard of a Muslim leader who 'resolved for to have the Bible translated into the Per[sian] to[ngue] for he himself was dissatisfied as to th[eir] turkish al[c]oran.'[20]

While the general attitude of North Americans towards Islam as a religion remained hostile, the Great Awakening seemed to change their attitudes toward Muslims as people. The budding global evangelical vision that stemmed from this 18th-century revival would eventually come to full bloom in the 19th-century missionary movement. It was no coincidence that the sermon that is credited with sparking the Great Awakening in North America in 1741, Edwards' *Sinners in the hands of an angry God*, was published in Beirut almost exactly a century later as *Mawʿiẓa fī ghaḍab Allāh ʿalā l-khuṭāh*.[21]

The Great Awakening, then, provided an impetus for North Americans to begin to think about Muslims as lost souls in need of redemption rather than as enemy combatants to be vanquished by force. According to prevaling postmillennial thought, when Muslims began to turn to Christ *en masse*, Catholic religious hegemony would cease, and all that remained would be for the Jews finally to recognise their Messiah. Then, and only then, would the long-awaited millennial state commence.

A universal foil and scapegoat

Eighteenth-century thinkers on both sides of various issues regularly turned to Islam as a kind of foil or scapegoat for their own polemical purposes. We have already seen how the deist champion Voltaire, an antagonist to traditional Christianity, used Islam to disprove the merits of revealed religion in general. If the havoc that Muslims had wrought on the world for centuries was 'proof' of their claims to divine revelation,

---

[20] Diary of Joseph Bean, 23 October 1741, as cited in T.S. Kidd, *American Christians and Islam. Evangelical culture and Muslims from the colonial period to the age of terrorism*, Princeton NJ, 2009, p. 18.

[21] See Jonathan Edwards, *Sinners in the hands of an angry God*, Boston MA, 1741; T078837 01 (digitised version available through *EEBO*), and, *Mawʿiẓa fī ghaḍab Allāh ʿalā l-khuṭāh*, Beirut, 1849.

then deists wanted nothing to do with organised religion. Yet time and again, Christian thinkers also found in Islam the perfect foil for deists such as Voltaire. They accused deists of lumping Islam and Christianity together unfairly, pointing to the evident differences between the two. Christianity had been confirmed by eyewitnesses to the miraculous, while Islam's purported 'miracles' were not comparable in terms of their scope or their historical reliability. The true revelation of Christianity had brought light and peace to a dark world, increasing education, charity and goodwill wherever it spread. The pseudo-revelation of Islam, on the other hand, brought darkness and violence, forbade intellectual inquiry and only feigned charity and goodwill for the purposes of false, carnal heavenly rewards. 'The Sensual Paradise propos'd by Mahomet, and his Principle of propagating his Religion by the Sword' could not possibly be equated with Christianity, said Charles Leslie to his deist opponents.[22] Boston's Benjamin Colman put it this way:

> [Jesus] endued his Apostles with like Power from on High, and they went forth in his Might and Spirit, and converted the World. And what Means did they use? Did they gather Armies? Form Leagues, inspire Princes to arm for them? … Did they preach up Force and Blood like Mahomet? … No, the Weapons of this Warfare were not carnal, but altogether spiritual.… The naked Doctrines of the Cross were preached …[23]

Divines and deists were not the only foes who tried to use Islam in their polemic to advance their own causes. While discussion of Islam up to this point in the 18th century had largely been confined to the religious realm, the advent of the revolutionary era saw a new and much broader dimension emerge in terms of North American treatment of Islam. But while the purposes changed, the tactics did not.

At the opening of New York City's first medical school, Peter Middleton's keynote address was filled with references to Islam. In championing the importance of scientific learning and inquiry, he contrasted the founding of the new medical college with the burning of the Alexandrian library, which was supposedly ordered by the Caliph 'Umar. The founding of the new medical school was the natural result of the knowledge

---

[22] Charles Leslie, *A short and easy method with the deists: wherein the certainty of the Christian religion, is demonstrated by infallible proof, from four rules, which are incompatible to any imposture that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be*, Williamsburg VA, 1733, p. 64; 3675 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[23] Benjamin Colman, *A humble discourse of the incomprehensibleness of God*, Boston MA, 1740; 4489 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

and truth that Christian civilisation pursued. Staff and students were therefore urged to remember the 'brutal ferocity and ignorance … perpetrated by these Apostles of Mahomet, under the specious Pretence of serving GOD and his PROPHET',[24] lest they fail to appreciate the good endeavour they were embarking upon. In drawing a contrast between the pursuit of medical and scientific knowledge that the new school was undertaking, and the destruction and repression of the like perpetrated by Muḥammad's followers, Professor Middleton's juxtaposition needed little clarification – his hearers did not want to be aligned with the latter.

Philadelphia's Hannah More saw in Islam the perfect foil to undergird her feminist cause. A woman should be reforming society not polishing her nails; she should be instructing people not entertaining them. 'UNDER the dispensation of Mahomet's law,' More wrote, 'these mental excellencies cannot be expected, because the women are shut out from all opportunities of instruction, and excluded from the endearing pleasures of a delightful and equal society.' Islam, she continued, taught that women had 'inferior natures Form'd to delight' men, and that 'Heav'n has reserv'd no future paradise' for them.[25] Mrs M. Peddle later concurred: 'The Mahometan sentiment which prevailed some years ago, of the inferiority of the female mind, seems exploded in this age.'[26] The logic of these early feminist voices was unmistakable: whoever discriminated against women was associating himself with the most undesirable company.

Whether in philosophy and religion, education and medicine, or even in emerging American feminism, Islam was seen as a useful ploy with which to contrast right and wrong, good and bad. It should come as no surprise, then, that the political realm was equally opportunistic in its usage of Islam during the revolutionary era and its aftermath. After the Treaty of Paris effectively removed Catholic France from North America, Protestant England and her colonies suddenly found themselves without a common political enemy to unite them. As tensions began to mount, highlighted by the Stamp Act in 1765, the polemical usage of Islam as a

---

[24] Peter Middleton, *A medical discourse, or an historical inquiry into the ancient and present state of medicine: the substance of which was delivered at opening the medical school, in the city of New-York*, New York, 1769; 11338 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[25] Hannah More, *Essays on various subjects, principally designed for young ladies*, Philadelphia PA, 1786; 19810 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[26] Mrs M. Peddle, *Rudiments of taste. In a series of letters, from a mother to her daughters*, Philadelphia PA, 1790; 22756 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

model of oppression and tyranny became a favourite ploy for both sides of the growing divide.

'The wars which in their event promote true Religion are merely *political*,' said East Apthorp in a 1763 sermon at Christ Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 'but in the extending of imposture and false Religion by force of arms – as in the case of Mahomet, and the popish crusades – those wars were expresly *religious*.'[27] In attempting to cool simmering tensions and dissuade his increasingly restless hearers from using religion to propagate violence against the British crown, Apthorp maintained that Islam was spread 'to promote, not civil interests, but false opinions: which can never be obtruded on mankind otherwise than by violence and usurped authority'. In appealing to Islam, Apthorp warned his congregation that violence in the name of religion was a very different thing from violence for the sake of civil interest. Apthorp was ultimately unsuccessful in his quest to promote peaceful relations between the colonies and their mother country. One year after the above sermon, in 1764, he sailed to England and never returned.

East Apthorp was not the first to use Islam as political fodder, nor would he be the last. Indeed, several decades before him, Robert Barclay wrote 'those that press Persecution, and deny Liberty of Conscience, do thereby shew themselves more the Disciples of Mahomet than of Christ.'[28] Written to defend Quakerism against its religious and political enemies, Barclay's piece used Islam as an example of the negative reality of forced religion. Ironically, around the same time Roger Williams summoned Islam to make a case *against* Quakerism. Williams called the founder of Quakerism, George Fox, the 'new Mahomet', and opined that there was 'no doubt but the Quakers will use the Sword as much as Mahomet' in promoting their false doctrines.[29] Although they stood on exactly opposite theological sides concerning Quakerism, both Robert Barclay and

---

[27] East Apthorp, *The felicity of the times. A sermon preached at Christ-Church, Cambridge, on Thursday, XI August, MDCCLXIII. Being a day of thanksgiving for the general peace*, Boston MA, 1763; 9329 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[28] Robert Barclay, *An apology for the true Christian divinity, as the same is held forth, and preached, by the people, called in scorn, Quakers: being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments, deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the testimonies of famous authors, both ancient and modern. With a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them. Presented to the King*, Newport RI, 1729, (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[29] Roger Williams, *George Fox digg'd out of his burrowes*, Boston MA, 1676; 228 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*). See R.A. Leo, 'New England Puritans and Islam', in *CMR* 12, 849-60.

Roger Williams appealed to Islam as a foil for the kind of state-enforced religion of which both were so wary. It is noteworthy that, even while Williams looked woefully on Islam as a religion, he defended the rights of all people, including 'Jews, Turkes, or Antichristians', to worship according to the freedom of their conscience, which he said was a God-given right.[30]

'Turn Turk, Tim, and renounce thy Faith in Words as well as Actions: Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?' asked Benjamin Franklin in *Poor Richard's almanack*.[31] The implications were clear. Who else but the devil could be behind the kind of deviance that Muslim states exhibited? Who else but the devil would use religion to control the masses? In the pivotal year of 1776, Franklin proposed 'Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God' for the new nation's seal. Although it was not chosen, this motto helped introduce a new member into the unholy trinity of tyranny in late 18th-century American eyes. The king of England now joined the pope and Muḥammad as America's three favourite personifications of oppression. Adding to this logic, Thomas Paine's 1776 best seller *Common sense* argued that it was 'Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar'.[32] Time and again, early Americans successfully exploited Islam to help bolster their case for revolting against England.

The obstructor of freedom, democracy and trade

Once the American Revolution ended in 1783, Islam became an expedient vehicle to help the new nation plot a course unlike any the world had yet seen. As the first nation in modern history to formally eschew a state religion, the fledgling United States of America found itself in uncharted waters. Islam helped her get there.

'In Mahometan countries,' wrote Richard Price in 1784, 'civil magistrates have a right to silence and punish all who oppose the divine mission of Mahomet.'[33] His intent was clear. Price wanted to show the world

---

[30] See Roger Williams, *The bloody tenent of persecution for cause of conscience*, London, 1644; Wing 228:E.1 (digitised version available through *EEBO*).

[31] Poor Richard, *An Almanack for the year of Christ 1741*, Philadelphia PA, 1741; 4513 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[32] Thomas Paine, *Common sense*, Philadelphia PA, 1776, p. 11; ocm24508362 (digitised version available through *The making of the modern world*).

[33] Richard Price, *Observations on the importance of the American Revolution, and the means of making it a benefit to the world*, Boston MA, 1784; 18739 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

that America did not desire to emulate Muslim nations in which state-sponsored religion was a tool often used to obstruct the kind of freedom for which the revolutionaries had fought so hard. To be sure, several of the Founding Fathers wanted to enshrine Protestant Christianity as the official state religion of the new nation. The danger inherent in such a prescription, however, was that by formally aligning itself with *any* religion America risked repeating the mistakes of King George III, the pope, and Muḥammad, who had used Protestantism, Catholicism and Islam, respectively, to impose their will on the masses. Thomas Paine bellowed, 'Of all the tyrannies that affect mankind, tyranny in religion is the worst.' His deist colleague John Adams went so far as to call Muḥammad 'a sober inquirer after truth' who would have agreed that 'the happiness of society is the end of government'.[34]

Adams was not the only Founding Father to speak cordially of Islam when it suited his purposes. Benjamin Franklin once chastised his fellow Americans for their harsh treatment of Native Americans by contrasting it with the 'hospitality' that Muḥammad showed to some prisoners that Khālid ibn al-Walīd wanted to put to the sword. 'Shall we compare Saracens to Christians?' Franklin asked rhetorically.[35] *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania* bemoaned 'the fatal effects of religious intolerance', and reminded readers that 'the followers of Mahomet have been more indulgent to those who profess Christianity, than the different sects of Christians have frequently been to each other'.[36]

Ultimately, this fear of religious compulsion (which had caused many to flee Europe in the first place) meshed with the sentiments of an in vogue deism at the close of the 18th century and caused the Founding Fathers to adopt the Baptist Roger Williams' century-old idea of a 'wall of separation' between religion and state. Thomas Jefferson, who perhaps had more influence on the shape of the new republic than anyone else, often turned to Islam as a reminder of what America did *not* want to

---

[34] John Adams, *Thoughts on government: applicable to the present state of the American colonies*, Philadelphia PA, 1776, 14639 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[35] Benjamin Franklin, *A narrative of the late massacres, in Lancaster County, of a number of Indians, friends of this province, by persons unknown*, Philadelphia PA, 1764; 9667 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[36] Peter Markoe, *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania: or, Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States of America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*, Philadelphia PA, 1787; F153.M4 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library). See F. Shaban, 'Peter Markoe', in *CMR* 12, 843-8.

be. Even though he owned a copy of George Sale's translation of the Qur'an (presumably for its benefit to his legal practice), and seemed to harbour no animosity towards Islam over against any other religion, including Christianity, Jefferson could not escape the negative example of obstruction in religion and politics that typified Muslim states. 'Mahomsm. supportd. by stiflg. free enqry.,' noted the principal author of the Declaration of Independence. He continued, 'if m. forbd. free Argum' – Mahomsm. prevnt. Reformn'.[37] The reason why Islam had not yet purged itself of errors as Christianity had in the Reformation was that it forbade free enquiry and argument. And Jefferson knew that without the Reformation there would have been no America. Thus, it is not surprising that he came down heavily against the notion of a state-sanctioned religion for the new nation. In his words, America must guarantee religious freedom to 'the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every denomination'.[38]

If it were not enough that Islam obstructed freedom and democracy, the resurgence of the Barbary Pirate threat reminded Americans that Islam also obstructed trade, the third leg of tripartite American ideals. In the first two decades after the American Revolution, largely thanks to the loss of the Royal Navy's protection, the young republic lost dozens of ships in the eastern Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Suddenly, Islam was again at the forefront of American hearts and minds, as a genre of captivity narratives, such as John Foss's journal published in 1798, recalled the horrors of falling into 'the hands of these merciless Mahometans'.[39] One exception could here be noted, which is a novel written by Royall Tyler called *The Algerine captive*.[40] Published in 1797, it depicted Islam in a more positive light, offering glimpses of kindness shown by Muslims towards a fictitious New Hampshire captive in Algiers. Amidst tremendous criticism, Tyler's book served to advance the abolitionist cause in America by exposing the hypocrisy of the slave trade. *The Algerine captive* begged the question of how Americans could condemn the enslavement of their own people overseas while simultaneously justifying it in their homeland.

---

[37] Thomas Jefferson, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, p. 538, as cited in D. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an: Islam and the Founders*, New York, 2013, pp. 103-4.

[38] Thomas Jefferson, *The autobiography of Thomas Jefferson*, 1821.

[39] John Foss, *A journal, of the captivity and sufferings of John Foss*, Newburyport MA, 1798, p. 12; 33747 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*).

[40] See Royall Tyler, *The Algerine captive*, Boston MA, 1797; PS 855.T7 A64 1797 (digitised version available through University of Virginia).

Despite a series of treaties and truces with Morocco (1786), Algiers (1796), Tripoli (1797) and Tunis (1799),[41] the United States continued to suffer both real and perceived economic losses in the Mediterranean due to a problem that would not go away with a simple piece of paper. While European nations preferred to pay tribute so that they could navigate the Mediterranean, Thomas Jefferson, who became the third president of the United States in 1801, was adamant that this would only delay the inevitable. While some such as John Adams preferred the option of tribute, others, including Yale president Ezra Stiles, sided with Jefferson. 'Delenda est carthago. Algiers must be subdu[ed],' he told Jefferson.[42] And so war was decided upon as the best option. Success would settle the Barbary issue once for all, and send a message to Europe about American naval mettle. Obstructing freedom and democracy was bad enough, though these were only ideological barriers. When Muslim states began to threaten American trade, however, a red line was crossed. In the end, it was the economic threat of Islam that led to America's first war, from 1801 to 1805.

Conclusion

North American perceptions of Islam largely mirrored European ones for most of the 18th century. Typical characterisations of Islam as a barbarous, violent religion and Muḥammad as an impostor abounded on both sides of the Atlantic. Perceptions changed slightly during the Great Awakening, when the rising North American evangelical tide began to consider the implications that the potential conversion of the Muslim world to Christianity might hold for the realisation of the biblical eschaton. Even though Islam was a false religion, Muslims could now be seen as individuals in need of redemption just like any others. While North Americans would continue to use Islam to their polemical advantages in areas as diverse as medicine and feminism, a clear shift away from Europe began during the revolutionary era, when Islam became the perfect foil for all forms of oppression and tyranny, especially that of mother England. This aversion to any form of oppression or tyranny is what ultimately caused the Founding Fathers of the United States to

[41] See 'The Barbary treaties 1786-1836', at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/barmenu.asp.

[42] As cited in R. Allison, *The crescent obscured. The United States and the Muslim world, 1776-1815*, Chicago IL, 2000, p. 10.

decide against enshrining Protestant Christianity as the state religion of the new nation. Nations under Islamic law served as a sober reminder of all that America did *not* want to be. This conviction, originated by the Baptist Roger Williams and later shared by giants of American history such as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, also meant that there was a place for Muslim citizens that was built into the fabric of the nation. The ratification of the First Amendment in 1791 guaranteed that future generations of immigrants could authentically be both Muslim *and* American.[43] Relative to European counterparts such as Protestant England and Catholic France, this 18th-century conviction continues to inform the largely successful integration of Muslims into American society today.[44]

[43] The First Amendment to the Constitution reads, 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.'

[44] For more on the difference between Muslim integration in America versus Europe, see 'Islamic, yet integrated. Why Muslims fare better in America than in Europe', *The Economist*, 6 September 2014.

Contesting belonging: Relationships between Muslims and Christians in colonial Latin America

Karoline Cook

In the early modern period, Muslims and Moriscos (Iberian converts from Islam to Catholicism) played an often overlooked role in social and religious transformations in colonial Latin America. More scholarly attention has been paid to their presence in Brazil and the Caribbean, where a significant population of enslaved African Muslims who laboured in sugar production rose up in a series of well-documented rebellions during the 19th century.[1] In contrast to the Portuguese, British, and French empires, the Spanish Crown prohibited the passage of Muslims, converts from Islam, and their descendants to the lands it claimed in the western hemisphere. The legal restrictions faced by Muslims and Moriscos in Spanish America, and the ways the Crown projected its image globally as a Catholic empire, had a direct impact on everyday relationships between Muslims and Christians in the 'New World'.

By the late 15th century, the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns were in competition for control over Atlantic maritime routes. They negotiated a series of treaties and each sought papal support to bolster their claims. Competition intensified following Christopher Columbus's return to Castile in March 1493, as news of distant islands across the Atlantic, thought to be located near the shores of East Asia, prompted a new round of negotiations. When Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile approached Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492-1503), he issued the Bull *Inter caetera* (1493) upholding the Spanish Crown's jurisdiction over any peoples they encountered.[2] The text of *Inter caetera* made explicit

[1] For Brazil and the Caribbean, see especially J.J. Reis, *Slave rebellion in Brazil. The Muslim uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, Baltimore MD, 1993; M. Barcia, *West African warfare in Bahia and Cuba. Soldier slaves in the Atlantic world, 1807-1844*, Oxford, 2014. For an excellent work on enslaved Muslims in the Americas, see S.A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah. African Muslims enslaved in the Americas*, New York, 1998. On Muslims and Moriscos in Spanish America, see K.P. Cook, *Forbidden passages. Muslims and Moriscos in colonial Spanish America*, Philadelphia PA, 2016.

[2] A copy of the Bull *Inter caetera* in Spanish translation, thought to have been printed in 1511, is held at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, *Copia dela*

reference to Ferdinand and Isabel's recent conquest of the Nāṣrid Emirate of Granada in 1492, making them well-suited as the self-styled 'Catholic monarchs' to continue the expansion of Christianity overseas. The Spanish and Portuguese monarchs subsequently negotiated the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) to divide their respective authorities in the western and eastern hemispheres along a meridian located 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Granted jurisdiction over the lands west of the meridian, the Spanish Crown soon issued legislation that would promote Christian settlement of the Caribbean islands and any other lands to be 'discovered' by them.

The privileged status bestowed on the Spanish monarchs by the bull *Inter caetera* formed the basis not only of the Crown's ongoing interest in evangelisation, but also of its policies shaping emigration and the development of colonial society. As noted by Alexander VI in *Inter caetera*, privileges over the islands and mainland to be discovered by future expeditions were granted to Spain in recognition 'that you [the Catholic monarchs] have long since dedicated to this purpose your whole soul and all your endeavours – as witnessed in these times with so much glory to the Divine Name in your recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the yoke of the Saracens – we therefore are rightly led, and hold it as our duty, to grant you … those things, whereby with effort each day … you may be enabled for the honour of God himself and the spread of the Christian rule to carry forward your holy and praiseworthy purpose so pleasing to immortal God.'[3] Assuming the role of 'Catholic monarchs', Ferdinand and Isabel emphasised the conversion of indigenous peoples to Christianity to justify Spain's jurisdiction over the Americas. Facing growing challenges from England and France by the 16th century over their claims to the continent, Spain's rulers continued to promote policies that included restricting emigration to 'old Christians' who could prove they had no Muslim or Jewish ancestors. From the early 16th century, the Spanish Crown issued royal decrees or *cédulas* prohibiting Muslim and Morisco presence in the Americas.[4]

---

bula dela concession q[ue] hizo el papa Alexandre sexto al Rey [y] ala Reyna nuestros señores: de las Indias: In nomine d[omi]ni. Amen. Nouerint vniuersi hoc presens publicu[m] trasumptu[m] inspecturi q[uo]d nos Jacobus co[n]chillos dei [et] apostolice sedis gratia e[pisco]pus Cathaniensis.

[3] Translated in F.G. Davenport (ed.), *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies to 1648*, Washington DC, 1917, p. 61.

[4] The entry on 'Legislation restricting Muslim presence in colonial Spanish America' in this volume provides further detail concerning the royal decrees and their significance.

Relationships between Muslims and Christians in Spanish America were tenuous from the start, in part due to the discrepancies between the legislation and the practical interests of colonial officials. While ordered by the Crown to deport to Spain any Muslims and Moriscos they found residing in the viceroyalties, some officials encouraged skilled Morisco artisans and interpreters to contribute to colonial society. Other members of the elite requested that Morisco servants should accompany their household's move to the Americas. In addition, both Spanish Moriscos and West African Muslims were forcibly transported to the Americas as slaves, once local officials secured royal permission for their passage with a special licence for restricted periods of time.[5] Finally, individual Moriscos also emigrated to the Americas, seeking both distance from mounting political and religious tensions in Spain and opportunities for social mobility.

Despite prohibitions restricting their emigration, some free Moriscos pursued strategies for crossing the Atlantic.[6] 'New Christians', a category that also included converts from Judaism known as *conversos*, had a number of options at their disposal if they wanted to undertake the journey. Individuals could purchase falsified licences and pay witnesses to testify that they possessed old Christian ancestry, or travel as soldiers or sailors and desert their ships upon arriving in Caribbean or American mainland ports. Royal decrees complained of 'prohibited persons' who sailed from ports in Portugal and the Canary Islands carrying clandestine passengers and contraband merchandise: 'They pretend to be going to Brazil, but that due to a storm, they docked in these parts [Spanish America].'[7] Finally, some early Morisco emigrants aspired to improve their status by participating in the first waves of conquest alongside their old Christian counterparts. Initial royal prohibitions were only weakly enforced, allowing Moriscos to join the early campaigns to conquer indigenous peoples, thereby gaining *encomiendas* or grants of indigenous labour as rewards for their service to the Crown.

Not only desire for social advancement but also distance from persecution attracted Moriscos to the newly established viceroyalties of

---

[5] See D. Grafton, 'Enforced migration: an Atlantic narrative in Christian-Muslim relations', in *CMR* 11, pp. 49-67.

[6] Cook, *Forbidden passages*.

[7] Quoted from a royal decree issued in 1558 and printed in the *Cedulario Indiano recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, 1596 vol. 1, pp. 444-6; similar royal decrees detailing the ways unregistered goods and passengers were brought to Spanish American ports include those of Charles V in 1540, p. 442, and Philip II in 1560, pp. 443-4.

New Spain and Peru. The Morisco population in Spain faced increasing surveillance during the 16th century. After Ferdinand and Isabel's forces conquered Granada, the initial surrender treaty allowing the Muslim (*mudejar*) population to continue practising Islam was increasingly undermined, and the *mudejars* rose up in protest in 1500. When royal authorities suppressed this first Alpujarras uprising, the *mudejars* were forced to choose between baptism and exile. Many accepted baptism in order to remain in their home communities, but continued to practise Islam in secret. With baptism, Iberian Muslims became known as Moriscos, and were now subject to ecclesiastical courts, including the Inquisition.

While the label 'Morisco' was generally applied to anyone who converted from Islam to Catholicism, whether voluntarily or not, it also effectively constituted a legal category that influenced an individual's social position. For example, as baptized Christians, Moriscos were subjected to inquisitorial scrutiny, with the expectation that they would be assimilated gradually into Iberian Christian society. Moriscos were considered 'new Christians', neophytes to be instructed in Catholic doctrine and granted leniency because missionaries believed it would take time for them to adapt to a new religion and life. As neophytes, Moriscos faced a period of religious instruction, but were also expected to stop speaking in Arabic, to abandon their traditional dress, and to alter the rituals marking important moments in the lifecycle that included celebrations to name newborn children. As Catholics, they were instead to begin observing the sacraments of baptism, communion, marriage and the last rites. In practice, the label 'Morisco' comprised a wide range of people, from voluntary converts in Castile during the late medieval period to the *mudejars* who were forcibly baptized in Granada. Enslaved North African Muslims could also be referred to as 'Moriscos' following their baptism. In comparison, Iberian Jewish converts held a similar status denoted by the term *converso*, reflecting parallel degrees of adherence to Judaism and Christianity. In the context of the Catholic Reformation, both Moriscos and *conversos* formed part of the category 'new Christians', and alongside Protestants they faced inquisitorial prosecution in the Iberian kingdoms and restrictions on emigration to the Americas.

Mounting campaigns in Granada to instruct the 'new converts' coincided with the first efforts to convert indigenous peoples in the Americas to Catholic Christianity. On both sides of the Atlantic, early missionary efforts ended in frustration, and some friars, priests and bishops began to

introduce more coercive tactics.[8] By the mid-16th century, the Granadan Morisco population faced an increasing range of prohibitions, not all of which were specifically related to practising Islam. Stigmatised actions ranged from speaking in Arabic, wearing local Granadan styles of dress, singing *leilas* and dancing *zambras*, and neglecting to attend Mass, to expressly religious actions such as invoking the Prophet Muḥammad, praying in Arabic and observing the holy month of Ramaḍān. Other actions that attracted the suspicion of religious authorities included refusal to eat pork and slaughtering animals in the manner permitted (*ḥalāl*) in Islam.

Furthermore, a growing obsession with *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) meant that individuals had to prove they only possessed 'old Christian' ancestry if they wanted to attend university, practise professions such as medicine, or hold prestigious offices.[9] In this context, settlement in the Americas might have appealed to some Moriscos, as having the potential to place distance between these restrictive measures and the inquisitorial gaze that accompanied them, thereby allowing Moriscos to practise their faith more comfortably or seek better conditions for practising their profession. The vast distances across the Atlantic Ocean could provide cover, as legislative measures were difficult to enforce, but people were nonetheless always on the move. The colonial archives attest to cases of *conversos* and Moriscos who faced the misfortune of encountering someone from their hometown who claimed they recognised them as 'new Christians' and could prove in court their family's ancestry and reputation.[10]

Moriscos provoked anxieties for both secular and ecclesiastical authorities on both sides of the Atlantic. Such fears were reflected in the wording of the royal decrees that restricted Muslim and Morisco presence in Spanish America.[11] The language used in the decrees intensified during the reign of Philip II (r. 1556-98), revealing the mounting

---

[8] K. Mills, 'The limits of religious coercion in mid-colonial Peru', *Past and Present* 145 (1994) 84-121; I. Clendinnen, 'Disciplining the Indians. Franciscan ideology and missionary violence in sixteenth-century Yucatan', *Past and Present* 94 (1982) 27-48; D. Tavárez, *The invisible war. Indigenous devotions, discipline, and dissent in colonial Mexico*, Bloomington IN, 2011.

[9] M.H. Torres, M.E. Martínez and D. Nirenberg (eds), *Race and blood in the Iberian world*, Berlin, 2012. On how ideas about purity of blood influenced social hierarchies in colonial Latin America, see M.E. Martínez, *Genealogical fictions. Limpieza de sangre, religion, and gender in colonial Mexico*, Bloomington IN, 2008.

[10] For relevant cases of Moriscos in Spanish America, see Cook, *Forbidden passages*.

[11] See K.P. Cook, 'Legislation restricting Muslim presence in Colonial Spanish America', in *CMR* 12, 867-73.

tensions between Moriscos and old Christians on the peninsula, especially after the second Alpujarras uprising in 1568-71. Although individual Moriscos may have sought greater autonomy by secretly emigrating to the Americas, the Inquisition followed closely on their heels. Tribunals were established in Lima and Mexico City before 1570, and in Cartagena de Indias in 1610 to prosecute converts from Islam and Judaism, Protestants and lapsed Catholics accused of religious crimes that included heresy, blasphemy, bigamy and witchcraft. Moriscos encountered heightened suspicion as edicts of faith were read aloud in public spaces, encouraging anyone who witnessed practices that ecclesiastical authorities associated with Islam to denounce them for *Islamismo*. Such edicts included descriptions of 'Morisco ceremonies' that ranged from observing dietary restrictions on pork to praying five times daily, performing ritual ablutions, observing Ramaḍān and burying the dead in the way that had been customary for Moriscos.[12] The edicts of faith provided such detail that in 1578 Mexican inquisitors Alonso Hernández de Bonilla and Alonso Granero de Avalos expressed concern in a letter to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Spain that by diligently reading them each year during Lent, indigenous peoples and Spaniards born in the Americas might learn about Islam, Judaism, or 'the errors of Luther', which were 'expressed therein in such detail that even in Spain there are fears that through that venue some would learn them, and even more so in a land so new'.[13]

The presence of inquisitorial tribunals and a formal structure within which individuals could denounce neighbours and competitors placed heightened pressures on anyone suspected of having Muslim parents or grandparents, being a recent convert or following Islamic practices in the privacy of their home. Commissioners of the Inquisition moved into towns and villages outside the principal cities so that local residents could more easily report any heterodox practices they observed. Nonetheless, this was a slow process, and inquisitors in Mexico City and Lima complained in letters to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition that they had trouble appointing officials to carry out these duties in distant regions, both because of the time it took to trace their qualifications in Spain, including their *limpieza de sangre*, and for the requested

[12] Copies of the edicts of faith can be found in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid (AHN). For example, for Cuzco in 1575 and 1578 respectively, see AHN, Inquisición libro 1033, fols 318v and 409r-v; for Comayagua and Valladolid in Nicaragua in 1583, see Archivo General de la Nación, México (AGN), Inquisición vol. 89, fols 57v-58r.

[13] AHN, Inquisición libro 1047, fol. 544r.

information to reach the tribunals in Mexico City, Lima and Cartagena de Indias.

Denunciations of suspected Moriscos generally focused on two primary interrelated concerns – religiosity and lineage. In their depositions, witnesses invoked contemporary stereotypes of Muslims and religious 'others' that emerged during the confessional tensions of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. Denying the virginity of Mary, mocking the Eucharist in churches or during religious processions, committing acts of iconoclasm, or questioning belief in the Trinity were accusations that could be levelled against Protestants and Moriscos. Records from the inquisitorial tribunals, ecclesiastical courts and civil courts such as the royal *audiencias* in the principal Spanish American cities and the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) in Seville document such accusations against suspected Moriscos. While trial transcripts, denunciations and correspondence from the ecclesiastical and inquisitorial tribunals focused on the religious and theological dimensions, they also frequently referred to lineage. Secular courts could also consider allegations involving religious ancestry, if they did not infringe on the Inquisition's jurisdiction over cases of heresy. For example, the royal *audiencias* could investigate an accuser's religious concerns (such as whether the defendant had been circumcised or was the child of a Muslim) when relevant to a dispute over property. Honour could be invoked in all these types of cases, as it related to ideas about reputation based on both blood purity and conduct.

Religious denunciations before the inquisitorial and ecclesiastical tribunals in New Spain reveal a range of practices and behaviours that accusers associated with crypto-Muslims. For example, in 1583 the merchant Francisco López Africano was denounced for praying in the 'Morisco language' and invoking Allah while 'crossing his arms before his breast, saying "O Muḥammad, O Muḥammad" two and three times'.[14] In 1611, Nicolás de Oliva was similarly accused of invoking Muḥammad when he experienced difficulties, and was described as dressing like a Morisco while at home, being circumcised, and practising the profession of *buñolero* that was associated with Moriscos in Spain.[15] Failing to attend Mass and observe Catholic feast days or behaving irreverently during religious processions, were accusations commonly levelled against

[14] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 127, fol. 404r. For more details on all these cases, see Cook, *Forbidden passages*.

[15] AGN, Inq. vol. 292, fol. 194r. A *buñolero* was a baker of *buñuelos* or small buns.

suspected Moriscos. In 1560, Hernando Beltrán, the son of a Morisco woman from Baeza, was denounced for walking out of the church during Mass, an act interpreted by witnesses as a refusal to take communion because he had Morisco ancestry rather than leaving early to guard his unattended household, as he claimed in his defence.[16] As evidenced from the range of denunciations before the Mexican Inquisition, not only religiosity but also dress, dietary practices, language, occupation, public behaviour, and even physical appearance informed beliefs about who was or was not a Morisco.

In the royal *audiencias*, competition over property or status could result in similar denunciations focused on religious identity and ancestry, such as the case involving Diego Romero in the Royal Court of Santa Fe (today's Bogotá, Colombia). In a dispute over his *encomienda*, a rival accused Romero of being the son of an enslaved Muslim woman and furthermore of being himself a circumcised runaway Morisco slave. Like many other suspected Moriscos, he defended himself by emphasising his exemplary behaviour and his services to the Spanish Crown. He successfully presented himself as a good Christian and loyal subject, countering representations of Moriscos as apostates and disloyal subjects, and thereby won his case.[17]

While denunciations of religious deviance survive more frequently in the official record, relations between Christians and Muslims in the Americas were not always strained. On an everyday level, people of multiple ethnicities lived side by side in colonial society, and this becomes evident in the exchange of medicinal knowledge and remedies to address practical daily concerns. A shared belief in recourse to the supernatural to address problems in love and marriage, health and illness, or the uncertainties of colonial life, especially in surviving the brutal conditions of enslavement, made recourse to ritual specialists appealing. Members of different ethnic groups shared knowledge of cures, so that indigenous plants and medicines could be used alongside West African divination practices or remedies used by generations of Granadan Muslims. In Spanish America, Morisco healers and ritual specialists could earn a living by providing valued services to individuals trying to improve their material circumstances or emotional wellbeing. However, when the effectiveness of a remedy was called into question, the practitioner could

[16] AGN, Inq. vol. 16, fols 317v-319r.

[17] For an analysis of Diego Romero's case, see K.P. Cook, '"Moro de linaje y nación". Religious identity, race, and status in New Granada', in Torres, Martínez and Nirenberg (eds), *Race and blood in the Iberian world*, 81-97.

be denounced before inquisitors for incorporating Islamic elements into their repertoire of cures.[18]

Religious authorities cast Christianity and Islam as mutually exclusive, so as a result some Moriscos in the Americas struggled with their faith and with their sense of belonging to a religious community. The issue of salvation was particularly fraught as confessants before the Inquisition expressed preoccupation with which was the 'true' faith that would afford them salvation.[19] Inquisitorial edicts encouraged Christians not only to denounce others but also to denounce themselves for religious misdemeanours. These self-denunciations have provided valuable documentation detailing individual struggles, and have shown how some vacillated between belief in Christianity and Islam during their lifetimes. While some Moriscos may have denounced themselves strategically in order to preempt a rival's accusation or to attempt to influence the conditions of their enslavement by appealing to inquisitors to remove them from abusive masters, some testimonies reveal the degrees to which personal struggles with religiosity permeated daily lives. In 1594, a 50-year-old Morisco woman named María Ruiz appeared before Mexican inquisitors to express her desire to live and die as a Christian after having practised Islam during much of her lifetime. She was born to Muslim parents in the Alpujarras town of Albolote, and they taught her about Islam despite the challenges facing Granadan Moriscos at the time.[20] Ruiz recalled how, after arriving in Mexico City, she continued to recite the prayers her parents had taught her by invoking the Prophet Muḥammad. This was despite much knowledge of Islam being lost along the way, and she noted how her parents were cautious about her religious instruction as they lived in the shadow of the Granadan Inquisition. Furthermore, in Mexico she was married to an old Christian man who encouraged her to attend Mass and go to confession.

While Ruiz lived in apparent isolation, a man named Cristóbal de la Cruz, who was born in Algiers before being enslaved and instructed in Catholicism in Seville, described in his testimony before Mexican inquisitors the conversations he had had with other enslaved Muslims on the galleys in the Caribbean.[21] He detailed their attempts to perform the ritual ablutions while swimming in the sea, and his doubts about points

[18] See the case of Francisco López de Aponte in Cook, *Forbidden passages*, pp. 105-16.

[19] S.B. Schwartz has examined this issue more broadly in *All can be saved. Religious tolerance and salvation in the Iberian Atlantic world*, New Haven CT, 2009.

[20] AGN, Inq. vol. 151, exp. 5.

[21] For more on de la Cruz, see K.P. Cook, 'Navigating identities. The case of a Morisco slave in seventeenth-century New Spain', *The Americas* 65 (2008) 63-79.

of Catholic doctrine and whether he could achieve salvation in Islam or Christianity. Both Ruiz and de la Cruz's experiences are reflective of broader Christian-Muslim relations, because such pressures placed on belonging to a religious community caused some individuals to move between Islam and Catholicism during their lifetimes, debating which would enable them to attain salvation.

Many of the challenges facing Moriscos in the Americas can be connected to broader representations of Muslims in a variety of records from colonial Spanish America. Such representations speak to the interests of local officials, soldiers, missionaries, and residents of the viceroyalties, whose invocation of images of Muslims and Ottoman Turks connected to their personal aims to bolster their own status or justify policies towards indigenous peoples. For example, the New Laws of 1542 prohibited the enslavement of Amerindians with a few exceptions, including peoples captured in 'just war'. As a result, subsequent treatises justifying the enslavement of semi-nomadic indigenous peoples on the edges of empire made explicit comparisons between the Chichimeca, Chiriguano or Araucanos, and Muslims or Moriscos, highlighting the perceived rebelliousness of both groups.[22] A letter from the Audiencia of Santo Domingo to the Council of the Indies in 1572 requested permission to enslave the Caribs who 'should be taken captive in the form and with the limitation and order that Your Majesty commanded for the rebellious Muslims of the Kingdom of Granada'.[23] Missionaries also referred to their perceptions of the Granadan Moriscos or North African Muslims and the indigenous peoples whom they intended to convert to Catholicism.[24] Because evangelisation remained at the forefront of Spanish justifications of its empire in the Americas, religious authorities remained vigilant regarding any possibility of contact between indigenous peoples and Muslims.

---

[22] K.P. Cook, 'Muslims and the Chichimeca in New Spain. The debates over just war and slavery', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 70 (2013) 15-38. The texts in question include Pedro de Ahumada Sámano's *Relación* submitted to Mexican Viceroy Luis de Velasco (1562): a manuscript copy is held in Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato 182, R.5, fols 1v-3r.

[23] AGI, Santo Domingo 50, R.9, N.26, p. 2v. Similarly, in 1568 the city council of San Juan de Puerto Rico, requesting permission to enslave Carib women and boys, compared their bellicosity to that of the Ottoman Turks. For a discussion of these types of cases, see Cook, *Forbidden passages*, ch. 8, pp. 163-83.

[24] M. García-Arenal, 'Moriscos and Indians. A comparative approach', in G.J. van Gelder and E. de Moor (eds), *The Middle East and Europe. Encounters and exchanges*, Amsterdam, 1992, 39-55; Cook, 'Muslims and the Chichimeca in New Spain'.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations

1700-1800

Africa

Hiob Ludolf

DATE OF BIRTH 24 June 1624
PLACE OF BIRTH Erfurt
DATE OF DEATH 8 April 1704
PLACE OF DEATH Frankfurt am Main

BIOGRAPHY

Hiob Ludolf (also Job Ludolph) was a German intellectual. He was born to Hiob Ludolf (1583-1651), a merchant in dyer's-weed, and Judith Brandt (1594-1665) in Erfurt in 1624. He completed his secondary studies in his home town and in 1639 joined Erfurt University to study medicine, law, music and Oriental languages and literature, including Gəʿəz, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. In 1645, he graduated in law, and went on to continue his philological studies in Leiden.

In 1649, while representing the Swedish Baron von Rosenhahn in Rome, Ludolph met four Ethiopian monks from Santo Stefano dei Mori. With one of them, Abba Gorgoryos, he established a long friendship: Gorgoryos became Ludolf's Gəʿəz teacher and his main informant. Thereafter, Ludolf started researching Ethiopic and Semitic languages, as well as Ethiopian history, culture, literature and Christianity.

In 1651, Ludolf returned to Erfurt and in 1652 he entered the service of Ernst I, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, where he pursued his research, assisted by Gorgoryos. The result of their joint work was a series of seminal studies on Ethiopian languages, history and culture, the first being the *Lexicon aethiopico-latinum* (1661) modelled on Thomas Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica* (1613).

In 1652, Ludolf was appointed a counsellor to the Reichstag in Regensburg, and in 1653 he started teaching the Duke's son, Frederick. In 1663, one of his aides, Johann Michael Wansleben, left for an exploratory mission to Ethiopia that Ludolf and Duke Ernst had arranged. Although Wansleben never reached Ethiopia, he was able to assemble a valuable collection of Ethiopic and Arabic manuscripts in Egypt, as well as gathering historical and geographical information on Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia (Smidt and Bausi, 'Wansleben, Johann Michael').

Ludolf was court director from 1664 to 1670 to the Duke and then again from 1675 under Frederick. Towards 1676, Ludolf retired from

political office and moved to Frankfurt, where he devoted himself to Ethiopian studies. Yet he still took part in important missions, such as in 1679, when the Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705) called him to Prague to try to achieve an alliance with Ethiopia against the Ottoman Empire. It was in consequence of this mission that he would write in 1680 (and again in 1701) a letter to the Ethiopian ruler with overt geopolitical purposes, calling upon him to allow Dutch merchants and agents to travel to his territory, to protect them and to work together with the Dutch in order to undermine Ottoman power (van Donzel, 'Two Ethiopian letters', pp. 228-9).

The last decades of Ludolf's life were the most productive from the point of view of research. From about 1676 till shortly before his death, his most important works appeared in print, including *Sciagraphia historiae aethiopicae* (1676), *Historia aethiopica* (1681), *Theologia aethiopica* (1688), the *Commentarius* to the *Historia aethiopica* (1691-4) and *Grammatica linguae amharicae* (1698). During this time, he made active attempts to obtain new information on Ethiopia. In the late 1680s and 1690s, he drew up two questionnaires for the Ethiopian royal envoy *ḫoǧa* Murād to complete (van Donzel, *Foreign relations*, pp. 54-60, 71-83, 89-98, 154-8). In 1690, he was appointed president of the Collegium Imperiale Historicum at the recommendation of his friend Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. In this position, he published the first two volumes of the *Schaubühne der Welt* (1699, 1701), a survey of contemporary global events.

Ludolf married three times, all his wives being daughters of influential families in Sachsen and Frankfurt am Main.

Ludolf was a wide-ranging and original scholar. He mastered the art of such different disciplines as history, philology, linguistics and the study of culture. In addition, he studied and is said to have learnt about 25 languages, both European and Oriental. His books, particularly the *Historia aethiopica* and the accompanying *Commentarius*, reveal his indefatigable efforts to collect up-to-date information (for which he resorted to various methods, from personal interviews to correspondence and archival work), as well as his thorough attention to data and his skills in displaying it for a wide readership. He was a pioneer in many fields of the social sciences and humanities, and his studies remained standard works of reference until late in the 19th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Hiob Ludolf, *Historia aethiopica, sive Brevis & succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum …*, Francofurti ad Moenum: Joh. David Zunner, 1681

Hiob Ludolf, *Theologia aethiopica hoc est religio et mores Habessinorum, religionis christianae dogmata praecipua duodecim capitibus comprehendens. Ernesti Sax. Ducis iussu ex variis auctoribus excerpta et Abba Gregoris Aethiopi – proposita, cuius responsiones Job. Ludolfus latine donavit*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1688

Hiob Ludolf, *Iobi Lvdolfi aliàs Leutholf dicti ad suam Historiam aethiopicam antehac editam commentarivs …*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1691

Hiob Ludolf, *Appendix ad historiam aethiopicam Iobi Lvdolfi illiusque commentarivm, ex nova relatione, de hodierno Habessiniae statu concinnata. Additis epistolis regiis ad societatem Indiae Orientalis, ejusque responsione cum notis necessariis*, Francofvrti ad Moenum, 1693

Hiob Ludolf, *Relatio nova de hodierno Habeßiniae statu …*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1693

Hiob Ludolf, *Appendix secvnda ad Historiam aethiopicam Iobi Lvdolfi, continens dissertationem de locvstis anno praeterito immensa copia in Germania visis, cum diatriba qua sententia autoris nova de … cibo Israëlitarum in deserto defenditur …*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1694

C. Juncker, *Commentarius de vita, scriptisque ac meritis Illustris Viri Jobi Ludolfi, Consiliarii quondam Serenissimorum Saxoniae Ducum Intimi, Viri per eruditum orbem celeberrimi*, Lipsiae et Francoforti, 1710

E. van Donzel, 'Two Ethiopian letters of Job Ludolf', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 31 (1974) 226-38

J.T. Waterman (ed.), *Leibniz and Ludolf on things linguistic. Excerpts from their correspondence (1688-1703)*, Berkeley CA, 1978

E. van Donzel, *Foreign relations of Ethiopia, 1642-1700. Documents relating to the journeys of Khodja Murád*, Leiden, 1979

S. Uhlig (ed.), *Hiob Ludolfs Theologia aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 1983

Secondary

'Ludolf, Hiob', *Hessische Biografie*, 2015 (biographical data, see http://www.lagis-hessen.de/pnd/118817167)

W. Smidt and A. Bausi, art. 'Wansleben, Johann Michael', in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2010, vol. 4, pp. 1132-4

S. Uhlig, art. 'Ludolf, Hiob', in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2008, vol. 3, pp. 601-3

E. Haberland, art. 'Ludolf, Hiob', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 15 (1987) 303-4; http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn118817167.html

J. Tubach, art. 'Ludolf (Leutholf), Hiob', in F.-W. Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Hamm, 1975, vol. 5, pp. 317-25

J. Flemming, 'Hiob Ludolf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie [II]', *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 4 (1894) 63-110
J. Flemming, 'Hiob Ludolf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie [I]', *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1 (1890) 537-82

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia aethiopica: sive Brevis & succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum, quod vulgò malè Presbyteri Iohannis vocatur, 'History of Ethiopia, or a brief and concise description of the kingdom of the Abyssinians, commonly, though erroneously, called of Prester John'

DATE 1681
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
Historia aethiopica (in full, *Historia aethiopica: sive Brevis & succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum, quod vulgò malè Presbyteri Iohannis vocatur*) was the first of a series of major works that Ludolf wrote with specific focus on Christian Ethiopia. Later, he published, among other things, a bulky appendix to the *Historia* and a grammar of the Amharic language (*Grammatica linguae amharicae*, 1698). His research can be seen as a continuation of the work that was started during the Jesuit mission (1557-1632), when numerous accounts of Ethiopia, written chiefly by Portuguese, Italian and Spanish priests, reached Europe and spurred interest in the country, even though they remained largely unpublished.

The *Historia* is divided into four books. The first provides a geographical introduction to the country; the second, 'De regimine politico', centres on the claims of the Solomonid dynasty and describes the political structure of the court and state; the third, 'De rebus ecclesiasticis Habessinorum', outlines the Ethiopian Church, including at the time of the Jesuit mission; and the fourth, 'De privatis Habessinorum rebus', describes Ethiopian society.

Ten years after publishing the *Historia*, Ludolf published a bulky appendix, the *Commentarius*, an impressive collection of documents and studies relating to Ethiopian Christianity and history.

The *Historia* devotes several chapters to Christian-Muslim relations in the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa. Book 1, ch. 16, focuses on the wars between Christian Ethiopia and the sultanate of ʿAdal, particularly the campaign of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhim al-Ghāzī. Ludolf raises the important point that it was this jihad that created the conditions in which first the Ottomans and later the Oromo ('Galla' in the treatise) were able to extend their power. In Book 2, ch. 15, a full account of the war between Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhim al-Ghāzī and the Ethiopian kingdom is given, including the participation of a small Portuguese force headed by Christovão da Gama, the son of Vasco da Gama. Ludolf's account of this well-known episode in 16th-century Ethiopian history does not diverge substantially from the earlier accounts of Miguel de Castanhoso or the Jesuits Pedro Páez and Manoel de Almeida. In Book 4, ch. 14, Ludolf refers to the false rumour that the Emperor Fasilädäs (r. 1632-67) had converted to Islam, which he vehemently denies, while the last two chapters of this book are concerned with political matters and trade, in which Muslims are particularly prominent because their religion allows them easy passage through Ottoman and other Islamic regions.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Historia* is a milestone of scholarly research in 17th-century Europe. In it Ludolf displays his impressive erudition and his skills in data collection. Perhaps one of its most remarkable features is the broad comparative approach he adopts. This is particularly conspicuous in the parts on philological and linguistic matters, where his vast knowledge of Oriental languages is put to fruitful use. His work necessarily refers to relations between the Christian Ethiopians and Muslim powers, though he does not advance much on earlier historians.

PUBLICATIONS

Hiob Ludolf, *Historia aethiopica, sive Brevis & succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum …*, Francofurti ad Moenum: Joh. David Zunner, 1681; BIB.HIST.003474 (digitised version available through Universiteit Gent)

Hiob Ludolf, *Iobi Lvdolfi alias Leutholf dicti Historia Aethiopica, sive brevis & succinta descriptio regni Habessinorvm, quod vulgo male Presbyteri Iohannis vocatur …*, Francofurti ad Moemum: prostat apud Joh. David Zunner: typius Balthasaris Christophori Wustii, 1681; 2 H.afr. 315 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Hiob Ludolf, *A new history of Ethiopia. Being a full and accurate description of the kingdom of Abessinia, vulgarly, though erroneously, called the empire of Prester John, in four books*, trans. J.P. Gent, London: S. Smith, 1682 (English trans.); Wing 640:02 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)

Hiob Ludolf, *A new history of Ethiopia. Being a full and accurate description of the kingdom of Abessinia, vulgarly, though erroneously, called the Empire of Prester John / by the learned Job Ludolphus ... The second edition*, trans. J.P. Gent, London: Samuel Smith, 1684 (English trans., expanded from first edition); Wing 36:01 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)

Hiob Ludolf, *Nouvelle histoire d'Abissinie, ou d'Éthiopie tirée de l'histoire latine de M. Ludolf*, Paris: Chez la veuve A. Cellier, 1684 (French trans.); BNF, département Littérature et art, 261 (digitised version available through BNF)

Hiob Ludolf, *Iobi Lvdolfi aliàs Leutholf dicti ad suam Historiam aethiopicam antehac editam commentarivs ...*, Francofurti ad Moenum: J. D. Zunneri, 1691

Hiob Ludolf, *Histoire de l'Ethiopie, Livre 1. Des dispositions naturelles du pays et de ses habitants*, ed. and trans. J. Tubiana et al., Apt, Vaucluse, 2008 (French trans. of Book 1)

Hiob Ludolf, *Histoire de l'Ethiopie, Livre 2. Le régime politique*, ed. J. Tubiana et al., Apt, Vaucluse, 2009 (French trans. of Book 2)

Hiob Ludolf, *Histoire de l'Ethiopie, Livre 3. Histoire de l'église abyssine*, ed. J. Tubiana et al., [Saint-Maur-des-Fossés], 2013 (French trans. of Book 3)

STUDIES

A. Bausi, 'Review of *Histoire de l'Ethiopie: brève description du royaume des Abyssins vulgairement appelé à tort du Prêtre Jean publiée en 1681, livre I*', *Aethiopica* 12 (2009) 258-60

Andreu Martínez

Michel Jajolet de la Courbe

Michel Jajolet La Courbe

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably mid 17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably France
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1713
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Michel Jajolet de la Courbe was a French nobleman who lived and worked in Senegal in the last decades of the 17th and first decades of the 18th century. Few details of his life are known. He was a nephew of one of the principal sponsors of the Compagnie Royale du Sénégal et le Coste d'Afrique, and was invited by the directors of the Compagnie to carry out a commission in Senegal in 1685-6, to prepare something between a study and an inspection report following disturbances in the Compagnie's ranks. Tensions between the Compagnie's commander, Louis Moreau de Chambonneau, and its *commis* or agents in the colony had turned into open conflict. Sieur de la Courbe, as he was known, was called upon to pacify the situation and end the rebellion. The activities of French and British private (slave) traders, as well as infighting and mismanagement and lack of oversight on the part of the Compagnie's stockholders, were impacting negatively upon the Compagnie's affairs, so much so that it lost over a million pounds in 1687. During his stay in St Louis and Gorée, La Courbe took over as commander – and as director and inspector general – from 1689 to 1693, and again from 1706 to 1711 for renewed mandates as director general. Because of its financial losses, the Compagnie was re-founded as the Compagnie Royale du Sénégal in 1694 and eventually reorganised into a third company in 1709.

In a report submitted upon his return to France in 1693, La Courbe gave a frank account of the malpractice that was undermining the Compagnie. In addition, he demonstrated the fierce competition from the Dutch, who had reoccupied Arguin, and from the English, who were expanding their interests along the Gambia River, and the effect of this on company trade. This was despite the fact that the Compagnie, founded in 1673 after the dissolution of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, had obtained the monopoly on the slave trade from West Africa to the Americas

in 1679, renewed in 1681 for a period of 30 years. However, it had to 'share' this (putative) monopoly with the Compagnie de la Guinée established in 1685, which was responsible for the area from Sierra Leone southwards to the Cape of Good Hope. La Courbe severely criticised the lack of knowledge in France with regard to local commerce, commodities, prices and the most profitable dates for conducting business affairs in the region. The Compagnie's *commis* were depicted as highly unreliable agents with dubious ways of life and habits, more akin to gamblers than businessmen, who dedicated their time to wasteful side-lines and did little to turn their concessions into lucrative business beneficial to the Compagnie. La Courbe was forced to leave Senegal when it was retaken by the English in 1693, whereafter he travelled to the French Antilles.

On his return to Senegal in 1706, he found that the Compagnie was still in dire straits, and two years later recommended ending its operations in the region, upon which he received orders to sell his share. Joseph Mustelier, the representative of the Rouen merchants who had retained their interests in the Compagnie's shares from 1673 onwards and again in 1681 and ended up taking full control in 1696, succeeded in improving the company's affairs, not least because its directors conducted business *in loco*. Eventually, La Courbe and other shareholders demanded compensation for unpaid wages over a period of three years, which they obtained in 1710.

La Courbe remained in the region in search of business opportunities upstream on the Senegal River in the Saracolé/Soninké kingdom of Gajaga or Galam, with direct trade links to the gold-producing Bambouk region on the Upper Niger River (present-day Mali), where he traded in gold and slaves.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

P. Cultru (ed.), *Premier voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait á la Coste d'Afrique en 1685*, Paris, 1913

Secondary

P. Cultru, *Les Origines de l'Afrique Occidentale. Histoire du XV^e^ siècle à 1870*, Paris: Émile Larose, 1910

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Premier voyage de Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685, 'First journey of Sieur de la Courbe made to the coast of Africa in 1685'

DATE 1686; first published in 1913
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

La Courbe's travel account covers the years 1685 and 1686, and contains detailed descriptions of his visits to St Louis and Gorée, which had been taken by the French from its Dutch occupiers in 1677, and of his travels along the coast to the Petite Côte, the Gambia and the Guinea Bissau region. His account is one in a series of key travel narratives about the region, including those by Jobson (1625), Donelha (1625), Lemos Coelho (1669/1683) and Lemaire (1682).

In 1677, the French navy took control of the island of Gorée off the Cape Verde peninsula, the location of the current capital, Dakar. In 1681, the site at the mouth of the Gambia River where the factory of Albreda would be established was ceded to the French by a ruler of the Manding Kingdom of Niumi. Across the river on the south bank, British traders had captured Fort James from the Dutch in 1661, in order to control shipping and transactions on the river. Thus, the timing of La Courbe's travels was not only related to the rebellion among the *commissaires* and traders of the Compagnie du Sénégal based in St Louis, but also coincided with French incursions into the area and the direct challenge they posed to English and Dutch interests along the Petite Côte (between the Senegal River and the Sine Saloum delta) and the Gambia region.

La Courbe's account provides crucial insights into French designs on the West African coast, which were not merely economic but also political, during a period of intense rivalry between European nations. It documents attempts to intervene in, resolve or profit from certain conflicts, whilst overtures were made towards African rulers outside the company's orbit with whom long discussions were held, as well as negotiations with local traders and the authorities of trading posts and settlements, with a view to extending French influence in the area. The travel account is therefore a key document for the understanding of Euro-African relations and commerce in the area of Senegal, the Gambia and the Guinea Bissau region. Unfortunately, it is incomplete: P. Cultru's edition is based

on two manuscripts held in the BNF and the French National Archives, with a section missing between La Courbe's departure from the Foni area in the Casamance region to his arrival at Bissau in 1687.

In his account, divided into seven chapters, La Courbe covers the area between the Senegal River and the Geba River 600 kilometres further south, whilst also making a short visit to the Canary Islands. The last chapter in Cultru's edition describes La Courbe departing from St Louis, crossing the Atlantic in the *Sirene* with a cargo of slaves, and selling them on the island of San Domingo in the West Indies in exchange for tobacco, animal hides and indigo. Then La Courbe sets sail for Europe, visiting the port of Amsterdam as well as Antwerp, and eventually returns to Paris.

Soon after his arrival in St Louis, at the onset of the rainy season (May-October) 1685, La Courbe has his first encounter with an African dignitary in the person of the 'petit Brac', the second in the hierarchy of the Waalo kingdom, who pays him a visit. The description of the chief and his ample entourage of elders and servants offers insights into West African dress, custom and speech. The offer of a slave as a way of establishing a rapport between the French and African actors, and the songs of praise sung well into the night, embellish the opening pages of the first chapter (pp. 40-4). His first meeting with the Brak of Waalo himself (pp. 71-6, in Cultru's edition), riding a horse and accompanied by his counsellors and praise-singers, in a village close to St Louis, introduces the reader to the intricacies of local custom and convention. His account of the midday prayer rituals led by a Muslim 'priest', or *marabout*, in a nearby village (pp. 80-2) allows a glimpse of hybrid West African religious traditions.

The African societies referred to in La Courbe's account formed a complex social and political mosaic composed of Islamised groups such as the Wolof, Fulbe and Manding, and 'animist' groups such as the Serer, Jola, Bañun and Pepel. The African societies with which he first came into contact were the Islamised Moorish groups north of the Senegal River, who controlled an important part of the slave and commodity trade (gold and gum arabic) linking the most westerly trans-Saharan route to the Mauritanian desert and the coast itself. His conversations with Moorish authorities in the Cayor Lake area (ch. 3, pp. 84-124; ch. 4, pp. 125-82), 200 kilometres upstream along the north bank of the Senegal River, and descriptions of local Muslim festivals such as Tabaski (pp. 89-93), which marked the end of Ramaḍān fasting, illustrate the relevance of religious contexts.

La Courbe also visited the kingdom of Barra located on the mouth of the Gambia River, where the Compagnie kept a fort and trading post at Albreda (pp. 190-8). Here, he praises the Islamised Manding, who also controlled other areas upstream along the banks of the river, for their knowledge of Arabic and of the Qur'an, both taught in the qur'anic schools from an early age. His reference to the role of the Manding *marabout*s in teaching Arabic, as well as their ethnic language Mande, and to verses from the Qur'an which they themselves copied (p. 191) and used for making talismans, serves to convey his favourable impression of their allegedly superior religious standing compared with their Wolof counterparts. In contrast, his observations about the presence of 'negroes and mulattos who regard themselves as Portuguese' and speak a jargon or 'Creole' with a Portuguese lexicon (which evolved into what is currently Guinean Creole, the lingua franca in Guinea-Bissau) and bear the names of Christian saints (pp. 192-3), allows him to express doubts about their claims to be Christians like the 'whites' (p. 193). He met them regularly during his travels on the Senegal and Gambia rivers, and further south on his trip to Cacheu and Bissau and surrounding areas (ch. 6, pp. 183-210).

SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of La Courbe's account lies in its detailed recording of the encounters, relations and negotiations with local African rulers, who constituted the main suppliers of French trading interests in the region. As a result, African societies, their organisation, actors and traditions come into view and gain greater definition. Importantly, his account, building on previous 17th century reports by Europeans, underlines the close relationship between trade and religion in Islamicised – and Christianised – African societies and ethnic groups in the Senegambian region. The trade conducted by Muslims in salt and paper well illustrates this connection (see Mota, 'História Atlântica da Islamização na África Ocidental: Senegâmbia, séculos XVI e XVII').

Despite the absence of references to Sufi brotherhoods such as the Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya, La Courbe does make distinctions in terms of Islamic religious observance, noting that the Manding of the Gambia are more knowledgeable of Islamic law than the Wolof of Cap Vert. He also notes the importance of Islamised religious authorities and the general respect they enjoyed, as is illustrated in his references to the *marabout*s and their methods of proselytising, studying and teaching, as well as their abstinence. On the other hand, he has a generally low regard for

converts to Christianity, who appear, for the most part, to have only a superficial knowledge of their faith, and show little zeal in practising it.

While La Courbe's account provides crucial insights into French designs on the West African coast, it goes beyond a mere assessment of trading opportunities. From his account it becomes clear that, despite the tensions and conflicts caused by slave raids and wars in order to supply the growing demand for workers on the sugar, tobacco and cotton plantations in the New World, Euro-African trade did not appear to pose serious obstacles to Christian-Muslim relations. Indeed, the account shows that these relations varied in regional terms, ranging from tensions along the Senegal River and its neighbouring kingdoms, to apparently fluid relations further south. Competition for the spoils of West African and trans-Atlantic exchange increased as the trade in commodities (e.g. gum, ivory, beeswax and gold) and slaves expanded during the second half of the 17th century, transforming the Senegambia into a much-coveted region.

Internally, differences were duly noted between the areas and groups visited by La Courbe: the example given above of Cayor and Albréda provide insights into the multi-cultural and religious dimensions of these locations. The presence and role of a variety of local dignitaries, be they kings, elders, mayors or *djila*s and *marabout*s, involved in negotations, is taken for granted by La Courbe and treated as a sign of respect (e.g. pp. 193-4). The fact that during one of these meetings, he exchanges gifts, including parchment paper for *marabout*s to make *gris-gris*, is a tell-tale sign of the fluidity of these relations and their amicable nature (p. 72). However, in an effort to present trade relations in a favourable light, his account glosses over some of the underlying tensions that would emerge with great intensity in the 18th century – although the Moorish/Berber pressures along the Senegal River are mentioned. The Compagnie du Sénégal would play an important role in the redirection of trade routes towards the coast as it acquired a permanent base in the strategic port of St Louis from 1659 onwards.

As Jean Boulègue (*Les royaumes Wolof dans l'espace Sénégambien, XIIe à XVIIIe siècle*) and Boubacar Barry (*Senegambia and the Atlantic slave trade*), have shown, the holy wars that erupted thereafter in the Senegal River valley were directly associated with the rising demand for slaves and the conflicting strategies of rival groups. La Courbe's account offers some glimpses of the upheaval caused by the politico-religious '*marabout* wars', which had left their legacy in the form of the continued belligerent actions of the Moors from the right bank of the Senegal

River, and the stirring up of protests in the Waalo, Futa Tooro, Cayor and Wolof kingdoms. The situation further south appears to be less fraught with open tensions and rather illustrates the relatively peaceful coexistence, for the time being, between 'animist', Islamised and Christianised groups. Kaabu's extensive sphere of influence is probably felt there, although some competition between coastal groups as a result of slave raids and trafficking are observed (p. 223). This is borne out by La Courbe's description of the port of Geba, 150 kilometres upstream on the Geba River, where Islamised Manding, partially Islamised Biafada and Christianised groups, such as the *gourmettes* or Kriston, converged under the watching eye of Portuguese commanders (pp. 251-3). Significantly, riverine ports along the Gambia River as well as the Geba River further south, located in or within the sphere of influence of Manding kingdoms, thus emerge as key points of encounter between Muslim and Christian groups and dignitaries (Havik, *The port of Geba, at the crossroads of Afro-Atlantic trade and culture*). Thus, La Courbe's account sheds some light on the diversity of Christian-Muslim (and 'animist') relations in the Senegambian region, encompassing a broad gamut of sites and local groups as they showed their willingness to engage in commercial transactions with French interests. His account precedes the Muslim revolutions led by the Futa Tooro and Futa Djallon kingdoms and the intensification of international armed conflicts involving rival European nations such as France and Britain vying for control of the West African trade. These conflicts associated with the impact of the trans-Atlantic slave and commodity trade would leave their indelible mark upon the region as regional rivalries erupted into political and religious wars in the course of the 18th century.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – Fr. 24221 (autograph, bound with Courbe's *Voyages … aux isles Françoises de l'Amérique* 1696-9; see Cultru, 'Introduction', pp. iv-v; digitised version available through BNF)

MS Paris, BNF – Fr. 24222 (autograph, see Cultru, 'Introduction', pp. iv-v)

P. Cultru (ed.), *Premier voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait à la Coste d'Afrique en 1685*, Paris, 1913, repr. Nendeln, Lichenstein, 1973; repr. Classic Reprint Series, 2017; DT 3.L3 1913 (digitised version available through University of Ottowa)

Most of La Courbe's account was copied by Père Jean-Baptiste Labat in his *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale* (Paris, 1728) and ascribed to André Brue, who governed the French colony of Senegal from 1697 to 1702 and again from 1714 to 1720; see Cultru, 'Introduction', p. v.

STUDIES

T.H. Mota, 'História Atlântica da Islamização na África Ocidental. Senegâmbia, séculos XVI e XVII', Belo Horizonte, 2018 (PhD diss. University of Minas Gerais)

J. Boulègue, *Les royaumes Wolof dans l'espace Senegambien (XIII^e^-XVIII^e^ siècle)*, Paris, 2013

P.J. Havik, 'The port of Geba, at the crossroads of Afro-Atlantic trade and culture', *Mande Studies* 9 (2007) 21-50

B. Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic slave trade*, Cambridge, 1998

B. Barry, *La Sénégambie du XV^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle. La traite négrière, islam et conquête coloniale*, Paris, 1988

B. Barry, 'La guerre des marabouts dans la région du fleuve Sénégal de 1673 à 1677', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamentale d'Afrique Noire* 33 (1971) 564-89

P. Cultru, 'Introduction', in Cultru, *Premier voyage du Sieur de la Courbe*, i-lviii

P. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XV^e^ siècle à 1870*, Paris, 1910

Philip Jan Havik

Jean Barbot

DATE OF BIRTH 25 May 1655
PLACE OF BIRTH Saint-Martin, Ile de Ré
DATE OF DEATH 27 December 1712
PLACE OF DEATH Southampton

BIOGRAPHY

Few details about the personal life of the French commercial agent Jean (later John) Barbot are known, apart from his African travels recorded in his *A description of the coasts of north and south Guinea and of Ethiopia inferior, vulgarly Angola* (1732). He went to West Africa as a commercial agent on two French slave ships in 1678-9 and 1681-2, and traded all along the coast, but it was only in Senegambia that he came into any direct contact with Muslims. As a Huguenot, he was obliged to leave France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. He settled in London, where in 1688 he completed a long manuscript in French describing coastal West Africa in a set of letters addressed to a fictitious acquaintance. Unlike the log of his journey, written in 1678-9, this manuscript drew heavily upon published sources, most notably the French translation of Olfert Dapper's compilation on Africa (Dutch original, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge van ...*, 1668). Having moved from London to Southampton, he set to work on an English version and continued adding material from various sources, most of them published, during the following two decades. However, it was not until 20 years after his death that his large book finally appeared. Those who consult it must work out which parts reflect Barbot's own observations and how much derives from other sources.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Jean Barbot, *A description of the coasts of north and south Guinea and of Ethiopia inferior, vulgarly Angola*, London, 1732

Jean Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea. The writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1679-1712*, ed. P.E.H. Hair, A. Jones and R. Law, London, 1992 (critical edition of his 1688 manuscript, translated into English and with frequent reference to his book of 1732)

Secondary
Hair, Jones and Law (eds), *Barbot on Guinea*, vol. 1, pp. ix-c

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A description of the coasts of north and south Guinea and of Ethiopia, vulgarly Angola

DATE 1688
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
Jean Barbot's *A description of the coasts of north and south Guinea* is a book of about 800 pages that describes the western coast of Africa. It is based partly on Barbot's personal observations of Guinea and partly on available publications. It was not published until 1732, twenty years after Barbot's death. Barbot had worked on his account of Guinea for several decades, continuously reworking the manuscript and incorporating new materials. The journal of Barbot's first journey to Guinea in 1678-9 is still extant, as well as a 1688 account of Guinea he wrote in French, but the log of his 1681-2 journey has been lost.

In the Senegambia section of the 1688 manuscript, it is clear that Barbot had relatively little first-hand experience of Muslims, and was inclined to regard all religions other than (Protestant) Christianity as more or less the same. He refers to the kings of West Africa as 'all either loose Mahometans, or idolators'. He mentions feasting at night during Ramaḍān ('the Mahometan lent'), but he was more interested in what Europeans called *grigris* – amulets sold by itinerant marabouts (Muslim clerics). Following Luis del Mármol Carvajal (*Descripción general de África*, 1573 and 1599), he speculates on how such manifestations of material religion could have been diffused, perhaps through pilgrimages to Mecca. This leads him to devote four pages to 'the Arabs', which to a modern reader seem incongruous in an account of 17th-century Senegambia.

His book goes even further: after four pages (ed. Hair, Jones and Law, pp. 58-62) that draw upon Marmol and other published sources to discuss Islamic practices in the Gambia (albeit with lengthy digressions, likewise derived from the literature), we are offered a further five pages (pp. 63-7) on Muḥammad, 'the Arabian false prophet', the Qur'an, Medina and Mecca, entirely plagiarised and without any reference to Senegambia.

The book does contain a little information on the seizure in 1677 of the predominantly Sereer coastal kingdom of Kajor (Cayor, Kajoor, Kadior), just north of Cape Verde, by a marabout 'under colour of religion'. This must refer to the jihad proclaimed in 1673 by the cleric Nasir al-Din in what is now southern Mauritania, leading to the conquest of Kajor and two other states, although a few years later the former rulers regained power.

Barbot suspected that one of the slaves he bought at Gorée in 1681 'was a Marabout of Arabick descent', but does not give any reasons for thinking this.

Moving on to Sierra Leone, Barbot – echoing Olfert Dapper's account – expresses interest in features shared by local religions with Islam, notably circumcision, monotheism and the refusal to represent the deity or spirits 'by corporeal figures of men or of beasts'. Nevertheless, he concludes: 'If there be any Mahometans in this kingdom, 'tis more than I ever heard of, and they must dwell far off, towards the Niger' (p. 104).

SIGNIFICANCE

Barbot's published and unpublished writings show how a Protestant brought up in mainly Catholic France reacted to fleeting encounters with a few Muslims and subsequently made use of European publications, most of them rather old, to present what purported to be an authoritative account of West African Islam.

His religious zeal and his inclination to lump together Islam and local African religions are epitomised in the one concrete incident he mentions in this context: while discussing 'superstition and witchcraft', he recalls that at the Island of Gorée, in 1681, 'a Black, from whose neck I once pulled away a Grigri, or spell, made a hideous noise about it, telling me that Gune [cf. Arabic *jinn*] had beat him most unmercifully the next night' (*Barbot on Guinea*, p. 51).

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, National Archives, Kew – ADM 7/830A and ADM 7/830B (the 1688 MS)

Jean Barbot, *A description of the coasts of north and south Guinea and of Ethiopia inferior, vulgarly Angola*, London, 1732 (published posthumously; this was vol. 5 in the series edited by A. Churchill and J. Churchill, *A collection of voyages and travels*, London, 1732); CW417281775 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)



Illustration 16. Jean Barbot, *Map of part of the windward coast of Guinea, and of the Malaghetta or Grain Coast, with the adjacent territories*

Jean Barbot, 'Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678-1679', ed. and trans. G. Debien, M. Delafosse and G. Thilmans, *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire* 40, série B (1978) 236-395 (Barbot's log of 1678-9)

Jean Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea. The writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1679-1712*, ed. P.E.H. Hair, A. Jones and R. Law, London, 1992 (critical edition of his 1688 manuscript, translated into English and with frequent reference to his book of 1732)

STUDIES

P.E.H. Hair, 'Barbot, Dapper, Davity. A critique of sources on Sierra Leone and Cape Mount', *History in Africa* 1 (1974) 25-54

Adam Jones

Jean-Baptiste Gaby

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1640
PLACE OF BIRTH France
DATE OF DEATH Approximately 1710
PLACE OF DEATH France

BIOGRAPHY

Jean-Baptist Gaby was a 17th-century French Franciscan friar. The little that is known of his life with certainty pertains to his voyage to West Africa in 1686. He is thought to have been born around 1640, and at an unknown point he entered the Franciscan order. For most of his life, he appears to have lived and worked in the friary of Loches (Feller, *Supplément*, p. 385).

In March 1686, Gaby and three other Franciscans set out from Le Havre on a journey to West Africa 'to preach religion in Nigritie' and to 'combat the heresy of Calvinism' (Gaby, *Relation*, p. 7). The group arrived in Tenerife (Canary Islands) on 13 May 1686. After a brief stay, they continued to the mainland of Africa, reaching St Louis (present-day Senegal) on 5 June.

Few details of the group's sojourn in Senegal are known. Gaby records that, at the instigation of Father Tartari, three members of the group left St Louis to preach the gospel in 'Nigritie'. Gaby himself stayed in St Louis, to attend to the spiritual needs of the local Christian community (Gaby, *Relation*, pp. 23-4). It is uncertain what happened to Gaby's companions and whether or when they eventually returned to France. It is also uncertain how long Gaby worked in Senegal; he seems to have returned to France before 1689. In that year, Gaby published an account of his experiences and observations in Senegal, entitled *Relation de la Nigritie*. Gaby is thought to have died around 1710 (Feller, *Supplément*, p. 385).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Jean-Baptiste Gaby, *Relation de la Nigritie, contenant une exacte description des royaumes et de leur gouvernements, la religion, les moeurs, coustumes, et raretez de cet païs, avec la découverte de la rivière du Senega, dont on a fait une carte particuliere*, Paris, 1689

Secondary

J. Pirotte, art. 'Gaby (Jean-Baptiste)', in R. Aubert, J.-P. Hendrickx and J.-P. Sosson (eds), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1981, vol. 19, pp. 589-90

F.X. de Feller, art. 'Gaby, Jean-Baptiste', in *Supplément au dictionnaire historique de l'abbé F.X. de Feller*, Paris, 1819, vol. 10, p. 385

J.B.B. Eyriès, art. 'Gaby, Jean-Baptiste', in L.G. Michaud (ed.), *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1816, vol. 16, p. 230

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation de la Nigritie, 'An account of Nigritia'

DATE 1689

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

Relation de la Nigritie, a publication of about 90 pages, presents an account of the observations of Fr Jean-Baptiste Gaby during his sojourn in the area of present-day Senegal in the late 17th century (its title in full is *Relation de la Nigritie, contenant une exacte description des royaumes et de leur gouvernements, la religion, les moeurs, coustumes, et raretez de cet païs, avec la découverte de la rivière du Senega, dont on a fait une carte particuliere*, 'An account of Nigritia, containing a truthful description of kingdoms and their governments, religion, manners, customs and peculiarities of the country, including the discovery of the river Senega, of which a special map has been made'). The book describes the flora and fauna of the West African mainland, as well as portraying the various ethnic groups, their customs (e.g. circumcision, marriage, funerals), political organisation and religion. The book is best known for Gaby's claim to have discovered the River Senegal and his assertion that the Senegal, the Niger and other rivers in West Africa, such as the Gambia and the Rio Grande, all spring from Lake Bornu.

Relation de la Nigritie is a rich source on West African Islam. The book offers detailed descriptions of the celebration of Muslim festivals (e.g. *ʿĪd al-fiṭr, ʿĪd al-aḍḥā, Mawlid*, including local terms such as *Koriteh*, *Tabaski* and *Gamo*), as well as Muslim practices such as fasting, the *ḥajj*, polygamy, funerals, circumcision, Islamic education, the manufacture and use of amulets for humans and animals and so forth (pp. 39-48). In addition, the book contains two exchanges between Gaby and some Senegalese *marabouts* (pp. 30-9). The men discuss a variety of topics,



Illustration 17. Jean-Baptiste Gaby, *Relation de la Nigritie*, map of the source of the Niger, Jolo and Senega rivers, according to Gaby's understanding

among them the love of God, the Trinity (which Gaby likens to a lily and a triangle) and the permissibility of engaging in interreligious debates. Over the course of the conversation, Gaby reiterates a number of classical polemical arguments, such as the notion that Muḥammad spread Islam through violence and did not perform miracles to substantiate his prophethood. According to what he says, the exchanges resulted in the conversion of a number of Muslims.

In 1968, an unknown manuscript was discovered, entitled *De l'origine des nègres du Sénégal, coste d'Affrique, de leurs pays, relligions, coutumes et moeurs*. Its author, Louis Moreau de Chambonneau, served several terms as representative and later director of the Compagnie du Sénégal in St Louis, and is known to have written extensively about his observations in the Senegal area (Pirotte, *Dictionnaire*, p. 590). Carson Ritchie, who published an annotated edition of the manuscript, estimates that this particular text was written between 1673 and 1677 (Ritchie, 'Deux textes', pp. 289-91).

Charles Becker has compared Chambonneau's manuscript and Gaby's *Relation*, and demonstrates that Gaby's text depends heavily on Chambonneau's. This dependency (Becker calls it plagiarism) is particularly evident in passages dealing with geography and ethnography, including those that describe West African Islam, though generally speaking Gaby's text is slightly more elaborate than the Chambonneau manuscript. Gaby's account of his discussions with some *marabouts*, however, seems to be original; they have no parallels in the Chambonneau manuscript (Becker, 'A propos', pp. 17-21).

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Gaby's *Relation* is twofold. First, despite the fact that he may have copied Chambonneau's *Traité*, his *Relation de la Nigritie* has served and continues to serve as a rich resource on 17th-century Islam and Muslim practices in Senegal. Gaby's book offers eyewitness observations of West African Islam (irrespective of whether these are his own or Chambonneau's), which thus became accessible to a larger audience as early as 1689; the Chambonneau manuscript remained unpublished until the late 1960s. Hence, Gaby's widely quoted text has long influenced European perceptions and representations of Islam and Muslims in Senegal.

Second, Gaby's text demonstrates that in 17th-century West African Christian-Muslim exchanges, both parties employed arguments from the classical polemical repertoire to challenge the other. Arguments

mentioned by Gaby include refutation of the Trinity, the presumed violent spread of Islam, the denial of the prophethood of Muḥammad and a condemnation of polygamy.

PUBLICATIONS

J.-B. Gaby, *Relation de la Nigritie, contenant une exacte description des royaumes et de leur gouvernements, la religion, les moeurs, coustumes, et raretez de cet païs, avec la découverte de la rivière du Senega, dont on a fait une carte particuliere*, Paris, 1698 (repr. Paris, 1972); ark:/12148/bpt6k843770 (digitised version available through BNF)

STUDIES

Pirotte, art. 'Gaby (Jean-Baptiste)'

C. Becker, 'A propos d'un plagiaire. Le P. Gaby', *Notes Africaines* 133 (1972) 17-21

C.I.A. Ritchie, 'Deux textes sur le Senegal, 1673-1677', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire. Series B (Sciences Humaines)* 30 (1968) 289-353

Martha Frederiks

Charles-Jacques Poncet

DATE OF BIRTH 1655
PLACE OF BIRTH Saint-Claude, Franche-Comté
DATE OF DEATH 1706
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan, Persia

BIOGRAPHY

Charles-Jacques Poncet was a French physician and traveller, who journeyed through Rome and then Malta, to Istanbul, Egypt, Ethiopia and Persia. Of his journeys, the one to Sinnar and Ethiopia is the best known.

Poncet left France at the young age of 19. He first went to Italy, reaching Rome in 1674 (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 406). There, after some vicissitudes, he worked for seven years in the pharmacy of the hospital of Santo Spirito. This work earned him a doctorate, granted by La Sapienza University (Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', p. 105). He then travelled to Malta and Istanbul, where he became the private physician of the French ambassador, the Count of Guillerargues. After a stay in France, he travelled to Egypt around 1681, settling in Cairo and serving as an influential physician and apothecary for the European community and Ottoman authorities.

Poncet's trip to Ethiopia arose from an embassy headed by the Muslim merchant Hajji Ali 'Gaberti' (i.e. Jeberti/Jabartī; see Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 372), who came to Cairo as special envoy of the Christian Ethiopian ruler Iyasu I (r. 1682-1706), to recruit a doctor to cure Isayu and his son of a disease (possibly scurvy or leprosy; see Bruce, *Travels to discover*, vol. 2, p. 466). The French consul in Cairo, Benoît de Maillet, recommended Poncet, thus thwarting a plan by Capuchin friars to infiltrate the medical mission (Bruce, *Travels to discover*, vol. 2, p. 466 et passim). As Poncet's companion, de Maillet appointed the Jesuit Father Charles François-Xavier de Brèvedent, who was fluent in Arabic and was to travel incognito under the name Yosef Dubal (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 59). The mission, which to all intents and purposes was arranged by de Maillet (see Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', pp. 102-3) and the Jesuit order, had a dual purpose: an official one, aimed at healing the ailing monarch, and a covert one, to establish anew the Jesuit mission that had been dismissed in the 1630s, this time, however, under French auspices

(Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, pp. 20, 23, 25-34; Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', p. 101).

Poncet left Cairo on 10 June 1698, accompanied by the Jesuit Father François-Xavier de Brevedent. On 13 November, the caravan reached Dongola in Lower Nubia, on the border of Ottoman dominions along the Nile. In early January 1699, it travelled further south into Sinnar territory, reaching the capital on 12 February. At Sinnar, the travellers met Reformed friars who were secretly planning to enter Ethiopia once conditions were favourable (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 105). They also met a small group of Franciscan friars, who claimed they had reached Ethiopia. On 12 May, the caravan continued its journey southwards, reaching the Ethiopian frontier on 11 June and starting to climb the escarpments of the Chilga highlands. Father Brèvedent died from exhaustion and severe dysentery on 9 July, in Barko, a plain situated half-way between Chilga and Gondar (Poncet, 'Relation abrégée', p. 606). Finally, on 21 July, more than a year after leaving Cairo, Poncet and Hajji Ali reached their destination of Gondar (Poncet, 'Relation abrégée', p. 606).

Poncet stayed over nine months in the Ethiopian capital. Weakened by a persistent illness, he spent most of his time confined to his apartments, occupied with caring for Iyasu I. However, he also found time to visit the Gondar hinterland, and his travelogue records journeys to Enfraz and some of the islands on Lake Tana.

Granted permission to return to his homeland, Poncet left Gondar on 1 May 1700, heading for Cairo, but this time he went northwards, following the Red Sea route from Massawa. With him travelled an ambassador of Iyasu I, the Armenian Murad ibn Mazlum. The ambassador carried with him several presents and a sealed letter for Louis XIV.

The travellers reached Cairo on 20 June 1701. In Cairo, a major disagreement broke out between Murad and Consul de Maillet, with the result that Murad was prevented from continuing on to Paris (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, pp. 159-60, 162-7). An active part in this dispute was played by Father Bichot, superior of the Jesuits in Egypt, who attempted to boycott any attempt to reach Ethiopia that bypassed the order (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, pp. 310 et passim, 322-3). Finally, it was Poncet who was assigned to take the Ethiopian letter to Paris, together with two others. Leaving Cairo on 24 September 1701, the three reached Paris and were received at Versailles. The French authorities expressed hesitation about the veracity of Iyasu I's letter (see Love, 'French physician', p. 123) but, thanks to the mediation of the Count of Pontchartrain, Louis XIV's chancellor, the king decided to send a friendly reply. Lenoir

du Roule was commissioned to take the letter (published in Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, pp. 233-4), with Poncet and Murad escorting him and arranging the logistics.

In August 1703, Poncet was back in Cairo preparing a second expedition to Ethiopia. This expedition also included the Jesuit Father du Bernat and Murad, but on reaching the port of Jeddah the true identity of the Christians was discovered and they were prevented from continuing their journey by the Sharif of Mecca (in Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 365). Poncet then went to Mocha to serve as the private physician of the imam of Yemen (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 404). Sometime later, he moved to India, first to Surat and then Agra, the capital of the Moghul Empire (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 385). Around 1706, he continued on to Persia (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 409), where he died in Isfahan.

Poncet may have had his personal flaws, as he attracted animosity during his lifetime and even after his death. However, this could have been partly due to finding himself in the cross-fire between the two groups struggling to establish a religious mission to Christian Ethiopia: the French Jesuits and the Italian Capuchins, the former backed by the French state and the latter by the Propaganda Fide (see Lobo, *Relation historique d'Abissinie*, p. 164; Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, pp. 105-6, 203). Poncet's compatriot, Joaquim le Grand, refers to him, rather unfairly, as 'a vagabond, without honour, without religion, of an intelligence below average, who could only lie and who fooled all those whom he dealt with' (Lobo, *Relation historique d'Abissinie*, p. 159).

Poncet completed his major work, the *Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie*, sometime between mid-1701 and mid-1703, during his two-year stay in Paris and Versailles. Besides this treatise, he authored a few letters, one of which, written towards the end of his life in Tehran, includes important biographical information (published in Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, pp. 402-9).

A professional with extended experience of working in the East, and with a fair knowledge of Arabic (see Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 405), Poncet was relatively unprejudiced in his descriptions of the lands of Egypt and the Sudan, which he crossed in 1698-9 during his journey to Christian Ethiopia. Equally, he rarely passed any negative judgement on the societies he encountered during his journey. However, in his description of Nubia, where he reached Dongola in November 1698, he regrets the fact that 'it is not long since this was a Christian country, and lost the faith' (Poncet, 'Relation abrégée', p. 597). Poncet seems to

have been able to respect local customs with ease, particularly concerning court etiquette at Dongola and Sinnar (Poncet, 'Relation abrégée', p. 600).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Charles-Jacques Poncet, 'Voyage d'Éthiopie', *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 1704, Paris, vol. 4, pp. 251-443

Charles-Jacques Poncet, *A voyage to Ethiopia, made in the years 1698, 1699, and 1700*, London, 1709

J. Lobo, *Relation [Voyage] historique d'Abissinie du R.P. Jerome Lobo de la Compagnie de Jésus*, trans. Joaquim Le Grand, Paris, 1728

Charles-Jacques Poncet, 'Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Poncet, médecin français, fit en Éthiopie dans les années 1698, 1699 et 1700', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique*, Paris, 1786, vol. 3

J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*, Edinburgh, 1790

J.F. Michaud and L.G. Michaud, art. 'Poncet (Charles-Jacques)', in *Biographie universelle*, Paris, 1823, vol. 34, 341-5

Charles-Jacques Poncet, 'Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Poncet, médecin français, fit en Éthiopie dans les années 1698, 1699 et 1700', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique*, Paris, 1838, vol. 1, pp. 594-629

C. Beccari (ed.), *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, Rome, 1914, vol. 14

Secondary

F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012, p. 818

F. Angelier, *Dictionnaire des voyageurs et explorateurs occidentaux du XIII^e^ au XX^e^ siècle*, Paris, 2011

F. Le Cadre, art. 'Poncet, Charles-Jacques', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2010, vol. 4, 169-70

R.S. Love, 'A French physician at the Court of Gondar. Poncet's Ethiopia in the 1690s', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 31 (2003) 103-24

J.-C. Rufin, *L'Abyssin. Relation des extraordinaires voyages de Jean-Baptiste Poncet, ambassadeur du Négus auprès de sa majesté Louis XIV*, Paris, 1997

S. Tedeschi, 'Le voyage de Poncet en Ethiopie (1699-1700)', in J. Tubiana (ed.), *Voyages et voyageurs*, Brussels, 1985, 542-59, p. 51

R. Pankhurst, 'The history of Ethiopian-Armenian relations (I)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 12 (1977) 273-345

J.-M. Allier, 'Précisions biographiques sur Charles Poncet, voyageur français en Ethiopie', *Africa* 30 (1975) 602-3
S. Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage en Ethiopie', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 4 (1966) 99-126
R. Pankhurst, *Travellers in Ethiopia*, London, 1965
R. Clément, *Les Français d'Égypte aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Cairo, 1960
O.G.S. Crawford, *The Fung kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester, 1951

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie, 1698-1701 Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Jacques Poncet, médecin françois, fit en Éthiopie en 1698, 1699 et 1700, 'A journey to Ethiopia, made in the years 1698, 1699, and 1700'

DATE 1704
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
The origins of the *Voyage d'Ethiopie* can be traced back to Poncet's visit to Versailles. In early 1702, the Count of Pontchartrain, minister to Louis XIV, is reported to have encouraged Poncet to write a report of his journey across the Sudan to Christian Ethiopia. In response, Poncet wrote his treatise with the help of the Jesuit Father Fleuriau, who probably complemented his own information with notes made by his travelling companion, Father Brèvedent (Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', p. 118). The main bulk of the treatise must have been completed by April 1702, when an anonymous French text (attributed by Beccari to the erudite French scholar Eusebius Renaudot) makes an overtly negative reference to a 'relation de voyage' to Sinnar, Nubia and Ethiopia, undoubtedly a reference to Poncet's text (Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 216 et passim).

The text was given to Pontchartrain and published in French in 1704, in the series 'Lettres édifiantes et curieuses', which served as a propaganda tool for the Jesuit overseas missions. However, this text, which covers pp. 251-443 in its published version, appears to be a 'relation abrégée' (shortened report) of the original text, which was never published (Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', pp. 100 n. 5, 109), but has been discovered at the French National Library (Fonds français no. 9096).

Another copy of the original manuscript was presented by Poncet to Pope Clement XI during his stay in Rome in 1703 (Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', pp. 100, 110). This copy is now preserved at the Library of the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, cote H 98 (Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', p. 118). A full critical edition of the original text of 1702 and given to Pontchartrain remains a desideratum.

Poncet's narrative focuses mainly on descriptions of his journeys to and from Ethiopia. The section dedicated to Gondar is thus relatively short, amounting to about a third of the total text. His description of Gondar is truthful, although punctuated by some inaccuracies, as noted by James Bruce (*Travels to discover*, vol. 2, p. 480). Concerning the social life of the city, Poncet notes that Europeans and Muslims were equally despised (Poncet, 'Mission d'Ethiopie', p. 610; all references that follow are to this edition, unless otherwise stated). Muslims were known locally as 'gebertis' and lived in a separate quarter (Gibertis, or Jebertis/Jabartīs, were a Muslim merchant cast that played a crucial role in the Christian state, acting intermittently as advisers, merchants, diplomats and interpreters, pp. 604, 610); moreover, the Christians followed strict rules of segregation towards them (p. 610). Also of interest in the text is the description of the sources of the Blue Nile, which Poncet did not visit, recounted from information given to him by the Armenian envoy, 'baba' Murad ibn Mazlum (p. 615). Of the royal village of Enfraz, Poncet wrote that it was the only place where Muslims could openly profess their religion and did not experience segregation (p. 616). On his return journey, he writes that in the 'capital of Tigray', 'Duvarna' (most probably, Debarwa), Christians and Muslims lived in separate areas, the former in the upper part, the latter in the lower (p. 621). Notes on Massawa and Ottoman rule are also of interest. The Ethiopian ruler is noted as being highly respected at the Ottoman Porte (p. 624). Writing about Jeddah, Poncet says that, due to its proximity to Mecca, no Christian can settle there. In Jeddah, Poncet also visits a tomb that is believed by locals to be the resting place of the biblical figure Eve (p. 626).

The narrative contains several insightful passages on contacts between the Christian Ethiopian kingdom and its Muslim neighbours. For example, Poncet informs us that at Dongola and Sinnar, the Ethiopian caravan heading for Gondar was neither molested nor suffered any vexation, largely due to the respect the locals had for the Ethiopian throne (pp. 599-600; Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, p. 64). In the city of Sinnar, the young ruler of the Funj Sultanate, Badi III, asked them to convey his 'affection and respect for the Emperor of Aethiopia' (p. 601). However,

Poncet also relates how a renegade Ethiopian Christian named Joseph was condemned to death and executed in the vilest of manners (p. 601). This event appears to have provoked a serious diplomatic incident between Christian Ethiopia and Sinnar (see Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*, pp. 116, 124, 202). Of further interest are the notes on the Gibertis he encountered at Sinnar.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Voyage d'Ethiopie* is the first description by a European of the Sultanate of Funj in Sinnar, Sudan (Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', p. 99). More importantly, it is the only European narrative describing the Upper Nubian regions and the Ethiopian highlands produced during the long interlude between the end of the Ethiopian Jesuit mission in the 1630s and the arrival of the first modern travellers and explorers at the end of the 18th century. Poncet's text is also valuable as he was not a religious man, and therefore, 'his views of Ethiopian society were refracted through secular, as opposed to missionary, eyes' (Love, 'French physician', p. 104).

Voyage d'Ethiopie has been read avidly since it was first published in 1704. Nearly all scholars and travellers who wrote on the history and societies of Ethiopia up to the early 20th century, from the Frenchman le Grand to the Scotsman James Bruce and the Englishman E.A. Wallis Budge, read and referenced it in their work (Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage', p. 99). Le Grand was critical of Poncet's work and, unjustly, questioned the veracity of the facts it contains (Lobo, *Relation historique d'Abissinie*, pp. 157 et passim, 359 et passim). Bruce, however, was far more positive in his assessment, and made ample use of Poncet's itinerary in his travels, following the same journey from Cairo to Gondar across the Sudan. He considered it 'the first intelligible itinerary made through these deserts' (Bruce, *Travels to discover*, vol. 2, p. 474). In his famous travelogue, Bruce also offers a long summary of Poncet's mission to Gondar (Bruce, *Travels to discover*, vol. 2, pp. 466-509, chapter on Yasous I). More importantly, he became a strong advocate of the veracity of the text and of the author, who had come under harsh attack from some of his compatriots, such as Consuls de Maillet and de Ferriol (Bruce, *Travels to discover*, vol. 2, pp. 467, 470, 472, 474; Lobo, *Relation historique d'Abissinie*, p. 359 et passim). In Bruce's assessment, Poncet's itinerary, 'incomplete as it is, will not fail to be received as a valuable acquisition to the geography of these unknown countries of which it treats' (Bruce, *Travels to discover*, vol. 2, p. 492).

The archaeologist Osbert Crawford copies Poncet's description of Sinnar in his book (*Fung kingdom*, pp. 319-21), expressing praise, as 'Poncet's book tells us quite a lot' (*Fung kingdom*, p. 342). More recently, Poncet (renamed 'Jean-Baptiste') was the subject of a semi-fictional book, *L'Abyssin*, by Jean-Christophe Rufin. The Lycée polyvalent Charles Poncet in Cluses, Haute-Savoie, is named after him.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris BNF – Fonds français no. 9096 (1702)

MS Montpellier, Library of the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier – cote H 98 (by 1703)

Charles-Jacques Poncet, 'Voyage d'Éthiopie', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 1704, Paris, vol. 4, pp. 251-443; Bibliothèque de la Ville Lyon 347932 (digitised version available through *Google books*)

Charles-Jacques Poncet, *A voyage to Æthiopia, made in the years 1698, 1699, and 1700*, London: W. Lewis, 1709 (English trans.); ESTC T180264 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Charles-Jacques Poncet, *Voyage d'Ethiopie*, Paris: P.G. Le Mercier, 1713

[J.] Lockman (trans.), 'A succinct account of the travels of Charles-James Poncet, a French physician, into Ethiopia, in 1698, 1699, and 1700', in *Travels of the Jesuits into various parts of the world compiled from their letters. Now first attempted in English …*, London, 1743, 1762², vol. 1, pp. 182-278 (English trans.); ESTC T093295 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

D. Davin (trans.), 'Breve relacion de el viaje, que hizo a Ethiopia el señor Carlos Jacobo Poncèt', in *Cartas edificantes, y curiosas, escritas de las missiones estrangeras*, Madrid, 1753, 267-364 (Spanish trans.)

Charles-Jacques Poncet, 'Reise des Herrn Poncet, eines französichen Arztes, nach Aethiopien in den Jahren 1698. 1699. 1700', in G.F.C. Schad (ed.), *Reisen der Portugiesen und Franzosen nach Africa und Ostindien, oder, Geschichte der ersten Entdeckung dieser länder*, Nuremberg, 1789, ch. 5 (German trans.)

Charles-Jacques Poncet, 'Mission d'Ethiopie. Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Poncet, médecin français, fit en Éthiopie dans les années 1698, 1699 et 1700', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique*, vol. 1, Paris: Auguste Desrez, 1838, 594-629

C.-J. Poncet, 'The journey of Charles Jacques Poncet from Cairo to Abyssinia and back', in W. Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century*, London, 1949; Millwood NY, 1990, 89-165 (English trans.)

Charles-Jacques Poncet, *Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Jacques Poncet, médecin françois, fit en Éthiopie en 1698, 1699 et 1700*, Paris, 1974

Charles-Jacques Poncet, *Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie, 1698-1701 [Texte imprimé]: un médecin français à la cour de Gondar sous Louis XIV: la véritable histoire de l'Abyssin*, ed. J.-M. Bel and É. Poix, Besançon, 2010

STUDIES

Angelier, *Dictionnaire des voyageurs*

Love, 'French physician'

Rufin, *L'Abyssin*

Tedeschi, 'Voyage de Poncet', p. 51

Pankhurst, 'History of Ethiopian-Armenian relations (I)'

Tedeschi, 'Poncet et son voyage'

Pankhurst, *Travellers in Ethiopia*

Clément, *Les Français d'Égypte*

Crawford, *The Fung kingdom of Sennar*

Beccari, *Scriptores occidentales*

Lobo, *Relation historique d'Abissinie*

Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*

Andreu Martínez

Johann Heinrich Michaelis

DATE OF BIRTH 26 July 1668
PLACE OF BIRTH Klettenberg, Thuringia
DATE OF DEATH 10 March 1738
PLACE OF DEATH Halle, Saxony

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Heinrich Michaelis was born in Klettenberg in northern Thuringia. His father was a tenant farmer. Originally tutored by his own parents, Johann was then schooled by various Protestant pastors in Ellrich then Nordhausen. He finally enrolled in 1688 at the University of Leipzig, where he began to distinguish himself in Latin, Greek, philosophy and theology. In 1692, he was admitted to the Pietist seminary in Halle, and then to the University of Halle in 1694, where he studied and lectured on the Hebrew language, and eventually received his Master's degree. Following this, he was invited to study Amharic with Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704) in Frankfurt. Ludolf had written *Historia Aethiopica* in 1681. It was his relationship with Ludolf that provided Michaelis with the opportunity to learn about the history of Christianity in Egypt and Ethiopia, and the journey of the German Lutheran Peter Heyling to Egypt and Ethiopia. However, it is unclear why Michaelis wrote *Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings* when he did.

In 1699, Michaelis was invited to replace Augustus Francke to become the new professor of Oriental Languages and head of the *Collegium Orientale Theologicum*, where he taught Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean. In 1702, he published a Hebrew grammar, and in 1720 he published his most prominent work, an edition of the Hebrew scriptures. Michaelis spent most of his life in Halle, where he eventually died in 1738. He should not be confused with his grandnephew, Johann David Michaelis (1717-91), who was an important New Testament scholar.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

J. Zedler, art. 'Michaelis, Johann Heinrich', in J.P. von Ludewig and J.H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste*, Leipzig, 1739, 52-7

Secondary

C. Stephan, *Die stumme Fakultät. Biographische Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Fakultät der Universität Halle*, Dössel, 2005, p. 45

K. Rengstorf, 'Johann Heinrich Michaelis und seine "Biblia Hebraica" von 1720', in N. Hinske (ed.), *Zentren der Aufklärung I: Halle. Aufklärung und Pietismus*, Heidelberg, 1989, 15-70

O. Podczeck, 'Die Arbeit am Alten Testament in Halle zur Zeit des Pietismus – Das Collegium Orientale theologicum A.H. Francke', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaften* 7 (1958) 1059-78

R. Kittel, art. 'Michaelis, Johann Heinrich', in A. Hauck and J.J. Herzog (eds), *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903, 53

C. Siegfried 'Michaelis, Johann Heinrich', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1885, 681-3

L. Pelt, art. 'Michaelis, Johann Heinrich', in A. Hauck and J.J. Herzog (eds), *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig, 1881, 745

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings, 'Incredible biography of Mr Peter Heyling'

DATE 1724

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German, with some Latin

DESCRIPTION

Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings (in full *Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings, aus Lübec, und dessen Reise nach Ethiopien; nebst zulänglichem Berichte von der in selbigem Reiche zu Anfange des nächst-verwichenen Saeculi entstandenen Religions-Unruhe*, 'Incredible biography of Mr Peter Heyling from Lübeck and his trip to Ethiopia, together with ample reports of the religious unrest that arose in that same kingdom at the beginning of the following century') is a published text of 208 pages in 103 chapters. The work recalls the life of Peter Heyling from Lübeck and his trip to Egypt and Ethiopia, where he became an advisor at the court of the Emperor Fasilides (d. 1667). The biography by Michalis relies heavily on Hiob Ludolf Hiob's *Historia aethiopica* (1681), and to a lesser extent, on Johann Michael Wansleben's *A brief account of the rebellions and bloudshed occasioned by the anti-Christian practices of the Jesuits and other popish emissaries in the empire of Ethiopia collected out of a manuscript history* (1679).

Born in Lübeck in 1607 or 1608 into a Lutheran family, Heyling had no formal education until he left for Paris in 1628 to study law. In Paris, he met and befriended Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), and was further influenced by Protestant teaching. According to the *vita*, it was in Paris that he and six others made a pact to become missionaries for the Protestant faith to the Orthodox churches. Heyling's lot was Ethiopia. He set out from Paris to Malta and then Alexandria. He stayed with the French consul in Alexandria until he left for the Monastery of Abū Maqār in Wādī l-Natrūn to live with the monks and learn Arabic. It is unclear why he chose this particular monastery, as there were Ethiopian monks at Dayr al-Muḥarraq and Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs. In addition, there were also Latin Catholic Capuchin missionaries at Dayr Abū Maqār. The Capuchins were in Egypt under the auspices of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. According to Otto Meinardus, French Capuchins had been encouraged by Nicholas Claude Fabris de Peiresc to make their way to the Coptic monasteries to learn Arabic and to acquire any valuable manuscripts that they could (Meinardus, 'Peter Heyling, history and legend', p. 308). It was here that the Capuchins learned of Heyling and warned the Copts, Syrians and Ethiopians about the dangers of the Protestant faith.

Heyling became involved in a theological dispute with the Catholic missionaries. However, the Syrian monks found nothing un-Christian about Heyling's teachings and he was free to practise the faith as he saw fit. According to the *vita*, he became known to the monks as *Muʿallim Buṭrus*.

In 1632, the Ethiopian King Susənyos abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Fasilides. Susənyos had accepted the teachings of the Jesuit missionaries in Ethiopia, but Fasilides ordered all the Catholic missionaries out of the country and wanted a new Ethiopian patriarch to be consecrated, according to tradition, by the Coptic patriarch in Alexandria. In 1634, a delegation from Fasilides arrived in Egypt to petition Anbā Mattāʾūs, the Coptic patriarch, for a new leader of their church. The head of the Capuchin mission in Egypt, Fr Agathangelus, appealed to the Coptic patriarch to consecrate a bishop who was sympathetic to Catholic doctrine. The patriarch consecrated Abba Mark, who he assured Agathangelus would be conciliatory to the Catholics.

Heyling heard of the ecclesiastical delegation returning to Ethiopia, and received permission to join them on their return. According to the history related by Johann Michael Wansleben, a former Lutheran missionary sent to Egypt by Hiob Ludolf, who eventually converted to

Catholicism, Heyling nefariously persuaded the new Ethiopian patriarch and the king to adopt an anti-Catholic policy. In 1638, word was received of the newly arrived Capuchins being taken by the patriarch and stoned, decapitated or hanged.

Heyling ingratiated himself with the new king, becoming a tutor to the king's sons and marrying his daughter. He became an important advisor, and possibly translated the New Testament into Amharic, being well known for his piety.

Wansleben notes that Heyling was forced to leave Ethiopia because he continued to disapprove of Ethiopian Orthodox practices, including the veneration of Mary and the saints. On his return to Egypt, he was stopped by the Turkish pasha at Suaquin, who robbed and killed him in 1652, although the biography notes that this is a disputed account.

In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, the biography provides insight into the relatively loose governmental oversight of the Christian communities in 17th-century Ottoman Egypt and the relative freedom of the monasteries. Chs 91-3 include a Latin correspondence between Heyling and Hugo Grotius from August 1634 to April 1637 (pp. 155-72), describing the state of the Egyptian church, including the Greek and Catholic missionaries in Egypt at the time. Ch. 45 provides information on the Turks, and Ch. 90 includes Heyling's journal entries from Cairo in September 1634 (pp. 118-54).

SIGNIFICANCE

Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings has been primarily read as part of the Lutheran-Catholic debates on missionary work in Egypt and Ethiopia. Most importantly, Heyling was accused by Catholics of being responsible for the death of Capuchin and later Jesuit missionaries in Ethiopia (see the entry on Wansleben in *CMR* 10). This work is, in many ways, an attempt to exonerate him. It also provides an avenue into a fairly neglected era of study of Christian-Muslim relations, in Egypt in the 17th century.

PUBLICATIONS

J. Michaelis, *Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings, aus Lübec, und dessen Reise nach Ethiopien; nebst zulänglichem Berichte von der in selbigem Reiche zu Anfange des nächst-verwichenen Saeculi entstandenen Religions-Unruhe*, Halle, 1724; Aug 876# (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

STUDIES

W. Raupp, art. 'Heyling, Peter', in H.D. Betz et al. (eds), *Religion past and present online* (2011); http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/religion-past-and-present

R. Pierard, art. 'German missions', in E. Fahlbusch et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Christianity online*, 2008; http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopedia-of-christianity

M. Spinderl, 'Le protestantisme en Afrique orientale. Recherches sur quelques pionniers (XVII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècles)', *Histoire et Missions Chrétiennes* 4 (2007) 9-24

A. Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822. The European discovery of the Egyptian church*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 139-40, 169-70

O. Meinardus, 'De Petro Heylingo Germano Lubecensi', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 68 (1988) 139-57

M. Kropp, 'Ein äthiopischer text zu Peter Heyling. Ein bisher unbeachtetes Fragment einer Chronik des Fäsiladas', in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Uppsala, 1982, 243-56

D. Gothe, 'Peter Heyling der erster Deutsche in Äthiopien', *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* (1973) 147-8

R. Pankhurst, 'Peter Heyling, Abba Gregorius and the foundation of studies in Germany', *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* (1973) 144-6

O. Meinardus, 'Peter Heyling in the light of Catholic historiography', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 18 (1969) 16-22

O. Meinardus, 'Peter Heyling. History and legend', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 14 (1965) 305-26

J. Heinse, *'Mechallem Petros', Peter Heyling. Erster evangelischer Missionar in Abessinien*, Münsingen, 1944

I. Nothstein, *Adventuring for Christ. Lutheran missionary leaders*, Philadelphia PN, 1932

David D. Grafton

Bwana Mwengo bin Athman

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Pate, northern Kenya
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; active in 1728
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Pate, northern Kenya

BIOGRAPHY

Almost nothing is known about this author's life. In one of the last stanzas of *Utendi wa Tambuka*, he identifies himself as 'Bwana Mwengo bin Athmani who wrote this poem on commission by Ahmed Fumo Luti, the Sultan of Pate, in 1728'. As stated in the first stanzas of the poem, the sultan had read an Arabic text on the Prophet Muḥammad's battle against the Emperor Heraclius and asked Bwana Mwengo bin Athman to provide a Swahili adaptation. According to Knappert ('The "Utenzi wa Katirifu"', p. 81), Abubakr bin Mwengo, who in the middle of the 18th century wrote the long epic poem *Utenzi wa Katirifu*, was Bwana Mwengo's son.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

C. Meinhof, 'Chuo cha Herkal', *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* 2 (1911/12) 1-16, 108-36, 194-232, 261-96

J. Knappert, *Het epos van Heraklios: een proeve van Swahili poëzie*, Leiden, 1958

Secondary

J. Knappert, 'The "Utenzi wa Katirifu" or "Ghazwa ya Sesebani"', *Afrika und Übersee* 52 (1968/9) 81-104

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Utendi wa Tambuka, 'The epic of the battle of Tabuk'

Chuo cha Herkal, 'The book of Heraklios'

DATE 1728
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Swahili

DESCRIPTION

Utendi wa Tambuka is a Swahili narrative poem composed in 1728 by Bwana Mwengo bin Athman, who was commissioned by the sultan of Pate, the ruler of a powerful city state and Indian Ocean hub in northern Kenya on the East African coast. The poem has been transmitted in Arabic script in several manuscripts, which vary in length: for example, 1,007 four-line stanzas in Meinhof's edition (Meinhof, 'Chuo cha Herkal') and 1,147 in Knappert's edition (Knappert, *Het epos van Heraklios*). Like a number of other Swahili narrative poems in the *utendi* metre, it is a poetic adaptation of Arabic prose narratives that are part of the so-called legendary *maghāzī* literature, popular accounts of Muḥammad's battles against opponents of Islam. While the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-41) is as much a historical figure as the Prophet Muḥammad, there is no historical evidence that any important battle took place in Tabūk on the northern frontier of Arabia (Gérard, 'Structure and value', p. 8). Like the Arabic texts, *Utendi wa Tambuka* seems to create a coherent plot-driven narrative out of a series of rather loosely linked confrontations between the Byzantines and Muslims in the first Islamic century.

Although the date of the oldest manuscript (1728) has been contested (Zhukov, 'Dating', pp. 141-3), *Utendi wa Tambuka* has repeatedly been treated as the earliest narrative *utendi*, making it a prototype for other poems (Knappert, *Survey*, p. 52). A number of *tendi* adapting themes and plots from *maghāzī* literature came into being in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The poem focuses on confrontations between the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad and the troops of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius. In the initial scene, Muḥammad, in Medina, is told that his nephew Jāfar (Jaʿfar), together with other Companions, have been killed by Byzantine soldiers. Muḥammad gathers his followers and tells them to avenge the fallen by defeating the invaders. After a succession of episodes, the Muslims confront the Byzantine army in a final decisive battle. The Muslims are almost defeated, but ʿAlī ibn Abū Tālib, the Prophet's son (actually, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's son-in-law), is miraculously called to the battlefield and brings about the final victory. This story-line can also be found in other *tendi*, where it is ʿAlī rather than the Prophet who takes the hero's role and defeats the opponents against all odds.

Not only is the contrast between the Muslims and the Christian soldiers the central theme, but it also defines the conflict that drives the plot. The characters are depicted in antithetical terms: while the Muslims are characterised as virtuous, brave and pious, the Christians are

vicious, engage in heavy drinking and constantly break their word. They are referred to as infidels (*makufari*), and form the counterfoil against which the Prophet and his followers appear as strong and glorious heroes and prove their superiority. A large number of episodes are used to highlight the virtues of Muḥammad, such as generosity, piety, mercy (Meinhof, 'Chuo cha Herkal', stanza 292) and gratitude to God (stanzas 71-4), as well as the blessings of God (*baraka*) that emanate from him: Muḥammad multiplies food (stanzas 383-7) and through his intercession melons meant for provision are miraculously filled with honey and fat (stanzas 265-82). Both he and his followers are protected and warned by invisible voices, or by the angel Jibril (stanzas 99-101, 165-71, 239-42).

Early on in the text, the fight between Muslims and Christians is emphasised as religious in character. In a letter to Heraclius (stanzas 42-70), Muḥammad threatens that if he does not accept the Qur'an, Allāh and his Prophet, and renounce the Christian belief that Jesus is God's son (stanza 66), as God has neither wife nor son, he will be doomed. A callous bishop rejects the threat in the words: 'There is no one like Jesus, so how can someone call himself prophet' (stanzas 109-15). The narrative clearly takes sides with the Muslims; it curses the Christian infidels, who end up in hell after being killed on the battlefield, because conversion to Islam is the only alternative.

A number of Christian dignitaries appear in the text, such as the bishop (*askofu*) and a priest (*kususi*), but they remain rather flat characters. A distinctive characteristic of the Byzantines (called *Waramu* 'Romans' in the text), as in other *tendi*, is their use of icons (*masanamu*), while the Christian troops are recognisable by the cross, which they use as a standard. Before battle, the *Warumu* pray before icons of Maryam (stanzas 486-7) as well as before three richly decorated icons (stanzas 392-3), which in parallel Arabic versions are identified as Hannā (John the Baptist), Maryam and Jesus (Paret, *Die legendäre Maghazi-Literatur*, p. 217). Apart from the veneration of icons, the description of Christians and their practices of worship is not very detailed in the Swahili text. In fact, their depiction is not substantially different from that of the polytheistic infidels against whom the Muslims fight in other *tendi*, and who are also primarily characterised by their worship of icons. Already in Arabic versions, Heraclius venerates Mary and Jesus as well as the pre-Islamic godesses, al-Lāt and al-'Uzza (Paret, *Die legendäre Maghazi-Literatur*, pp. 216). The same term (*sanamu*) is invariably used to refer to all icons.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Utendi wa Tambuka* is considered one of the oldest Swahili poems that has been preserved in writing, and one of its manuscripts, kept in Hamburg, is the oldest known Swahili manuscript. More importantly, being supposedly the first adaptation of a *maghāzī* literary text, it has inspired a large number of other *tendi* depicting battles between Muslims and their opponents, including *Utendi wa Katirifu*, *Utendi wa Haudaji* and *Utendi wa Mikidadi na Mayasa* (Vierke, *On the poetics*, pp. 420-1). These share with *Utendi wa Tambuka* a number of structural similarities such as the construction of plot and scenes, as well as the confrontational relationship between Muslims and Christians and other 'infidels'.

Utendi wa Tambuka marked the beginning of an era of scripturalisation in Swahili in the 18th century, and an effort to revitalise Islam by providing a local audience with a form of edifying literature. Composed only shortly after the end of Portuguese rule on the northern Swahili coast, it reflects the first mass encounter with Christians and mounting tension (Mulokozi and Sengo, *Historia*, p. 80). It has repeatedly been interpreted as using the battle of Tambuka to symbolise the coastal struggle against Christian domination and to strengthen local Muslim identity.

A new wave of Islamic scholarship mainly from southern Arabia, which emphasised spreading knowledge in the local language, resulted in an increase in the production of Swahili Islamic texts. Scholars also engaged in the composition of heroic poetry in response to the missionary efforts of the Portuguese in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The depictions of both the 'other' and the heroes are associated with stereotypes that might have been fostered by wider discourse, while at the same time nourishing them. Particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, a large number of Islamic anti-missionary texts came into being, in which European missionaries were stereotypically depicted as immoral and lustful drunkards, bearing a striking similarity to the Christians in *tendi* (Vierke, *On the poetics*, pp. 439-41).

In a context of increasing European domination in the 19th century, when most *tendi* that followed the pattern of *Utendi wa Tambuka* came into being, they were also considered by the local audience as anti-colonial parables (Mulokozi and Sengo, *Historia*, p. 8). While the depiction of Christians is already hazy in the *Utendi wa Tambuka*, it is in the *tendi* of that time that designations such as Christian (*wanasara*), Jew (*mayahudi*), pagan (*kufari*) and white man (*mzungu*), come to be used interchangeably. The religious elements that are a major distinctive element in the *Utendi wa Tambuka* become increasingly blurred.

The 20th century saw a whole series of historiographical *tendi* narrating contemporary colonial military raids, which continued to show structural similarities with the *Utendi wa Tambuka*. While the *Utendi wa Tambuka* was adapted from the Arabic text in East Africa, the Swahili text set a pattern for narrating histories of war in northern Mozambique, which in turn became a genre in Makhuwa literature telling of the Portuguese military raids against the Makhuwa.

PUBLICATIONS

For a survey of the MSS, see Knappert, *Het epos van Heraklios*, pp. 109-10.

C.G. Büttner, 'Chuo cha Utenzi', *Zeitschrift für afrikanische Sprachen* 2 (1888/9) 241-64 (parts of the text)

C. Meinhof, 'Chuo cha Herkal' (edition)

Knappert, *Het epos van Heraklios* (edition)

STUDIES

C. Vierke, *On the poetics of the utendi. A critical edition of the nineteenth-century Swahili poem 'Utendi wa Haudaji' together with a stylistic analysis*, Berlin, 2011

J. Knappert, *A survey of Swahili islamic epic sagas*, Lewiston NY, 1999

M.M. Mulokozi and T.S. Sengo, *History of Kiswahili poetry. A.D. 1000-2000*, Dar es Salaam, 1995

A.A. Zhukov, 'The dating of literary monuments of the old Swahili literature', *Africa in Soviet Studies, Annual 1987* (1988) 138-43

J. Knappert, *Epic poetry in Swahili and other African languages*, Leiden, 1983

A. Gérard, 'Structure and values in the three Swahili epics', *Research in African Literature* 7/1 (1977) 7-22

J. Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry. An investigation into the concepts of East African Islam as reflected in the utenzi literature*, Leiden, 1967

Knappert, *Het epos van Heraklios*

M. Abel, *Die arabische Vorlage des Suaheli-Epos Chuo Cha Herkal*, Berlin, 1938

R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzi-Literatur. Arabische Dichtungen über die muslimischen Kriegszüge zu Mohammeds Zeit*, Tübingen, 1930

R. Paret, 'Die arabische Quelle der Suaheli-Dichtung "Chuo cha Herkal" (Das Buch von Herkal)', *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 27 (1926/7) 241-9

Clarissa Vierke

Francis Moore

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1708
PLACE OF BIRTH Worcester, England
DATE OF DEATH May 1770
PLACE OF DEATH Feckenham, Worcestershire

BIOGRAPHY

Francis Moore was the son of William and Elizabeth Moore. His exact date of birth is unknown, but a record of his baptism on 11 July 1708 in Worcester, England, makes it likely that he was born in that year.

Few details of Moore's life are known. His employment history suggests that he received some kind of formal education. He worked as a clerk in London, and in 1730 was employed by the Royal African Company to serve at their headquarters at James Island in the Gambia Estuary.

Moore arrived at James Island in November 1730, and by 1732 had been promoted to factor. Between 1732 and his return to England in 1735, he was stationed at various factories along the Gambia River, most notably Joar and Yamyamakunda. It was in his capacity as factor that he travelled widely into 'the inland parts of Africa'. During the four-and-a-half years that Moore worked in West Africa, he kept a private journal, which formed the basis for his book about the Senegambia, *Travels to the inland parts of Africa* (1738). The book was well-received and was reprinted and translated several times.

Only months after his return to England in May 1735, Moore left for Georgia, North America, together with the politician, philanthropist and social reformer General James Oglethorpe (1696-1785). Oglethorpe had founded the Georgia colony in 1733 with a view to resettling some of Britain's paupers. Some 200 prospective colonists accompanied Oglethorpe on his 1735 journey.

Moore served in Georgia as Oglethorpe's personal secretary and as storekeeper of Fort Frederica for a period of eight months, after which he returned to England. In 1738, he departed once more for Georgia and worked there until 1743. In 1744, Moore published an account of his sojourn in Georgia, entitled *A voyage to Georgia.*

On his return to England, Moore settled in Feckenham, Worcestershire, and on 27 January 1756 married Elizabeth Chillingworth. They had eight children together, of whom only four survived to adulthood.

Francis Moore died in May 1770 in Feckenham and was buried on 30 May.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London, 1738

Francis Moore, *A voyage to Georgia*, London, 1744

Secondary

A. Hughes and D. Perfect, art. 'Francis Moore', in *Historical dictionary of The Gambia*, Plymouth, 2008, 148-9

C. Fyfe, art. 'Francis Moore', in *ODNB*

Family ancestry: http://www.jacombs.co.uk/familyhistory/fhweb/fam97.html (provides details of his marriage and burial in Feckenham)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Travels into the inland parts of Africa

DATE 1738

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Travels into the inland parts of Africa is an 18th-century travelogue collection. The main part of the book (some 234 pages) consists of a text written by Francis Moore, who worked for the Royal African Company along the Gambia River between 1730 and 1735. Also included are an account of the voyage of Captain Bartholomew Stibbs to the Gambia in 1723 (70 pages) and translations (possibly by Moore) of older travelogues on West Africa (86 pages), among them descriptions of West Africa by Leo Africanus and al-Idrīsī. The full title of the work is *Travels into the inland parts of Africa: containing a description of the several nations for the space of Six Hundred Miles up the River Gambia; their Trade, Habits, Customs, Languages, Manners, Religion and Government; the Power, Disposition and Characters of some Negro Princes; with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, a Pholey, who was in England in the Year 1733, and known by the Name of the African. To which is added, Capt. Stibbs's voyage up the Gambia in the Year 1723, to make Discoveries; with an accurate*

map of that River taken on the Spot: And many other Copper Plates. Also extracts from the Nubian's Geography, Leo the African, and other authors antient and modern, concerning the Niger Nile, or Gambia, and Observations thereon. By Francis Moore, Factor several Years to the Royal African Company of England.

The work was first published by Cave in London in 1738. There is some discussion as to whether in that same year another, possibly pirated, edition with variant page-numbers appeared with Stagg in London, or whether this was in essence a reprint of the Cave edition (Hill, 'Towards a chronology', p. 355). The Cave edition was reprinted several times in the 18th century and parts of the text were reproduced in travelogue collections, such as Thomas Astley's *A new general collection of voyages and travels* (1745-7) and Christopher Smart, Oliver Goldsmith, and Samuel Johnson's *The world displayed, or a curious collection of voyages and travels* (1759-61). The book (or part of it) was also translated into French, Dutch and German.

Francis Moore's text is an edited version of the journal he kept when working as a clerk and factor along the Gambia River. Unlike most European sources from the early modern period that describe the West African coast and its peoples, Moore's work detailed 'the inland parts of Africa', *terra incognita* for Europeans. As a factor, he lived for some time in Joar (Ballanghar) and later in Yamyamakunda (Banatenda), some 150 and 250 kilometres upstream, respectively.

Moore's journal includes observations about geography, natural history and the various ethnic groups living along the river, as well as about social and economic life in Senegambia. Of particular interest are his notes concerning his interactions with Fulani Muslims, whom he praised for their literacy and assiduous religious observance: 'In every Kingdom and Country on each Side of the River, there are some people of a tawny Colour, call'd *Pholeys*, much like the *Arabs*; which language they most of them speak, being to them as the *Latin* is in *Europe*, for it is taught in Schools, and their Law, the *Alcoran*, is in that language. They are more generally learned in the *Arabick*, than the people of *Europe* are in *Latin*, for most of them speak it, tho' they have a vulgar Tongue besides, call'd Pholey' (p. 30). Unlike many of his contemporaries, Moore's portrayal of West Africans in general, and West African Muslims in particular are sympathetic and without bias. He calls the Fulani Muslims 'very industrious and frugal', 'very rarely angry' and 'very hospitable and kind to all', adding: 'As their Humanity extends to all, they are doubly kind to People of their own Race, insomuch that if they know one of them being made a

Slave, all the *Pholeys* will redeem him. And as they have plenty of Food, they never suffer any of their own Nation to want but support the Old, the Blind and Lame, equally with the others' (pp. 32-3).

Travels into the inland part of Africa also documents the widespread slave trade in the Gambia River basin. Of particular interest is the story of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo (known in European sources as Job ben Solomon), the son of a Fulani Muslim cleric from Bundu, who was abducted by slavers. Attempts by his kinsmen to ransom him came too late; Diallo had already been taken to Maryland and sold as a slave. There, his writing skills and strict religious observance drew the attention of Thomas Bluett of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Through Bluett's mediation Diallo was ransomed by London philanthropists, who facilitated his return to Africa via England.

While in England, Diallo was received by the royal family and other members of society; he returned to Africa in July 1734. Moore became acquainted with Diallo upon his return to West Africa and accompanied him to Bundu; it seems the two men kept in touch for business purposes for a while.

Diallo's narrative, recorded by Bluett and published as *Some memoirs of the life of Job, the son of Solomon, the high priest of Boonda in Africa* (1734), is one of the better known 18th-century Muslim slave-narratives. The inclusion of this enslavement story in *Travels into the inland part of Africa* (pp. 69 and 202) is one of the indications that Moore edited his journal upon his return to England and that he expanded his personal observations with other sources, such as Bluett's narrative. It is unclear whether, and if so to what extent, the public appreciation of Diallo influenced Moore's descriptions of the Fulani Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Moore's *Travels into the inland part of Africa* documents the extent of Muslim literary culture in 18th-century West Africa. It is considered to be one of the most important sources on 18th-century Senegambia. Moreover, his sympathetic depictions of Fulani Muslims and his appreciation of their religious practice and literacy, their fierce stance against the enslavement of their kinfolk, their high ethical standards and their treatment of vulnerable groups such as the elderly, visitors and people with disabilities, challenged European perceptions of both Muslims and Africans.

The fact that Moore's observations did not pertain to just any West African people, but concerned kinsmen of the renowned and much



Illustration 18. Page from Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, 1738, p. 263, depicting Bur Wolof, Muslim king of the Saloum area, in battledress

celebrated highborn Muslim Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, whose tragic enslavement had captivated British imaginations, no doubt reinforced their impact. Moore's extensive documentation of the slave trade on the Gambia River, his account of Diallo's slave narrative and its happy ending in Diallo's homecoming to Bundu, as well as his portrayal of the honourable and morally upright Fulani, may all have contributed to the sensitisation of British opinion regarding the legitimacy of the slave trade.

PUBLICATIONS

The publishing history of *Travels into the inland parts of Africa* is complex, with several translations taken from an abridged 1746 edition. These are detailed in M.H. Hill, 'Towards a chronology of the publications of Francis Moore's *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*', *History in Africa* 19 (1992) 353-68, pp. 358-67.

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: J. Cave, 1738; ESTC T131766 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: J. Stagg, 1738 (uncertain)

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: D. Henry and R. Cave, 1740, 1755[2] (pagination differs from the 1738 Cave edition); ESTC T147986 1755 edition (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: J. Cave, 1740[2]

T. Astley, *New general collection of voyages and travels*, London, 1746, vol. 2, pp. 209-33 (Astley occasionally rephrases Moore's original text and cannot be used as a proxy source for Moore)

A.F. Prevost d'Exiles (ed.), *Histoire générale des voyages ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre …*, Paris, 1746- (French trans. of Astley, appearing in various editions; see Hill, 'Towards a chronology', pp. 360-2)

A.F. Prevost d'Exiles (ed.), *Historische beschryving der reizen, of, Nieuwe en volkoome verzameling van de aller-waardigste en zeldsaamste zee- en landtogten …*, The Hague, 1746 (Dutch trans. from French edition of Astley)

F. Moore, 'Reisen in die inländischen Theile von Africa: welche eine Beschreibung der verschiedenen Landschaften und deren Einwohner auf sechshundert Meilen an der Gambara enthalten', in J.J. Schwabe (ed.), *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande*, Leipzig, 1748, vol. 3, pp. 84-127 (German trans.); Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek – 999/4Hist.pol.80(3 12503521 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

A.F. Prevost d'Exiles (ed.), *Almindelig Histoire over Reiser til Lands og Vande, eller Samlung af alle Reisebeskrivelser …*, Copenhagen, 1750 (Danish trans. of Astley)

T. Salmon, 'Hedendaagse Historie of tegenwoordige staat van alle volkeren', Amsterdam, 1763, vol. 30, 414-26 (narrative based on Moore)

J. Knox, *A new collection of voyages, discoveries and travels, containing whatever is worthy of notice in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*, London, 1767, vol. 6, pp. 310-34

C. Smart, O. Goldsmith and S. Johnson, *The world displayed, or a curious collection of voyages and travels*, London, 1767, vol. 17, p. 69-118; Philadelphia PA, 1796, vol. 6, pp. 299-337

A.J.N. Lallement, *Voyages de MM. Ledyard et Lucas en Afrique, suivis d'extraits de voyages fait à la rivière Gambia, par l'ordre de la Compagnie anglaise d'Afrique*, Paris, 1804, vol. 2, pp. 315-510

C.-A. Walckenaer, *Histoire générale des voyages ou nouvelle collection des relations de voyages par mer et par terre, mise en ordre et complété jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1826, vol. 3, pp. 311-487 (French trans., possibly of Astley)

E. Donnan, *Documents illustrative of the history of the slave trade in America*, Washington DC, 1931, pp. 388-419

STUDIES

Fyfe, art. 'Francis Moore'

Hill, 'Towards a chronology of the publications'

D. Grant, *The fortunate slave*, Oxford, 1968

Martha Frederiks

Chronicler of Iyasu II

DATE OF BIRTH 1691-5
PLACE OF BIRTH Gondar, Ethiopia
DATE OF DEATH 1755-9
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author of the *Chronicle of Iyasu II* is not identified in the text itself. However, it is evident that he was very close to the king and enjoyed a court life. It seems that he worked daily on the *Chronicle*, and took part in military campaigns and attended royal banquets at Gondär, the fixed capital of the kingdom.

There is evidence to suggest that the *Chronicle* was probably composed by Kənfä Mikael, the son and successor of Sinoda, the chronicler of King Bäkaffa (r. 1721-30). First, there is a statement that the first 27 chapters of it were written by the chronicler (*Ṣäḥafe Təʿəzaz*) Sinoda (Guidi, *Annales Iohannis I, Iyasu I et Bakaffa*, pp. 271-314), who died in 1726 before completing the work. He was immediately succeeded by his son Kənfä Mikael, who wrote the last 13 chapters (Guidi, *Annales Iohannis I, Iyasu I et Bakaffa*, p. 314). Kənfä Mikael most probably continued working as a chronicler in the court, and would thus have been engaged in composing the *Chronicle* of the young King Iyasu II and his mother, Queen Bərhan Mogäsa.

Second, analysis of the chronicle tradition during the Gondarine era shows that, while the medieval chronicles of the Solomonic monarchs do not mention the names of the chroniclers, chronicles compiled after Susənyos (r. 1607-32) mention the names of the chroniclers from each period. Thus, if the *Chronicle* of Iyasu II had been compiled by any chronicler other than Kənfä Mikael, their name would be mentioned. However, if Kənfä Mikael was continuing in the same position as *Ṣäḥafe Təʿəzaz*, he would probably have not considered it necessary to mention his name again in the *Chronicle* of Iyasu II.

Third, the style of writing and the language used in the last 13 chapters of the *Chronicle* known to be composed by Kənfä Mikael and those of the *Chronicle* of Iyasu II support the argument that they were written by

the same author. We can thus assume that Kənfä Mikael was the author of the *Chronicle* of Iyasu II and Bərhan Mogäsa.

Nothing is known about the early life of Kənfä Mikael except that his name appears as the son of the great royal historiographer Sinoda, who composed the chronicles of Iyasu I (r. 1682-1706) and Bäkaffa. Sinoda was a respected man who served as a court historiographer for both Iyasu I and Bäkaffa. He died in 1726 at the age of 55 (Basset, 'Études', p. 403) and was succeeded by Kənfä Mikael. Chernetsov, who has studied the royal historiographers, suggests that Kənfä Mikael may have been a disciple of Sinoda, taking the word 'son' in the line in the *Chronicle*: 'After this his son wrote it' in its broader meaning, as a close pupil or disciple (Chernetsov, *Efiopskije hroniki XVII-XVIII vekov* [Ethiopian chronicles of the 17th-18th centuries], Moscow, 1989, p. 348). However, the passing on of this role from father to son was no novelty; there are reports of a tradition during the Gondarine era of the post of royal historiographer being inherited by a biological son (Kropp, 'Hypothesis', p. 363). It can thus be said with confidence that Kənfä Mikael was Sinoda's son, rather than his disciple.

On the basis of his father's biography, it can be assumed that Kənfa Mikael was not born before 1691 and was possibly in his early to mid-30s when he succeeded his father. Kənfä Mikael was presumably born in Gondar and would most likely have been a regular visitor to the royal court. He was almost certainly trained in historiographical writing under the tutelage of his father. However, Kənfa Mikael's writing style differs noticeably from that of his father, who displays greater fluency in Gəʿəz, while he himself made abundant use of Amharic words and phrases in the last 13 chapters of the *Chronicle* of Bäkaffa and the entire *Chronicle* of Iyasu II. As he completed the *Chronicle* of Iyasu II, it is certain that he was still living in 1755. Nothing is known of his life after that date.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

R. Basset, 'Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie', *Journal Asiatique* 17 (1881) 315-434

I. Guidi, *Annales Iohannis I, Iyasu I et Bakaffa*, Paris, 1903-5

I. Guidi (ed. and trans.), *Annales Regum 'Iyāsu II et Iyo'as*, Paris, 1910

F.A. Dombrowski, *Tanasee 106. Eine Chronik der Herrscher Äthiopiens*, Wiesbaden, 1983

S.B. Chernetsov, *Efiopskije hroniki XVII-XVIII vekov* [Ethiopian chronicles of the 17th-18th centuries], Moscow, 1989

Secondary

S. Chernetsov and D. Nosnitsin, art. 'Sinoda', in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4, Wiesbaden, 2010, 668-9

D. Nosnitsin, art. 'Kənfä Mikael', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, 2007, 384

S.B. Chernetsov, 'The crisis of Ethiopian official royal historiography and its consequences in the 18th century', in B. Zewde, R. Pankhurst and T. Beyene (eds), *Ethiopian studies. Proceedings of the eleventh international conference, Addis Ababa, April 1-6 1991*, Addis Ababa, 1994, 87-101

M. Kropp, 'A hypothesis concerning an author or compiler of the "Short shronicle" of the Ethiopian kings', in G. Goldenberg (ed.), *Ethiopian studies. Proceedings of the sixth international conference, Tel Aviv, 14-17 April 1980*, Rotterdam, 1986, 359-72

I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Rome, 1932

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronicle of Iyasu II
Annales Regum Iyasu II et Iyo'as

DATE 1730-1755

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Gəʿəz

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronicle of Iyasu II* and of his mother, Queen Bərhan Mogäsa, consists of a long genealogical introduction and 48 short chapters, running to 168 pages in Guidi's 1910 edition (all references here are to this edition). From 1730 onwards, daily entries were made in the *Chronicle*, up until the death of the king in 1755, thus covering the 24 years of the reign of Iyasu II and his mother, regent queen Məntwab, who, following the death of her husband King Bäkaffa, crowned herself as *nəgstä nägäśt* ('Queen of queens'), taking the crown name Bərhan Mogäsa. The *Chronicle* is divided into two parts. The first deals with the genealogies of King Iyasu II and his mother, and covers the first ten pages of Guidi's 1910 edition (pp. 3-13). It identifies the king as the direct descendent of the ancient Solomonic monarchs, who claimed descent from biblical Israelite rulers, describing them from the creation of the world and the birth of the first Aksumite king, who was the son of King Solomon of Israel. It then lists the successors of the Aksumites and Zagʷe, followed by the medieval emperors and finally the Gondarine kings, the immediate predecessors of Iyasu II, ending with the birth of the king himself.

Tracing his mother's genealogy would have presented a challenge, but the chronicler relates her to the Ləbnä Dəngəl family, and supports her legitimacy through various literary devices, such as recounting a prophecy that foretold of Məntwab becoming queen.

The second and main part of the *Chronicle* deals with the historical events that occurred during the king's 24-year reign, and is divided into 48 chapters, covering pp. 13-168 in Guidi's edition. In this part, the presentation follows a monthly or yearly pattern. Here, the *Chronicle* is concerned mainly with various internal political power struggles and the king's successful military campaigns. The narrative begins with accounts of rebellions by various feudal nobles dissatisfied with the nomination of Iyasu II and Bərhan Mogäsa. It then documents the 1732-6 rebellion by the feudal nobles, led primarily by Tänśe Mammo, former military general of Bäkaffa, father of Iyasu II, along with some of his supporters, against the Qʷaraññoč, the kin of queen Bərhan Mogäsa. The rebellion ended in victory for the young King Iyasu II and Bərhan Mogäsa, who thereafter maintained relative peace and stability. For a long period, the chronicler reports no military campaigns, devoting himself instead to descriptions of Iyasu II's regular hunting expeditions for wild animals such as elephant, rhinoceros and buffalo near Sinnār (ch. 35, pp. 110-12). This appears to be the reason why people began to criticise his activities, saying that Iyasu Tənnšu (Iyasu the little) devoted to his own pleasures and amusement the time he should have given in the service of the people.

The *Chronicle* then describes the king's military campaign in 1744, commanded by his uncle *ras* Wäldä Ləʿul against the Muslim kingdom of Sinnār (Sənnar), a border region between Sudan and Ethiopia. This is the most interesting section of the *Chronicle*, providing a clear reference to the history of Christian-Muslim relations in the western part of the Christian kingdom in the 18th century. The king led a considerable number of armies against the people of Bäläw in the Muslim sultanate of Sinnār. He was victorious in the first confrontation but in the second battle was decisively defeated by the Bäläw forces. Large numbers of his army retreated, while the king returned unharmed with some of his military commanders to Gondar (ch. 38, pp. 114-16). The *Chronicle* then briefly recounts major internal political and diplomatic activities, including the correspondence to bring back a new metropolitan bishop from Egypt after the sudden death of Abunä Krəstodolu III (pp. 117-19), and the nomination of all notables, particularly that of Mikaʾel Səḥul to his former province of Təgray after his release from prison in 1748-9. In addition

to mentioning the usual court appointments, the *Chronicle* recounts further military campaigns by King Iyasu II towards the end of his reign, largely supported by Mika'el Səḥul, the emerging feudal lord of the time, and the future kingmaker. These campaigns were directed against other Muslim communities in the north-western part of the Christian kingdom in the Atbara region, and the Muslim minorities in the region of Dobba and Wäfla, who strongly resisted the Solomonic kings. The *Chronicle* concludes with a description of the death of King Iyasu II after a short illness in 1755, followed by his funeral (pp. 164-8).

SIGNIFICANCE

While the main focus of the *Chronicle* is on the genealogical line of King Iyasu II and court politics, as well as the campaigns launched against political opponents in the Christian highland provinces, it is nonetheless an important source for the study of Christian-Muslim relations in this region in the 18th century, providing informative details about hostilities between the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia and neighbouring Muslim kingdoms.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Bruce 91, fols 31-104 (1769-72)

MS Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätbibliothek – Rüppell 16, fols 261v-339v (1833)

MS Paris, BNF – Éth. 143, Zotenberg 1877, fols 209r-256v (1841)

MS Paris, BNF – d'Abbadie 118, fols 124r-163v (1842)

MS London, BL – Ort. 821, fols 286r-377v (1852)

J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773*, London, 1790, vol. 2, pp. 608-59 (partial English trans. and paraphrase); FG 2859 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

I. Guidi (ed. and trans.), *Annales Regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 61, 62; Scriptores Aethiopici 28, 29), Paris, 1910 (Latin trans.)

Chernetsov, *Efiopskije hroniki*

STUDIES

M. Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḥaylu. Entstehung und handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werks,* Frankfurt am Main, 1989

Chernetsov, 'Crisis of Ethiopian official royal historiography'

Solomon Gebreyes Beyene

Nicholas Owen

DATE OF BIRTH First part of the 18th century, possibly 1720s or 1730s
PLACE OF BIRTH Ireland (location unknown)
DATE OF DEATH 26 March 1759
PLACE OF DEATH Sherbro Estuary, Sierra Leone

BIOGRAPHY

Nicholas Owen was an Irish trader who, from 1754 until his death in 1759, lived in the Sherbro Estuary (along the Bum-Kittam and Jong rivers), in present-day Sierra Leone. He was raised in a well-to-do Irish family, but left Ireland – possibly in the 1730s or 1740s – after his father lost his fortune (Owen, *Journal of a slave-dealer*, p. 97). Together with one of his younger brothers, Blayney, he spent the rest of his life working as a sailor and petty trader. The two men undertook six transatlantic voyages and three trips between West Africa and Europe, before settling down in 1754 on the banks of the Sherbro Estuary, trading in slaves, tusks, wax and other commodities (Owen, *Journal of a slave-dealer*, pp. 21-8). He began writing the narrative of his travels as a means of passing time. From 9 August 1755 onwards, the narrative gradually takes the form of a diary, with regular entries until his death.

According to a post-script by his brother Blayney, Nicholas Owen died on 26 March 1759 (Owen, *Journal of a slave-dealer*, p. 107).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Nicholas Owen, *Journal of a slave-dealer. 'A view of some remarkable axcedents in the life of Nics. Owen on the coast of Africa and America from the year 1746 to the year 1757'*, ed. and intr. E. Martin, London, 1930

Secondary

G.E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in western Africa. Commerce, social status, gender and religious observance from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 246-9

E. Martin, 'Introduction', in Owen, *Journal of a slave-dealer*, 1-19

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Journal of a slave-dealer. A view of some of the remarkable axcedents in the life of Nics. Owen on the coast of Africa and America from the year 1746 to the year 1757

DATE Between 1754 and 1759
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Journal of a slave-dealer is a text of about 100 pages in the Martin edition (56 leaves of manuscript), and includes maps and illustrations drawn by Owen himself. About half the document consists of a narrative relating Owen's journeys and adventures as a sailor and trader, while the remainder of the text takes the form of a diary.

In the diary part, Owen documents the day-to-day life of a petty trader, buying slaves and commodities along the Guinea coast in the 1750s. Among other things, he describes the process of negotiating with African chiefs and middlemen ('very troublesome', *Journal of a slave-dealer*, p. 45; all the references that follow are to the Martin edition), the slackness of business, and being cheated by rival traders, as well as personal issues such as housing, food, sickness and loneliness.

The diary also includes detailed eye-witness accounts of the customs and traditions of the people of the Sherbro Estuary region. Especially noteworthy are Owen's reports on the Poro 'secret' society, and he also gives careful detailed descriptions of divination rituals and other services performed by itinerant Mandinka *marabouts* (pp. 49-50, 54-6, 71, 90), as well as some short reports on a Mandinka jihadist movement that created upheaval in the late 1750s in Sierra Leone (pp. 92-3, 96, 100).

While Owen is given to rather elaborate reflections on the meaning and purpose of life, he has no such qualms about the slave trade: 'Some people may think a scruple of congience in the above trade, but it's very seldom minded by our European merchts' (p. 45).

Owen is thought to have begun writing his narrative around 1754 and he continued his diary until his death in 1759 (Martin, 'Introduction', pp. 15-16).

It is unclear how the manuscript came to England after his death. Until the 1930s, it was owned by the descendants of George Marsh, Commissioner of the Navy and Chairman of the Navy Board from 1772-1800,

and was sold at Christies in 2000. It is now in the hands of an American collector, and its location is unknown.

SIGNIFICANCE

Owen gives elaborate eye-witness descriptions of the services (for example, writing, divination, healing) performed by itinerant Mandinka *marabouts* among the non-Muslim people of southern Sierra Leone. He narrates in detail the occasions when the *marabouts* were called upon to perform their services, as well as their techniques and the mechanisms used to cross-check their verdicts in legal matters. Owen also remarks that not only Africans, but also European Christian traders (including Owen himself) called upon their services. On 20 May 1757, he records in his diary: 'We have been surprised this morning with finding our store broken open and tabaco, rum and goods to the value of 10 or 12 crowns or bars caried away, and very little sighns of finding out the theves, otherwise then [*sic*] by the Mandingo envention menthon'd in the fore part of my Journal, which we intend to try out of curiousety at its wonderfull virtue as soon as the priest comes home' (p. 71). And two years later he writes: 'There's a great many whites that thinks all these thing are false, but what a man sees and imploy his reason upon upon [*sic*] must have some grounds of truth. Neither do I think it in any way unlikely, since we have examples in all ages of the power of witchcraft among persons who dedicate themselves to the impious practice; every day I see examples of this kind' (p. 90).

Owen also testifies that in 1758 a Mandinka warrior from the interior regions, whom he calls King Furry Do (p. 93) and later Mosolum (p. 100), embarked on jihad in an attempt forcefully to convert non-Muslims to Islam, in the process conquering large territories, enslaving many and creating general upheaval. So far, researchers have not been able to identify 'King Furry Do'. Bruce Mouser, with a reference to the unpublished PhD dissertation of James F. Hopewell, has pointed out that in mid-18th-century Sierra Leone, there were Mandinka warriors who copied the expansionist strategies of the Fula of Futa Jallon, and under the cloak of jihad conquered extensive territories (Mouser, 'Rebellion', p. 33). Owen might well be referring to one of these Mandinka warlords in his diary.

PUBLICATIONS

The autograph manuscript was for a long time the property of the Marsh family and their descendants. It was auctioned in 2000 by Christie's of London and sold to William Reese booksellers, New Haven CT, who confirm that it is now in the hands of an American collector.

Nicholas Owen, *Journal of a slave-dealer. 'A view of some remarkable axcedents in the life of Nics. Owen on the coast of Africa and America from the year 1746 to the year 1757'*, ed. E.C. Martin, London, 1930, 2009, 2017; http://sites.uci.edu/slavingfall15/files/2014/03/Nicholas-Owen-Journal-of-A-Slave-Dealer.pdf

STUDIES

K.E. Sinanan, *Slave masters and the language of self. Traders, planters and colonial agents, 1750-1833*, Chapel Hill NC (forthcoming)

B. Mouser, 'Rebellion, marronage and jihād', *Journal of African History* 48 (2007) 27-44

J.F. Hopewell, 'Muslim penetration in French Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia before 1850', New York, 1958 (PhD Diss. Columbia University)

Martin, 'Introduction'

A.G., Review of 'Nicholas Owen: Journal of a slave-dealer', *Studies. An Irish Quarterly Review* 19/76 (1930) 684-6

Martha Frederiks

Abbé Demanet

Abbé Jean-Baptiste Demanet

DATE OF BIRTH	First half of the 18th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably France
DATE OF DEATH	12 July 1778
PLACE OF DEATH	West Africa; probably Senegal

BIOGRAPHY

Jean-Baptiste Demanet was a French secular priest, best known for his two-volume work *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise*, published in 1767. It seems he served for some time as a priest of the diocese of Trèves, but little else is known about him until he was appointed chaplain to the French troops stationed on Gorée Island (off the coast of present-day Dakar). He arrived in Gorée on 14 September 1763 in the company of Governor Pierre Thomas Guillaume Poncet de la Rivière. Poncet de la Rivière was appointed as the first governor of the French possessions in West Africa after the Treaty of Paris in 1763. On arrival, Demanet found most of the island ruined, the Catholic community scattered and the church turned into an arsenal (Demanet, *Nouvelle histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 88-9).

Hierarchically under the command of Poncet de la Rivière, Demanet only had limited margin for manoeuvre. In July 1764, he accompanied de la Rivière on a journey to the French possessions on the Petite Côte (Joal) and Albreda (Gambia), during which he seized the opportunity to visit the Roman Catholics in the area and administer the sacraments. In his *Nouvelle histoire*, Demanet asserts that no priest had visited the area for over 20 years and he claims to have baptised several hundred people, a large number allegedly converts from Islam (Demanet, *Nouvelle histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 122-6). Demanet served as chaplain until 20 March 1765, when he fell out with de la Rivière's successor Mesnager, who accused him of misconduct and sent him back to France (Benoist, *Histoire de l'église catholique*, p. 74).

Few details are known about Demanet's years in France (1765-73), except that his *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise* was published in 1767. He may have returned to the diocese of Trèves. From later developments, it can be inferred that he was in contact with two of his siblings,

who were Recollect priests (Benoist, *Histoire de l'église catholique*, p. 74). In 1772, driven by a combination of chauvinism and evangelistic zeal already apparent in his *Nouvelle histoire* (vol. 2, pp. 187-96), Demanet founded a commercial company (the Compagnie de Guyane), which was co-financed by the Benedictine Abbey of Merz. The company was granted a monopoly on trade between Cap Blanc and Sierra Leone by royal charter. Demanet envisaged the company as strengthening France's position in West African trade, and hoped through its revenues to finance an ambitious plan to evangelise West Africa. To that end he suggested – in vain – that he should be appointed bishop of Gorée (Benoist, *Histoire de l'église catholique*, p. 74).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

J.-B. Demanet, *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise, enrichie de cartes et d'observations astonomiques et géographiques*, Paris, 1767

Secondary

J.R. de Benoist, *Histoire de l'église catholique au Sénégal. Du milieu du XV^e^ siècle à l'aube du troisième millénaire*, Paris, 2008, pp. 71-5

G.E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in western Africa. Commerce, social status, gender, and religious observance from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 262-6

P. Lintingre, 'Le curé de Gorée d'après ses archives', *Afrique Document* 102/103 (1969) 75-129

P. Lintingre, 'La mission du Sénégal sous l'Ancien Régime', *Afrique Document* 87/4 (1966) 97-128

C.A. Walckenaer, *Histoire générale des voyages ou Nouvelle collection des relations de voyages par mer ou par terre*, Paris, 1826, vol. 5, pp. 167-87

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise, 'New history of French Africa'

DATE 1767
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise, enrichie de cartes et d'observations astronomiques et géographiques is a two-volume treatise written by Abbé

Jean-Baptiste Demanet, published in Paris in 1767. Totalling some 710 pages, the book is composed of three parts. Part One gives an introduction to the African continent by region. It includes descriptions of African kingdoms, islands and rivers as well as reflections on African products and their commercial prospects. Part Two consists of a detailed description of the customs, beliefs and practices of peoples on the west coast of Africa, from Arguin Island in the north to the Bissagos Islands in the south, as well as of its animals, trees and plants. In addition, it gives an assessment of the trade opportunities in this area (e.g. the gum and slave trades). Part Three is a treatise on the physical and historical origins of Africans south of the Sahara.

The book was written against the background of Anglo-French rivalry, more specifically the Seven Years War (1756-63). On 30 April 1758, St Louis was captured by the British, followed shortly after by Gorée and other French settlements on the West African coast. The British attack on the French possessions in West Africa was part of a strategy to weaken the French economy. According to the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763), France ceded to Britain its possessions in the Americas (Canada, Louisiana and several of the Antilles) and in exchange regained control over the Senegalese coast (with the exception of St Louis, which remained British until 1779).

Demanet's book can best be understood as an entreaty to the French government and the public at large to develop trade opportunities in Africa as a means of strengthening France's economy and advancing its position as a maritime power, which subsequently would enhance opportunities for evangelisation. His chauvinistic and anti-British attitude is plain throughout the book, for example, in his praise for the ruler of Niumi, whom he characterises as a person who 'loves the French' and 'hates the English' (Demanet, *Nouvelle histoire*, Paris, 1767, vol. 1, p. 120).

Demanet is equally opinionated in his descriptions of Islam and Muslims, the majority of which can be found in Part Two of the book. His descriptions of Muslim beliefs and practices are intended to highlight the cruelty of Islamic practices (such as female circumcision), its confused and perverted teaching and the ignorance of its proponents. He presents Islam as 'a religion that has no principles except moral corruption and ignorance' (vol. 1, p. 10) and refers to 'les horreurs du Mahométisme'; he writes that even the Arabs had Islam imposed on them through violence, forcing them to leave their old religion (vol. 2, p. 45). He portrays Muḥammad as a 'false prophet' (vol. 2, p. 2) and 'imposter' whom some

West Africans in their ignorance consider to be God (vol. 2, p. 36). Marabouts are equally vilified and compared to Pharisees, who are outwardly strictly religious but inwardly 'cruel, ignorant, corrupt, superstitious' and misguide Africans with their lies and deliberations (vol. 1, p. 61).

According to Demanet, West African Muslims had no mosques, nor did they observe religious festivals, except for 'their Easter of Bairam, which they call Tabesquer' (vol. 2, p. 10), and Ramaḍān. In Demanet's opinion, neither African Muslims nor their leaders have much knowledge about Islam (vol. 2, p. 1) and so every village has its own 'bizarre opinions' of the faith, resulting in frequent arguments and clashes between villages as to the correct interpretation of Islam. To exemplify this, Demanet writes that some Senegalese consider

> Mahomet to be a God, and claim to profess his religion without knowing what it is about, and each individual claims to be the true disciple and the true interpreter of this Imposter (...) Those who want Mahomet to be the true god of the universe, those who consider him to be a great prophet and the intimate friend and dispenser of the good gifts of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, they are the ones that insist on adoring him and insist that no one will be granted grace or salvation without his intercession. Others say it is true that he is a normal human being, but that God the Creator has given him all his powers. Again others have no clue whatsoever. Some drink wine, others consider it a major crime. Some say prayers directly to Mahomet, others see him as mediator and intercessor and others again do not pray at all. (vol. 2, pp. 36-7; all quotations from Damanet are translated by the contributor)

Demanet's low opinion both of Islam and of Africans, whom he describes as 'similar to soft wax, with which one can form whatever one wants' (vol. 2, p. 1), and his view that West African Muslims are confused and misguided in matters of faith leads him to believe that it is possible to convert African Muslims to Christianity. He boasts that, during his brief trip to Joal and Albreda in 1764, he converted and baptised several hundred Muslims, who were awed by the splendour of the Roman Catholic rituals and convinced by his preaching, thus creating the impression that the conversion of West African Muslims is easily accomplished (vol. 1, pp. 122-6). Similarly, Demanet claims that the king of Sine confided in him that he was a Christian at heart but was compelled to hide his faith in order to remain king, stating that his subjects would have expelled him from his kingdom if he openly converted. Nevertheless, according to Demanet, the king explicitly invited him to send missionaries to try and convert the people of his kingdom (vol. 2, pp. 28-9).

By highlighting both West African trade opportunities and openings for Christian expansion, Demanet in his *Nouvelle histoire* tries simultaneously to promote the Kingdom of France and the Kingdom of God as two powers that could beneficially reinforce each other.

SIGNIFICANCE

Demanet is an early representative of a distinct missionary tradition in West Africa that underestimated the extent to which Islam had taken root in the region. Convinced that West African Islam was superficial, its adherents were optimistic regarding the prospects of converting West African Muslims to Christianity. They (mistakenly) believed that West African Muslims would abandon their 'confused beliefs' and 'superstitions' once exposed to lucid and well-reasoned Christian teachings.

Demanet's book was widely read in France, and in all likelihood its perceptions of Islam and West African Muslims influenced and fashioned the attitudes of French Spiritans, who took on the evangelisation of the Senegambia from 1789 onwards.

PUBLICATIONS

J.-B. Demanet, *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise, enrichie de cartes et d'observations astronomiques et géographiques*, Paris, 1767; BgF 74-8505 (digitised version available through BNF)

J.-B. Demanet, *Neue Geschichte des französischen Afrika, mit neuen Charten sowol, als geographischen, astronomischen und andern Beobachtungen über die Gebräuche, Sitten, Religion und den Handel dieser Gegenden*, trans. Christoph Meiners, Leipzig, 1778 (German trans.); 999/Hist.pol.4300(1/2) (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

J.-B. Demanet, *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise, enrichie de cartes et d'observations astronomiques et géographiques*, Paris, 1786 (repr. Paris, 2012)

Martha Frederiks

Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur

DATE OF BIRTH About 1741
PLACE OF BIRTH Rembouillet (France)
DATE OF DEATH 15 June 1794
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur was born in Rembouillet, France, son of Pierre Le Brasseur, who was estate manager to the Duke of Penthiève (a grandson of Louis XIV). Both 1741 and 1745 are suggested as his possible year of birth. Little is known about him before he began his career as a government employee in 1763. Le Brasseur spent most of his life in the French colonies, including Saint Lucia, Île de Gorée, Saint Domingue (now Haiti), Île de France (now Mauritius) and Île Bourbon (now Réunion), serving in a variety of capacities and eventually rising to the rank of chief commissioner of finance and later chargé d'affaires of the Île de France and Île Bourbon. He retired in July 1792 and died at the guillotine on 15 June 1794 in Paris.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

C. Becker and V. Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques, mémoire inédit (1778) de J.A. Le Brasseur', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, series B (sciences humaines) 39 (1977) 81-132, pp. 83-5 (details of Le Brasseur's personal papers and reports kept in the Archives nationales de France)

Secondary

Becker and Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques'

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Détails historiques et politiques, 'Historical and political details'

DATE 1778
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

Détails historiques et politiques (in full, *Détails historiques et politiques sur la religion, les moeurs et le commerce des peuples qui habitent la côte occidentale d'Afrique depuis l'Empire de Maroc jusqu'aux rivières de Casamance et de Gambie*, 'Historical and political details about the religion, customs and commercial activities of the peoples who inhabit the west coast of Africa, from the Moroccan Empire as far as the coasts of Casamance and Gambia') was written by Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur, who served from 1774-9 as the French chief commissioner and later governor on Gorée Island (present-day Senegal). In its manuscript form, it is about 55 pages long, dated Rambouillet, June 1778, and dedicated to the Duke of Penthiève. No published or edited versions are known; all the three extant manuscripts seem to be draft editions, with minor dissimilarities between the texts.

Charles Becker and Victor Martin have published a critical edition of what they consider the most complete text, being the manuscript located at Archives Nationales de France, collection Colonies, série C6, box 29. They suggest that *Détails historiques et politiques* may have been part of a larger document or a collection of documents, since the numbering of the manuscript starts at page 85 (and ends at page 140). The first 84 pages seem to have gone missing. In the box, *Détails historiques et politiques* is followed by another text entitled *Nouvelles réflexions sur l'éntrée de la rivière de Cazamance* (pages 141-4), possibly by the same author, and followed by an additional 12-page manuscript entitled *Mémoire sur la nécessité d'un établissement aux Isles des idoles*, also written by Le Brasseur.

Détails historiques et politiques describes the political history of the area from present-day Mauritania to Guinea Bissau and details the commercial prospects and commodities (gold, slaves, gum, millet, cattle, etc.) that were bartered at the various riverbank and coastal ports. The text is a compilation of Le Brasseur's personal observations and notes, together with oral traditions he collected during the years he served at Gorée Island. The latter make the document particularly valuable. Le Brasseur cites extensively oral traditions regarding the Trarza Moors and their relations with neighbouring groups such the Brakna, as well as with the Moroccan Empire. He also records oral traditions about the history of the Wolof and Cayor Empires and the *gelwars* of Sine-Saloum, the Bur Niumi and the Bur Casamance, and the royal lineages of the various states. By recording the traditions, the text fixes a moment in the interpretation of the oral history of the region, and provides details that are not found in similar form in later sources. Of particular interest for the history of Islam

in the region is an oral tradition that presents Ndiandian Ndiaye, founding ancestor of the Wolof, as the son of a man called Abdulrahman, who, according to the tradition, was sent by the Prophet Muḥammad to West Africa to instruct the Wolof in the teachings and the excellence of the Qur'an (Becker and Martin, *Détails historiques et politiques*, p. 94). This seems to suggest that by the 18th century Islam had become an integral part of the foundation myth of the Wolof and therefore of Wolof identity.

Le Brasseur writes rather disdainfully about Islam: he speaks of the 'monstrous fables of the Qur'an', 'a superstition so absurd' that the mighty no longer believe it (p. 89), and mockingly describes marabouts as wine-drinking charlatans who had no knowledge of the Qur'an and swindled innocent people (p. 109). He records that Islam south of the Sahara was less influenced by Arab Islam and therefore had begun to lose some of its 'pretended purity' (p. 89).

Despite his contemptuous tone, he proves an astute observer of local Islamic beliefs and practices, and describes several local varieties of Muslim festivals, such as the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, of Tabaski (ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā) and of Tamharat (New Year). According to what he says, Wolof Muslims ate copious amounts of food during Tamharat, believing that this would bring prosperity for the coming year. Another Tamharat tradition he records is that all Wolof Muslims (male and female) covered their heads during the daylight hours of Tamharat because they believed that during this time the angels exhumed those who had died during the previous year and carried them to another place. Any sand that fell from their shrouds and touched people would bring illness and misfortune in the year to come (p. 99).

SIGNIFICANCE

The text illustrates the extent of the process of Islamisation among the Wolof, which by the 18th century had resulted in a refashioning of the Wolof foundation history to incorporate Islam.

Also, the differentiation in Le Brasseur's text between a 'pure' Arab Islam and a 'less pure' Islam in sub-Saharan Africa signals a distinction between *Islam arabe* and *Islam noir*, which later became central to French colonial policy vis-à-vis Islam and Muslims.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, Archives Nationales de France – Collection Colonies, série C6, box 29, pp. 85-140 (1778)

MS Paris, Archives Nationales de France – Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry, Colonies, F3, registre 61, fols 4-33 (1778)

MS BNF – français no. 12080, Ancien supplément français, 30 fols (1778); ark:/12148/btv1b9061566r (digitised version available through BNF)

Becker and Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques'

STUDIES

Becker and Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques'

Martha Frederiks

ʾAlaqā Gabru

DATE OF BIRTH Not known
PLACE OF BIRTH Gondar
DATE OF DEATH Not before 1799
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author of Takla Giyorgis' *Chronicle* is identified in the text as *ʾAlaqā* Gabru. His authorship is attested directly from the reference in the *Chronicle* that reads: '*ʾAlaqā* Gabru is the author of this chronicle' (Weld Blundell, *Royal chronicle*, p. 22 [text] = p. 234 [trans.], p. 48 [text] = p. 270 [trans.]; the references that follow are to this work). He also joined the king in military campaigns during his short reign (p. 22 [text] = p. 234 [trans.]; pp. 49-52 [text] = pp. 269-303 [trans.]), and he regularly attended royal banquets in Gondar. In addition to his main task of chronicling the king's daily activities and participating in military campaigns, he was an outstanding painter and produced several icons in churches in Gondar. According to *The royal chronicle*, he carried the Kʷərʿata rəʿəsu, the icon of Christ that the Ethiopians took into battles. He was also the head of the Baʿātā Church in Gondar (p. 39 [text] = p. 256 [trans.]; see also Bekele, 'Chronicle of Täklä Giyorgis', p. 249).

Little is known about the early life of *ʾAlaqā* Gabru, though there are some references in *The royal chronicle* to his active years in the court. He was certainly serving as the official historiographer between 1779 and 1784, the year in which the *Chronicle* suddenly stops. After the Wallo campaign, on the way to Gondar he received the king's highest award, a robe of gold and a robe of cotton (p. 65 [text] p. 296 [trans.], p. 68 [text] = p. 300 [trans.]), and he was promoted to the office of *Ṣaḥāfe təʾəzāz*, chief royal secretary (p. 298).

In 1784, the king was overthrown. *ʾAlaqā* Gabru might have expected to be replaced by another official chronicler, though his name appears in the list of the dignitaries of King Takla Giyorgis in 1799, during the king's fifth reign, but no information about him after 1799 is available.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

R. Basset, 'Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie', *Journal Asiatique* 18 (1882) 93-183, 285-389

I. Guidi (ed. and trans.), *Annales Iohannis I, Iyāsu I et Bakaffā* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 22, 23, Scriptores Aethiopici 5, 6), 2 vols, Paris, 1903

I. Guidi (ed. and trans.), *Annales Regum Iyāsu II et Iyo'as* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 61, 62, Scriptores Aethiopici 28, 29), 2 vols, Paris, 1910

H. Weld Blundell (ed. and trans.), *The royal chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769-1840*, Cambridge, 1922

Secondary

Shiferaw Bekele, 'The Chronicle of Täklä Giyorgis (first r. 1779-1784). An introductory assessment', in V. Boll et al. (eds), *Studia Aethiopica in honour of Siegbert Uhlig on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, Wiesbaden, 2004, 247-58

M. Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḥaylu. Entstehung und handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werks*, Frankfurt am Main, 1989

M. Kropp, 'A hypothesis concerning an author or compiler of the "short chronicle" of the Ethiopian kings', in G. Goldenberg (ed.), *Proceedings of the sixth international conference of Ethiopian studies, Tel Aviv, 14-17 April 1980*, Rotterdam, 1986, 359-72

I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura etiopica,* Rome, 1932

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronicle of Takla Giyorgis I

DATE 1779-95

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Gəʿəz

DESCRIPTION

The reign of Takla Giyorgis I (known as Faṣṣāme Mangəst, 'Last of the line') marks the end of the Solomonic monarchy in Ethiopia. He reigned six times: 1779-84, 1788-9, 1794-5, 1795-6, 1798-9, and 1800, the year of his death. His official *Chronicle* is one of the major sources on his first reign, 1779-84.

The *Chronicle* was written on a daily basis starting in 1779. It is structured in five sections, running to 51 pages in Weld Blundell's edition of the Gəʿəz text, and 73 pages in his English translation.

The first section is the introductory part, which provides a brief account of the king's accession to the throne and his activities after his coronation. It anticipates the problems he would face in his short reign, arising mainly from the insubordination of the regional lords (Weld Blundell, *Royal chronicle*, pp. 19-22 [text] = pp. 230-4 [trans.]; this is the edition referred to below; see also Bekele, 'Chronicle of Täklä Giyorgis', p. 253).

The second longer section deals with the king's campaign against *daǧǧāzmāč* Gadlu of Walqāyt (pp. 22-38 [text] = pp. 234-56 [trans.]) in 1781. It gives a detailed account of the expedition, and the various major military and political attempts to bring the lord to submission.

The third section describes the military expedition of King Takəla Giyorgis to the land of Meč̣č̣ā, and the reason for the expedition (pp. 38-47 [text] = pp. 256-69 [trans.]).

The fourth section is devoted to the military campaign to Wallo-Wəč̣āle in 1783 (pp. 47-55 [text] = pp. 270-91 [trans.]). It is here that the majority of references to relations between Christians and Muslims in the kingdom are concentrated.

The fifth section is the account of the activities of the king in the aftermath of the campaign (pp. 55-70 [text] = pp. 291-303 [trans.]).

The campaign to Wallo-Wəč̣āle in 1783-4 was led by the king and various of his military lords and court dignitaries, together with the metropolitan and senior churchmen. It was conducted to reassert the king's authority over the Muslim Oromo, who had declared their independence since the first half of the 18th century. It seems that, having heard that Christians were being attacked and churches burnt down, the king decided to convert the Muslims to Christianity (p. 53 [text] = p. 277 [trans.]). He confronted the various local chiefs of the Oromo and most of them submitted peacefully, while most of the people they ruled 'wished to become Christians, so that they should not be heathens anymore'. There were also some Muslim chiefs who wished to submit to the authority of the king but wished to stay with the religion of their fathers, among them Manašo, a chief of Malzā (p. 56 [text] = p. 281 [trans.]). Some Oromo chiefs, however, strongly resisted and fought to the death against the king. One of the decisive battles was followed by a mass conversion.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although the *Chronicle* does not tell the whole story about the struggle between the Christian Solomonic monarchs and the Muslim Oromo

Wallo, who persisted after Takla Giyorgis's campaign as a strong political rival to the Christian kingdom long after the demise of Islamic dominance in the turbulent 16th century, it remains one of the most informative sources for Christian-Muslim relations in Ethiopia in the 18th century.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – Éth. 143, Zotenberg 1877, fols 288r-310v (1841)

MS Paris, BNF – d'Abbadie 118, fols 387r-417v (1842)

MS London, BL – Ort. 821, fols 446r-501v (1852)

H. Weld Blundell (ed. and trans.), *The royal chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769-1840*, Cambridge, 1922 (Gəʿəz, pp. 19-70; English trans. pp. 230-303); OL7253546M (digitised version available through Archive.org)

S.B. Chernetsov (ed. and trans.), *Efiopskie hroniki XVII-XVIII* [Ethiopian chronicles of the 17th-18th centuries], Moscow, 1989 (Russian trans.)

STUDIES

D. Crummey, art. 'Täklä Giyorgis', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4, Wiesbaden, 2010, 826b-7b

Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken*

E. Ficquet, art. 'Mähammäd Ali', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, 2007, 646a-7b

E. Ficquet, art. 'Māmmadoč dynasty', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, 2007, 715b-17a

Bekele, 'Chronicle of Täklä Giyorgis'

M. Abir, *Ethiopia. The era of the princes. The challenge of Islam and the re-unification of the Christian empire, 1769-1855*, London, 1968

Solomon Gebreyes Beyene

Georg Forster and Carl Peter Thunberg

DATE OF BIRTH Forster, 27 November 1754; Thunberg, 11 November 1743
PLACE OF BIRTH Forster, Nassenhuben, near Gdansk, Poland; Thunberg, Jönköping, Sweden
DATE OF DEATH Forster, 27 January 1794; Thunberg, 8 August 1828
PLACE OF DEATH Forster, Paris; Thunberg, Thunaberg, near Uppsala, Sweden

BIOGRAPHY

For much of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Cape of Good Hope functioned as a restocking harbour for ships travelling to Asia. In consequence, several 18th-century ships' journals and exploration reports briefly describe aspects of life there. During the 18th century, several European travellers, such as Georg Forster (Johann Georg Adam Forster) and Carl Peter Thunberg (Karl Peter von Thunberg or Carl Pehr Thunberg), visited the coast of South Africa, and especially Cape Town. Some, like Forster, stayed over in Cape Town and some, like Thunberg, even undertook journeys into the interior of the Cape Colony. The majority of travellers stayed only a short while, en route further east to India, Indonesia or Japan.

In the 18th-century records, materials discussing Islam in the Cape are very rare, and of those that are extant – not all the visitors' accounts have been preserved – only some make reference to the Muslim inhabitants of Cape Town. Two particular visitors in the 18th century made observations on Muslim day-to-day life, based on eyewitness encounters: Georg Forster and Carl Peter Thunberg. Both their accounts illustrate the inferior status granted to Islam in the Dutch colony, indicated, for example, by the fact that establishing any permanent structure for Muslim worship in Cape Town was not permitted.

Georg Forster was born in 1754 as the eldest son of Johann Reinhold and Justina Elizabeth in the small village of Nassenhuben, Prussia. His father was a natural scientist and a Reformed pastor. At the age of ten, Georg accompanied his father on a commissioned expedition through Russia. In 1766, the Forster family emigrated to England, where Johann took up a teaching position at the Dissenter Academy in Warrington.

Upon becoming a member of the Royal Academy in 1772, Johann was invited to participate in the second voyage of Captain James Cook to the Pacific. Georg was given permission to accompany his father, and assisted him in compiling a scientific report of the journey. During the voyage, the expedition anchored in Cape Town en route from Madeira to New Zealand. The expedition returned to England on 30 July 1775.

Following some disagreements, the Forsters were not allowed to prepare the official report of Cook's second voyage. Consequently, in 1777 Georg published an unofficial report containing his own account of the journey. This was in English (which he translated into German in 1778-80) and was entitled *A voyage round the world. In His Britannic Majesty's sloop Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the years, 1772, 3, 4, and 5*. The main observations he records are on cartography, ethnology, zoology and botany, but he also includes comments on language and religion. Parts of this account were also published in the *Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen* ['Magazine of remarkable new voyages'] in Berlin.

These publications brought huge acclaim from all over Europe to father and son. Young Georg, only 23 years old at the time, was made a member of the Royal Society. He was later employed at various universities and settled at the University of Mainz, where he and his wife raised their three children. Georg was involved in local politics and was elected vice-president of the short-lived Republic of Mainz, which was inspired by the French revolution. In 1793, while in Paris, Georg died after a short illness.

Carl Peter Thunberg was born in 1743 to Johan and Margaretha (Starkman), who owned a shop in Jönköping, Sweden. In 1761, after attending school in Jönköping, Thunberg enrolled at Uppsala University, where he studied theology, philosophy, medicine and chemistry. For a time, he studied under Carl Linnaeus the famous botanist, and in 1769 he graduated in medicine. In 1770, he set off on a journey that eventually lasted nine years. His original plan was to visit Paris and undertake advanced studies in medicine. The first leg of the journey took him from Sweden to the Netherlands, where he proved himself a capable botanist, to the extent that he was commissioned to undertake a botanical journey to Japan. In order to gain permission to enter Japan, Thunberg had to become an employee of the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC). In 1770, he travelled to the Cape Colony, at that time still under Dutch rule, as ship's surgeon on board the VOC vessel *Schoonzicht*. Thunberg reached Cape Town in 1772.

Thunberg remained in the Cape Colony for three years, studying botany, culture and anthropology, and during this time he encountered Muslims. He left for Japan in 1775, reaching Java in 1776 and Ceylon in 1777. In 1778, he departed for Europe and his ship once again docked at Cape Town, where Thunberg stayed for two weeks.

In 1779, Thunberg travelled to London, where he had a brief meeting with Georg Forster. In 1781, he was appointed professor at Uppsala University, succeeding his great mentor, Carl Linnaeus, who had died in 1778. In 1784, he married Charlotta Ruda and they adopted three children. He lived in Uppsala until his death in 1828 in the nearby village of Thunaberg.

Thunberg was relatively prolific, describing his travels in his travelogue *Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, förrättad åren*, published in four volumes between 1788 and 1793. He also wrote *Flora Japonica* (1784), *Prodromus plantarum* (1800), *Icones plantarum japonicarum* (1805), and *Flora capensis* (1813).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

G. Forster, *A voyage round the world. In His Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the years 1772, 3, 4 and 5*, 2 vols, London, 1777

C.P. Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-1775*, ed. V.S. Forbes, Cape Town, 1986 (especially Forbes's remarks in the Preface and Foreword)

Secondary

M.C. Skuncke, *Carl Peter Thunberg, botanist and physician*, Uppsala, 2014

P. Rietbergen, 'Becoming famous in the eighteenth century. Carel Peter Thunberg (1743-1828) between Sweden, the Netherlands and Japan', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 36 (2004) 50-61, 64

G. Jefcoate, art. 'Forster, (Johann) Georg Adam (1754-1794)', in *ODNB*

B. Nordenstam et al., *Carl Peter Thunberg. Linnean, resenär, natursforskare 1743-1828*, Stockholm, 1993

T.P. Saine, *Georg Forster*, New York, 1972

R.L. Kahn, art. 'Forster, Johann Georg Adam', in S. Kunitz and V. Colby (eds), *European Authors, 1000-1900*, New York, 1967, 290-1

L. Bodi, 'Georg Forster. The "Pacific Expert" of Eighteenth-century Germany', *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* 8/32 (1959) 345-63

K. Kersten, *Der Weltumsegler. Johann Georg Adam Forster, 1754-1794*, Bern, 1957

H. Reintjes, *Weltreise nach Deutschland. Johann George Forsters Leben und Deutung*, Düsseldorf, 1953
N. Svedelius, 'Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828) on his bicentenary', *Isis* 35 (1944) 128-34

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Travelogues on the Cape Colony

DATE 18th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION
Both Georg Forster and Carl Peter Thunberg wrote accounts of their separate voyages, during which they stayed at the Cape. Forster published his two-volume travelogue, entitled *A voyage round the world in His Britannic Majesty's sloop Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the years, 1772, 3, 4, and 5* (parts of which were later translated into German) in 1777. Volume 1 consists of 638 pages, while Volume 2 has 620 pages. This account of the second journey by James Cook is considered the unofficial report of the 1772-5 expedition. The work contains a preface and is divided into three books, the first two of which appear in Volume 1. This volume summarises the voyage from its outset until July 1774. The third book makes up Volume 2, with its contents reflecting on various topics, ranging from botany, ethnography and cartography, to linguistics and the study of oceanic culture and society. Forster provides detailed descriptions of sea and landscapes, weather and ocean conditions, sea life, plants, animals and, in particular, people and societies, interactions between sailors and natives, living conditions, food, clothing, various material objects, and assessments and judgments of the people and society of the South Seas. Generally, Forster's account tends to be regarded as popular reading material rather than a scientific report.

Between 1788 and 1793, Thunberg published the four volumes of his Swedish travelogue *Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, förrättad åren 1770-1779*, vol. 1 in 1788 (pp. 1-389), vol. 2 in 1789 (pp. 1-384), vol. 3 in 1791 (pp. 1-286, 289-389, 400-14), and vol. 4 in 1793 (pp. 1-285, 288-341). The work was published by J. Edman in Uppsala. Concerning the format of the work, V.S. Forbes (in Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope*, p. xxix) comments that the original Swedish edition is poor in its typographical presentation and layout of chapters. In the four volumes, published in different years, there appears to be little or no indication of when a new

chapter begins. The section covering the journey from Uppsala until the departure from Cape Town consists of 12 chapters in the original.

The work was first translated in 1792, into German by C.H. Groskurd. In the German version, vol. 1 contains the first two volumes of the Swedish edition, and shows vast improvements as to chapter and section division (according to Forbes, in Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope*, p. xxix). These improvements were not followed in the 1793 English edition. According to Nils Svedelius (Svedelius, 'Carl Peter Thunberg', p. 133) the books are rich in ethnographic observations, presenting not only descriptions of the fauna and flora of Africa and Asia, but also some impressions of the social interaction among local inhabitants of the places Thunberg visited.

Forster comments on attitudes displayed by the inhabitants of the Cape towards the religion of the slaves brought to the Cape from the Dutch colonies when he describes his sojourn in Cape Town during the Cook expedition:

> The government, and the inhabitants do not give themselves the trouble to attend to a circumstance of so little consequence in their eyes, as the religion of their slaves, who in general seem to have none at all. A few of them follow the Mahommedan rite, and weekly meet in a private house belonging to a free Mahommedan, in order to read, or rather chant sacral prayers, and chapters of the Koran. As they have no priest among them, they cannot partake of any other acts of worship. (*A voyage round the world,* 1777, vol. 1, ch. 3, pp. 60-1)

It should be noted here that in the Cape Colony, 'slaves' would have referred to Muslims brought there from Dutch colonies. Forster's comment must be considered within the context of his encounter with a wide variety of cultures and religions during his voyage with Captain Cook.

Prior to the establishment of an Islamic school (*madrassa*) and mosque (*masjid*) in the Cape, accounts tell of how Muslim communities would gather to practise their religion in stone quarries (see John Barrow, *Travels into the interior of South Africa*, London, 1806, vol. 2, p. 146) and private houses, as Forster observes.

When Forster visited Cape Town, Islam was not an accepted religion, and there was a prohibition on the practice of any religious activity in public. This restriction is illustrated in the account of prince Achmet of Ternate and his sons parading through the streets of Cape Town in their priestly clothes, trying to convert slaves to Islam, and being arrested and imprisoned on Robben Island in 1788 (Res. (25/11/1788), WCPA C180).

Forster's account of the relationship between colonists and their religion, as opposed to slaves (Muslims) who do not display any clear indication of religious adherence, is evidence of a Christian bias vis-à-vis both indigenous people and Muslim slaves. On the one hand, colonists prohibited Muslims in the Cape from practising their religion, while on the other they condemned existing Muslim practices as primitive and inferior to Christianity

In the section of his travelogue that recounts his time in Cape Town en route to Japan, Thunberg describes a particular event related to Islam that he witnessed on 28 June of an unspecified year, sometime between 1772 and 1775 (Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope*, ch. 3, p. 47). He describes people in a room decorated with cloth that covered the ceiling, walls and floor, celebrating what he refers to as the 'Javanese new-year'. In front of an altar, there is a cushion with a large book lying open upon it. There are neatly clothed women sitting or standing, and men sitting cross-legged on the floor. Candles and incense are burning, and there are two priests, identified by Thunberg as such by the 'small conical caps' they are wearing. At about 8pm the activities start, with people singing and the priests reading from the book. As the priests are reading 'from right to left', Thunberg assumes that they are reading from the 'Alcoran'. Thunberg identifies a prominent figure in the group by the reverence that the others accord him. He notes that he found out only later that this was a prince from Java. V.S. Forbes (in Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope*, p. 48) suggests that this may be a reference to the Muslim scholar Tuan Guru. Thunberg probably witnessed the events he describes from outside a building, looking in through a window.

Thunberg's detailed description of this Muslim ritual, which he refers to as the Javanese New Year celebration, provides some insight as to the social status of Islam in the Cape. The fact that this event took place within a private house in Cape Town could be an indication of the clandestine conditions under which Islam was practised.

Thunberg's visit to Cape Town overlapped with Tuan Guru's residence in Cape Town. During this period in the 18th-century, Islam was not accepted as a religion in Dutch colonies, and there was a ban on any public display of religious practice.

SIGNIFICANCE

The main importance of the comments on Islam and religious dynamics and practice in the Cape made by Forster and Thunberg lies in the fact that they were made by travellers and not policy makers. These travellers were relatively neutral observers of the way in which the relationship

between Christians and Muslims played out in a society where certain policies determined the rights and privileges of Muslims. They were natural scientists observing the world around them from a scientific perspective, and their comments come across as scientific observations, describing the reality they encounter. There are no traces of Forster or Thunberg commenting on Muslims anywhere else in their travel accounts.

PUBLICATIONS

Forster:

G. Forster, *A voyage round the world. In His Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the years 1772, 3, 4 and 5*, 2 vols, London, 1777; ESTC T155479 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

G. Forster, *Reise um die Welt während den Jahren 1772 bis 1775 in dem von Seiner itztregierenden Großbrittannischen Majestät auf Entdeckungen ausgeschickten und durch den Capitain Cook geführten Schiffe the Resolution*, trans. J.R. Forster, Berlin, 1778-80 (German trans.)

G. Forster, *Reise um die Welt während den Jahren 1772 bis 1775 in dem von Seiner itztregierenden Großbrittannischen Majestät auf Entdeckungen ausgeschickten und durch den Capitain Cook geführten Schiffe the Resolution*, trans. J.R. Forster, Berlin, 1784 (German trans.); AC09868448 (digitised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

G. Forster, *Reise um die Welt während den Jahren 1772 bis 1775 in dem von Seiner itztregierenden Großbrittannischen Majestät auf Entdeckungen ausgeschickten und durch den Capitain Cook geführten Schiffe the Resolution*, trans. J.R. Forster, Altona, Hamburg, 1805 (German trans.)

G. Forster, *A voyage round the world. In His Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the years 1772, 3, 4 and 5*, ed. R.L. Kahn, Berlin, 1968

G. Forster, *Podróż naokoło świata*, trans. M. Ronikier, Warsaw, 1977 (Polish trans.)

G. Forster, *Reise um die Welt*, ed. G. Steiner, Frankfurt am Main, 1983 (German trans.)

Thunberg:

C.P. Thunberg, *Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, förrättad åren 1770-1779*, Uppsala: J. Edman, vol. 1 (1788), vol. 2 (1789), vol. 3 (1791), vol. 4 (1793); (digitised version available through Hathi Digital trust)

C.P. Thunberg, *Reisen in Afrika und Asien, vorzüglich in Japan, während der Jahre 1772 bis 1779*, trans. K. Sprengel, annotated by J.R. Forster, vol. 3, Berlin, 1792 (partial German trans.)

C.P. Thunberg, *Reise durch einen Theil von Europa, Afrika und Asien, hauptsächlich in Japan, in den Jahren 1770 bis 1779: Aus dem Schwedisch frey übersetzt von Christian Heinrich Groskurd. Beschluss der Nachrichten von Japan and den Japanern, Rückkunft des Verfassers nach Batavia und Reise in das Innere der Insel Java, Reise nach der Insel Ceylon und Aufenthalt daselbst, Rückreise nach Schweden. Sammelband*, trans. G.H. Goskurd, Berlin, 1792-4 (German trans.); It.sing. 1061-1,1/2 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

C.P. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia: Performed between the years 1770 and 1779*, J. Rudner and I. Rudner (trans.), London, 1793-5 (English trans.); ocm21922064 (digitised version available through *The making of the modern world*)

C.P. Thunberg, *Voyage en Afrique et en Asie, principalement au Japon, pendant les années 1770-1779: servant de suite au voyage de D. Sparmann; traduit du Suédois, avec des notes du traducteur*, Paris, 1794 (French trans.); département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, G-29729 (digitised version available through BNF)

C.P. Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-1775*, ed. V.S. Forbes, Cape Town, 1986 (based on the English edition, London 1793-5)

STUDIES

M. Peffenköver, 'Carl Peter Thunberg. Traveler, scientist – transcult-urator?', in E. Homburg (ed.), *Networks of encounter*, Maastricht, 2016, 1-21; www.researchgate.net/publication/311708385

C. Jung, *Kaross und Kimono. 'Hottentotten' und Japaner im Spiegel des Reiseberichts von Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828)*, Stuttgart, 2002

F.R. Bradlow and M. Cairns, *The early Cape Muslims. A study of their mosques, genealogy and origins*, Cape Town, 1978

Saine, *Georg Forster*

Reintjes, *Weltreise nach Deutschland*

Svedelius, 'Carl Peter Thunberg'

Jaco Beyers

The Americas

Cotton Mather

DATE OF BIRTH 12 February 1663
PLACE OF BIRTH Boston
DATE OF DEATH 13 February 1728
PLACE OF DEATH Boston

BIOGRAPHY

Cotton Mather was a descendant of the American Puritan scholars John Cotton (d. 1652) and Richard Mather (d. 1669). He was the son of the prominent Boston minister Increase Mather (d. 1723), and was elected to serve as assistant pastor to his father at the North Church in Boston in 1680. He received his MA from Harvard the following year. The majority of his more than 400 works are devotional. During his own lifetime, *Bonifacius* (1710), his pietistic work on charity, and *Manuductio ad ministerium* (1726), his manual for new ministers, were among the most popular. Public memory has subsequently chastised him for his endorsement of the Salem witchcraft trials in *Wonders of the invisible world* (1692), and memorialised him for his religious history of New England, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702). Recent scholarship has drawn attention to the works that demonstrate the breadth of his interests, such as his physico-theology, *The Christian philosopher* (1721), and unpublished works by him, such as the medical guidebook *Angel of Bethesda* (1722); an apocalypse, *Triparadisus* (1727); his poetry and psalmody; and *Biblia americana*, which was his *magnum opus*. Mather also earned longstanding fame for serving the colonial cause during the 1688 English Glorious Revolution, receiving membership of the Royal Society in London in 1713, and introducing inoculation during the 1721 smallpox outbreak in Boston.

Although he never left New England, Mather's scholarship integrated sources from South America, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, and he corresponded with ministers and educators as far away as India. The North Church's congregation, largely comprised of sailors and merchants, likewise exposed him to other regions of the world. On multiple occasions members were captured by Barbary pirates, and Mather raised collections to buy their freedom. His neighbour Joshua Gee wrote the earliest known Barbary captivity narrative by a New Englander. Not only was Mather probably familiar with this text, but Gee's son ultimately became a minister alongside Mather at the North Church.

Despite his upbringing in the traditional Protestantism of his colonial ancestors, Mather exemplifies Boston's lack of insularity. His widespread interests and his participation in international scholarship demonstrate the extensive communication network that was active in the transatlantic region.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

B. Colman, *The holy walk and glorious translation of blessed Enoch. A sermon preached at the lecture in Boston, two days after the death of the reverend and learned Cotton Mather, D.D. & F.R.S.*, Boston MA, 1728

S. Mather, *The life of the very reverend and learned Cotton Mather, D.D. & F.R.S. Late pastor of the North Church in Boston, who died, Feb. 13, 1727/8*, Boston MA, 1729

W.C. Ford (ed.), *Diary of Cotton Mather 1681-1708*, Boston MA, 1912

W.C. Ford (ed.), *Diary of Cotton Mather 1709-1724*, Boston MA, 1913

K. Silverman (ed.), *Selected letters of Cotton Mather*, Baton Rouge LA, 1971

R.A. Bosco (ed.), 'An edition of Paterna, Cotton Mather's previously unpublished autobiography', College Park, 1975 (PhD Diss. University of Maryland)

Secondary

R. Smolinski, *Cotton Mather. A life of a puritan intellectual*, New Haven CT, 2018 (forthcoming)

R. Kennedy, *The first American evangelical. A short life of Cotton Mather*, Grand Rapids MI, 2015

K. Silverman, *The life and times of Cotton Mather*, New York, 1984

B. Levy, *Cotton Mather*, Boston MA, 1979

R. Lovelace, *The American pietism of Cotton Mather. Origins of American evangelicalism*, Grand Rapids MI, 1979

D. Levin, *Cotton Mather. The young life of the Lord's remembrancer, 1663-1703*, Cambridge MA, 1978

R. Middlekauff, *The Mathers. Three generations of Puritan intellectuals, 1596-1728*, New York, 1971

T.J. Holmes, *Cotton Mather. A bibliography of his works*, Cambridge MA, 1940

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Biblia Americana

DATE 1693-1728
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

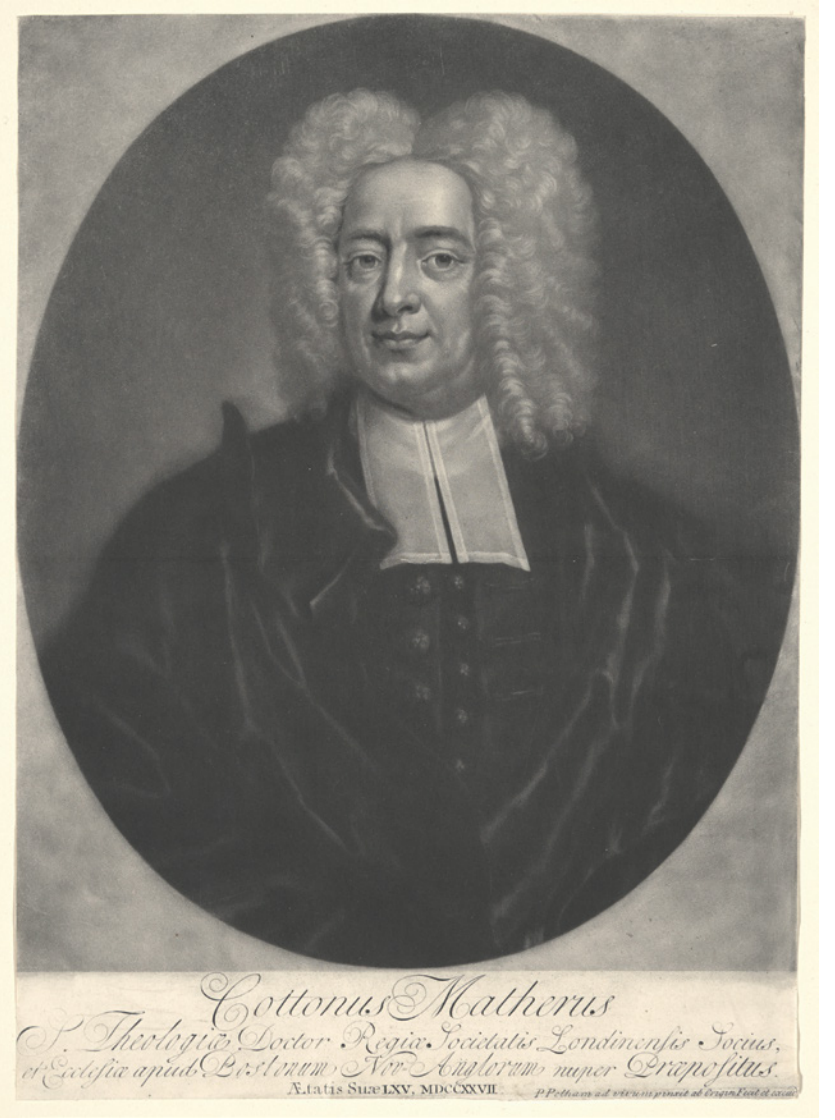


Illustration 19. Engraving of Cotton Mather by Peter Pelham, 1727

DESCRIPTION

In *Biblia Americana*, Mather presents two major approaches to Islam: eschatological, in his glosses on Revelation, and cultural, in his contextualisation of forms of historical behaviour. *Biblia Americana* is a Bible commentary consisting of six folio volumes totalling over 5,100 manuscript pages. Owing to its length, it was never published in full, although Mather used sections of it in his other published works. A project is underway to publish the entire commentary in a scholarly edition of ten volumes.

The commentary has a section on each book of the Bible, with a subdivision for each chapter. Within each chapter, Mather structures his glosses on biblical verses as a set of questions and answers. Through quotation, citation and direct transcription, he incorporates hundreds of sources, ranging from the ancient to the contemporary, including exegesis from Jewish, Catholic and Protestant traditions, travel narratives and geographies. Because Mather worked on this commentary for more than 30 years, it reflects the transition in thought common to the early Enlightenment period, both in the works he chose to cite and in his treatment of them. Indirectly acknowledging the rise of biblical criticism in the 17th century that appeared in the writings of Isaac La Peyrère, Hugo Grotius, Baruch Spinoza and Richard Simon, Mather aimed primarily to reconcile apparent inconsistencies in the Bible, especially in the prophecies; provide rational and scientific descriptions that would validate recently contested miracles; combat Deist criticisms; and offer historical context for ancient customs that he felt Europeans might not have understood. As a Protestant writing for a Protestant audience, he mostly centres his arguments in Western scholarship, but he occasionally refers to Islam in eschatological and historical contexts.

Mather addresses Islam, which he considered a heretical religion, most directly in his glosses on Revelation chs 7-9. Although he estimated that one quarter of the world's population was Muslim, he nevertheless felt that it was Roman Catholicism that aligned more directly with Revelation's description of the Antichrist. Embracing the eschatological beliefs of Joseph Mede, William Whiston and Thomas Brightman, Mather interpreted Islam as the second woe that would torment the Antichrist shortly before the coming of the kingdom of Christ. He remarks that the perseverance of Christian churches in Ottoman-controlled territory could be attributed to God's sealing the faithful as described in the seventh chapter. Echoing mainstream interpretations, he explains that the reign of the Antichrist, lasting 1,260 years, would be assaulted by seven

trumpets: the first four on the Western part of the Roman Empire and the next two on the Eastern part, with the final trumpet signalling the triumph of Christ. The fate of the Ottoman Empire was therefore of vital importance to Mather, as in his eyes the fall of the empire would signal the rise of the kingdom of God. He agrees with Brightman that the beginning of this woe, which he believed would last 396 years, had occurred in approximately 1300, and he proposes that the end of that time was the 1699 Treaty of Carlowitz. He adds that the kingdom of Christ need not rise immediately upon the ceasing of the second woe.

Mather also expresses this idea in his glosses on Daniel ch. 11, where he couches his descriptions of Islam in biblical images. He explains that Muslims are symbolised by locusts because the quick pace of the Saracens during their march was similar to the overnight descent of locusts. Likewise, he compares the appearance of fire and smoke from the mouths of horses to the use of cannons and gunpowder by the Turks during the siege of Constantinople.

While Mather's apocalyptic reading of Islam echoes traditional Reformation chiliastic thought, elsewhere in *Biblia Americana* he exhibits an approach to Islamic culture that reflects the early Enlightenment rise of relativism. Like other exegetes, including Americans such as John Cotton and later Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), Mather responds to the Bible's lack of direct reference to a major world religion by identifying indirect references to Islam. In his gloss on Psalm 83, Mather agrees with Pierre Allix (1641-1717), who reads the psalm as a prayer against Islamic invasion, and he supports the polemical scholar Raymond Martini's (d. 1284) assessment that Job's remark about a reigning hypocrite applies to Muḥammad. However, Mather also uses travel accounts by Europeans to contextualise information. In his gloss on 1 Samuel 25:1, he explains a colloquialism by noting that the traveller John Chardin (1643-1713) had observed a similar linguistic tendency among 17th-century Persians. By citing current customs to illustrate ancient traditions, Mather implies that, despite their heresy, the Persians' culture had not strayed as far as Europe's from that of ancient biblical times. Likewise, citing a travel narrative, he remarks that Muslims continued to remember Abraham's offering of Isaac through annual sacrifice of a ram. The continuation of this tradition indicated the reliability of the Genesis story and implicitly credited Muslims for preserving historical information.

Occasionally, *Biblia Americana* appears to incorporate Islamic sources directly. Explaining the difference between a prophet and a discerner,

Mather cites the phrasing in the Qur'an; his source for this information is actually a quotation by the contemporary exegete Hermann Witsius of the classical Arabic commentary of ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286). Although the Qur'an had already been translated into English, and Mather quotes it periodically, the information he uses may have come to him through European sources, especially Richard Knolles' *Historie of the turkes*. Like many exegetes, he consulted works by Edward Pococke, Professor of Arabic at Oxford, but his desire to quote the original Islamic sources also reveals his interest in exploring such sources directly. Similarly, his gloss on Psalm 90 cites the Qur'an for the sense of a specific word, even though he most likely found this reference in a work by the apologist Adriaan Reland (1676-1718).

Islamic customs are also used to explain social norms in the Bible. For example, Mather acknowledges that modern readers would find the birth of Hezekiah to an 11-year-old father strange, yet as Muḥammad had married a six-year-old girl (Mather gives a younger age than usual), he suspects that the hotter climate in the Middle East accelerated maturity. Ironically, although Mather accepted Islamic sources as credible for cultural information, he also sometimes ascribed error to their historical record. He dismisses as intolerable the Qur'an's acceptance of Ishmael as a prophet, and he laments that the Qur'an misrepresents the timespan of the Noahic Flood.

SIGNIFICANCE

Mather also uses this two-fold approach to Islam, eschatological and cultural, in his other writings, both private and public. Eschatology featured strongly in his worldview, especially as he anticipated witnessing the coming of Christ's kingdom during his natural lifetime. Consequently, he wrote several works on eschatology, including *Things to be look'd for* (1691), *Problema theologicum* (c. 1703, published 1995), and *Triparadisus* (1727, published 1995), all of which repeat the interpretation and borrow the imagery from his glosses on Revelation. He likewise mentions the ascension of the Ottoman Empire as the second woe and confirms his belief that the kingdom of God would rise shortly in *Wonders of the invisible world* (1693), his famous account of the Salem witchcraft trials, and in *American tears upon the ruines of the Greek churches* (1701). Through the late 1690s, he regularly recorded signs of the passing of the second woe in his diary, routinely reporting clashes in the Austro-Ottoman war and commenting that they signified the approach of Christ's kingdom. He interprets the capture of New England sailors by Barbary pirates in

similar terms. In addition to raising collections to ransom the sailors, he prayed for them and recorded in his diary the feeling of assurance he received that their struggles would soon cease, no doubt with the passing of the woe. He even wrote a sermon for the captives, *A pastoral letter to the English captives in Africa* (1698), encouraging them to maintain their faith under temptation and under torture by their Muslim captors. He advises them to quote the Qur'an against Islam, noting that it acknowledges the perfection of Christianity. When the captives finally returned to Boston in 1703, Mather preached another sermon, *The glory of goodness* (1703), in which he echoes the image of the angel that seals the foreheads of the 144,000 in Revelation 7 with a reflection on the sailors who were protected. He notes that only the grace of God prevented the captives from converting to Islam.

Despite his desire to see the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Mather's missionary work to Islamic territories was limited to encouragement and occasional financial support. He praised Dutch missionaries in his election sermon, *A pillar of gratitude* (1700), and in the following decade he wrote to Danish missionaries in Malabar via his contacts at the Frederician University in Halle, Saxony. The successful results of the mission that the ministers in Malabar reported back prompted him to include their letters in *India Christiana* (1721), which he offered as assurance that the kingdom of God was opening in the East Indies.

Mather's appreciation of Muslim sources as valid repositories of historical and cultural information also carried over into his other works. He was one of the most outspoken apologists for smallpox inoculation during the 1721 outbreak in Boston. Although its opponents criticised inoculation for having been learned in Africa and the Middle East and only practised successfully in Constantinople, which they claimed meant it came from the devil, Mather countered in 'Sentiments on the small pox inoculated' (1721) that ignoring a successful method of saving lives was far more blasphemous. While Mather took Islamic sources with a grain of salt, once he accepted their validity, he refused to reject them on the basis of the religious background from which they came. Similarly, in his lengthy ecclesiastical history of New England, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), he quotes a saying of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), and in his medical guide, *Angel of Bethesda* (1722, pub. 1972) he relates an anecdote that compliments the healthy moderation of the diet followed by Muḥammad. He also praises the humility of a blind Muslim doctor, admonishing his readers not to let the piety of a Christian be outdone by a Muslim.

Although Mather's citations of Islamic sources in *Biblia americana* and his other works clearly reflect his sense of religious superiority, his embrace of these sources indicates that he participated in the gradual shift of Western Protestant thought away from the polemical eschatology present in Reformation exegesis to the cultural relativism in Enlightenment scholarship.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society – N-527, The papers of Cotton Mather (– 1728; *Biblia Americana* reels 10-13)

R. Smolinski (ed.), *Biblia Americana*, vol. 1: *Genesis*, Tübingen, 2010

K.P. Minkema (ed.), *Biblia Americana, America's first Bible commentary*, vol. 3: *Joshua – 2 Chronicles*, Tübingen, 2013

H.C. Maddux and R. Smolinski (eds), *Biblia Americana, America's first Bible commentary*, vol. 4: *Ezra – Psalms*, Tübingen, 2013

J. Stievermann (ed.), *Biblia Americana, America's first Bible commentary, a synoptic commentary on the Old and New Testaments*, vol. 5: *Proverbs – Jeremiah*, Tübingen, 2016

STUDIES

M.J. Lee, *The erosion of biblical certainty. Battles over authority and interpretation in America*, New York, 2013

R. Smolinski (ed.), *Cotton Mather and 'Biblia Americana', America's first Bible commentary. Essays in reappraisal*, Tübingen, 2010

W.A. Tooman, 'Of puritans and prophets. Cotton Mather's interpretation of Ezekiel in the *Biblia Americana*', in P.M. Joyce and A. Mein (eds), *After Ezekiel. Essays on the reception of a difficult prophet*, New York, 2011, 203-27

R. Smolinski, 'How to go to Heaven, or How Heaven goes? Natural science and interpretation in Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana" (1693-1728)', *New England Quarterly* 81 (2008) 278-329

H.C. Maddux, 'God's responsibility. Narrative choice and providential history in Mather's "Biblia Americana" commentary on Ezra', *Early American Literature* 42 (2007) 305-21

L.H. Feldman, 'The influence of Josephus on Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana.* A study in ambiguity', in S. Goldman (ed.), *Hebrew and the Bible in America. The first two centuries*, Hanover, 1993, 122-55

J. Jeske, 'Cotton Mather, physico-theologian', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 47 (1986) 583-94

Silverman, *Life and times of Cotton Mather*, pp. 166-8

Levin, *Cotton Mather. The young life*, pp. 113-14
C. Rivers, 'Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana.* Psalms and the nature of Puritan scholarship', New York, 1977 (PhD Diss. Columbia University)
Middlekauff, *The Mathers*, pp. 336-49
M.I. Lowance, 'Typology and the New England way. Cotton Mather and the exegesis of biblical types', *Early American Literature* 4 (1969) 15-37

Sara Harwood

Jonathan Edwards

DATE OF BIRTH 5 October 1703
PLACE OF BIRTH East Windsor, Connecticut
DATE OF DEATH 22 March 1758
PLACE OF DEATH Princeton, New Jersey

BIOGRAPHY

Arguably one of the most important theologians that North America has ever produced, Jonathan Edwards possessed a solid pedigree among New England's Puritan leaders. His father, Timothy, was a Harvard graduate and pastor of the local congregation at East Windsor, Connecticut, where Jonathan was born in 1703. His mother, Esther, was the daughter of the 'pope of the Connecticut Valley', Solomon Stoddard, whose Congregational parish at Northampton, Massachusetts, was the most influential in the region and rivalled any in Boston. The fifth of 11 children (and the only boy), Jonathan was raised in a typical Puritan home that revolved around the Bible and the classics.

Edwards entered Yale in 1716 with a maturity that belied his tender age. Just before he graduated with his BA in 1720, he wrote that he wished, 'to lie low before God, as in the dust; that I might be nothing, and that God might be all, that I might become as a little child'. This deep piety, which characterised his entire life and ministry, was matched by a massive intellect which he committed to the task of synthesising Calvinism with Locke, Newton and other Enlightenment thinkers.

After completing his MA at Yale in 1722, Edwards spent time pastoring congregations in New York and Bolton CT before returning as a tutor at his alma mater for a brief period. However, he could not resist the call to the pastoral ministry, and he accepted a position as assistant to his grandfather at Northampton in 1726. Edwards had been courting Sarah Pierpont, the daughter of Yale's founder, James Pierpont, for some time, and in 1727 they were married at New Haven. On Stoddard's death in 1729, Jonathan inherited the famed Northampton pulpit and would remain there until 1750, raising ten children with his beloved Sarah.

Edwards' Northampton years were full of the usual demands of a New England minister, which included pastoral duties for his large congregation as well as itinerant preaching around the region. His time in

Northampton is best remembered for the role he played in the Great Awakening. His sermon, 'Sinners in the hands of an angry God', perhaps the most famous in North American history, was one of the key sparks in the revival that swept the English Colonies between 1740 and 1743. Although the sermon was characteristic of Edwards' theology, it was not indicative of the whole of it. His preaching on spiritual revival was tempered by his emphasis on the beauty of God, supremely demonstrated in God's grace in redeeming humankind through Jesus Christ. During his Northampton years, Edwards composed many works on these themes, including, *God glorified in the work of redemption* (1731), *A divine and supernatural light* (1734), *A faithful narrative of the surprising work of God* (1737), *Charity and its fruits* (1738), *A history of the work of redemption* (1774) and *Religious affections* (1746).

On 22 June 1750, Edwards was surprisingly dismissed from his pastorate by a margin of one vote. At issue was his conviction that church membership should be restricted to parishioners who were demonstrably saved. The 'communion controversy' was so labelled because Edwards' view contrasted with that of his predecessor Stoddard, who favoured an 'open table' at communion. After considering various other options, Edwards eventually settled in western Massachusetts at Stockbridge, where his ministry consisted of preaching to white settlers and Indian tribes. During his tenure on the colonial frontier between 1751 and 1757 he entered into a new phase of scholarship, composing some of his best-known treatises such as, *Freedom of the will* (1754), *The nature of true virtue* (1765), *The end for which God created the world* (1765) and *Original sin* (1758).

It was with some hesitancy that Edwards succeeded his son-in-law, Aaron Burr Sr, as the third president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) on 16 February 1758. He did not want this new role to hinder the writing of the 'great work' that would be the culmination of his thought. The expansion and reworking of *History of the work of redemption* was to be the jewel in an already resplendent theological crown. But it was not to be. He died on 22 March 1758 from a reaction to a smallpox inoculation with the work incomplete. His influence on Christian thought and practice, however, continues to reverberate worldwide. His works are still being edited; the massive corpus currently stands at 73 volumes.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

S. Hopkins, *The Life and character of the late reverend Jonathan Edwards*, Boston MA, 1765

S.E. Dwight, *The life of president Edwards*, New York, 1830

G. Claghorn (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 16. *Letters and personal writings*, New Haven CT, 1998

Secondary

G. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards. A life*, New Haven CT, 2003 (the definitive biography)

I. Murray, *Jonathan Edwards. A new biography*, Edinburgh, 1987

P. Miller, *Jonathan Edwards*, New York, 1949

O. Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758. A biography*, New York, 1940

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Works

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

None of Jonathan Edwards' writings focused directly on Islam, but Islam figures prominently in several of his works, and is referred to in many others. If we count his various usages of terms that directly concern Islam, Muslims and Muḥammad, as well as variant spellings, Edwards mentions Islamic matters nearly 300 times. One may very well ponder what it was about Islam that caught the attention of a New England Puritan who, as far as is known, never crossed paths with a Muslim. The answer to this question can be summed up in two words: eschatology and deism.

Islam played a major role in Jonathan Edwards' eschatological scheme. Much of his thought was coloured by the certainty of the eschaton. (In fact, the only book of the Bible on which he wrote an entire commentary was Revelation.) In keeping with several of his Puritan predecessors, such as John Cotton (1585-1652) and John Owen (1616-83), Edwards was a postmillennialist, which meant that he believed Christ would return after a thousand-year golden era of peace and rest for the church on earth, known as the millennium. However, in his understanding, the millennium could not commence until the promises of the Bible concerning the spread of the Gospel to the ends of the earth were fulfilled (cf. Isaiah 11:9,

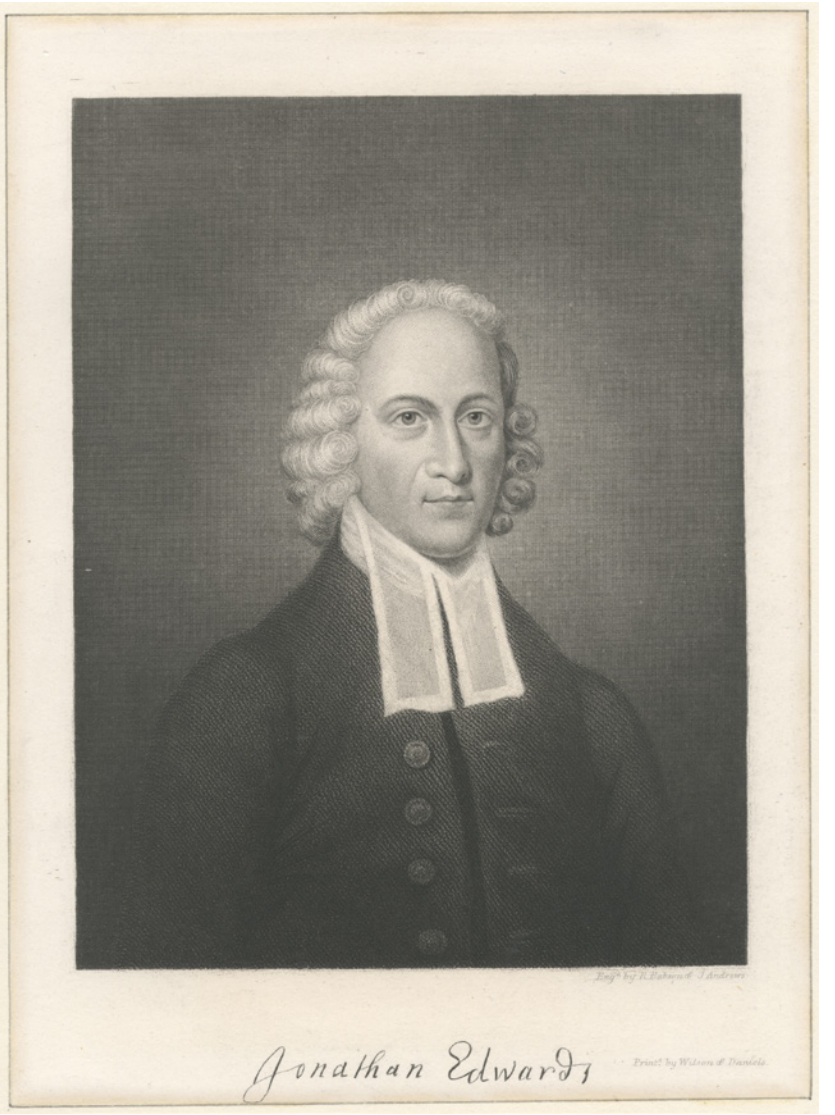


Illustration 20. Engraving of Jonathan Edwards, 1850

Matthew 24:14). Standing in the way of this thousand-year sabbath rest for the church were three great obstacles.

Edwards saw the kingdom of Satan as consisting of three main anti-Christian kingdoms, all mentioned in the book of Revelation: the kingdom of the Beast (Rome) whose head was the pope (the Antichrist), the kingdom of the false prophet (Islam) whose head was Muḥammad, and the kingdom of the dragon (heathenism). Edwards knew that Protestants made up only a fraction of the global population in his day, and he reckoned that, until these three great enemies of the Kingdom of God were subdued and brought into the fold of the true faith, the millennium would not begin. It is worth noting that, while Edwards did not shy away from the fact that sometimes God used wars and armed conflicts to achieve his purposes on earth, his preferred method was through evangelistic and missionary means, particularly in light of the itinerant life and teachings of Jesus. Real Christian triumph, as it were, should be in one's heart and mind rather than achieved through military means. Edwards was convinced that the Gospel must spread to the ends of the earth before the millennium could begin, and he saw himself as a chief catalyst towards the realisation of that future 'glorious age'.

Published in 1747, *An humble attempt* was meant to encourage readers to join with their Reformed brethren in Scotland, as well as with 'Christians of all denominations' worldwide, towards unity and regular concerts of prayer that would usher in the millennial age. It specifically envisioned the final destruction of the Antichrist (the papacy) and the 'full enlightening and conversion of all Mahometan and heathen nations, through the whole earth', as well as 'the conversion of all the Jews'. It is rather telling that, during the Great Awakening, when most were predicting the immanent start of the millennium, Edwards did not. Instead, in *An humble attempt* he laid out a potential timetable for the advance of the Gospel, which was yet to be realised. Making reference to Matthew 13:31-3 and Mark 4:26-8, he argued that it was unlikely the millennium was immanent, as Jesus spoke of God's Kingdom growing to fullness like leaven that gradually spreads, or like a seed that is sown in the ground and eventually becomes a head of corn. In the same way, Edwards maintained that God's Spirit would superintend the process of Christian knowledge, gradually filling the earth as the waters cover the sea (cf. Habakkuk 2:14) over the course of about 250 more years, or until around the year 2000. He surmised that it would take about 50 years for Protestantism to purify itself of 'errors' such as Arminianism (which

rejected the five points of classical Calvinism). It would take another 50 years to triumph over 'the popish world'. Finally, there would be another 50 years for Christianity to 'prevail and subdue the greater part of the Mahometan world', to be followed by about a century of advance in the 'heathen world' before the earth could enjoy the 'holy rest and sabbatism' of the millennium.

Also, like his Protestant forebears such as Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Calvin (1509-64), Edwards was a historicist, which meant that he saw much of the book of Revelation as having already been fulfilled in history. Originally penned as a sermon series in 1739, his *A history of the work of redemption* (1774) laid out the framework of his historicist interpretation of the Bible. The expansion of this series into a comprehensive theology or 'body of divinity' was the 'great work' that he spoke of to the Princeton trustees when he expressed his reservations about accepting the presidency in 1757. Edwards saw that the redemption of humankind through the death of Christ on the cross was the background against which all human history was set, beginning with the fall of man and being consummated with the second coming of Christ. According to Edwards, the work of redemption was God's supreme self-expression for the universe to comprehend the depths of his glory. It was only fitting, then, that God's work in history should be seen in this light.

In consequence of this, the advent of Muḥammad and Islam are among the topics Edwards addresses in *A history of the work of redemption.* It is here that he makes what is possibly his most startling observation in an otherwise negative repertoire of statements about Islam. He accepts that Muslims worship the God of Christians and Jews: 'And hence it is that all that part of the world that now does own the only true God, Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and even deists too, originally came by knowledge of him.' He adds, 'The Mohammedans that own but one true God at first borrowed the notion from the Scriptures, for the first Mohammedans were those that had been educated in the Christian religion and apostatized from it.'

Edwards then writes that Islam, like the papacy, arose at a time of great darkness and ignorance in Christendom. While the papacy was Satan's kingdom in the west, Islam was Satan's eastern kingdom, and both were designed to counter Christ's Kingdom. He notes that the clergy had resolved to take the Bible out of the hands of common people in order to control them, thereby causing them to fall into a barbarously ignorant state. As a result, when Muslim armies first invaded Christian

lands, most Christians were not sufficiently learned in the scriptures to realise that the invaders were preaching a Christian heresy, and thus many unwittingly accepted the new religion.

Edwards follows with a brief biography of Muḥammad. He wrongly states the year of his birth as 622 (the year of the *hijra*) instead of the generally accepted year of 570. He observes that Muḥammad was to be 'worshipped as the head next under God' and that Muḥammad 'pretended' to receive his 'Alcoran' from the angel Gabriel – the assumption being that it was his own invention. Edwards concludes his biographical sketch by reckoning the expansion of Islam as a function of the general ignorance of Muḥammad's listeners, who were promised a sensual paradise coupled with guarantees of heaven for those who fought for him.

Given his postmillennial, historicist eschatology, it is not at all surprising that Islam figured prominently in Edwards' thought. However, it was not only eschatology that caused him to focus on Islam. Indeed, Islam was also the perfect foil for the challenge of deism.

Edwards saw deism, which rose to prominence during the Enlightenment, as the chief threat to the church in his day. Deism maintained belief in the existence of a higher power, but in discounting the uniqueness of the Christian Gospel he felt that it effectively emasculated God, thereby emptying God of his true identity. One of the primary reasons for the emergence of deist thought was the discovery of new and faraway lands whose peoples had no knowledge of Christianity. Deists reasoned that, if God were just, he surely could not condemn men to hell for not believing in a religion they had never heard of. This meant that the Bible, as well as all other competing forms of special revelation, could not possibly be universally true and applicable. In effect, it gave equal weight to all comers, be it the Bible, the Qur'an, or any other book. The same held true for prophets and religious leaders, such as Jesus and Muḥammad. Deists therefore elevated human reason above divine revelation as a means of discovering the truths of natural religion. Edwards predicted that this kind of relativistic thinking would function like a cancer in the church, eventually leading to the total erosion of the biblical worldview. He would have none of it, and spent the better part of his formidable intellect countering the deist challenge on virtually every front.

By far the longest treatment of Islam in any of Edwards' writings is found in his *Miscellanies*, a series of cogitations about all kinds of subjects he worked on throughout his entire life. Probably completed sometime between 1755 and 1757, entry number 1334, which is approximately 3,000

words long, is devoted to a comparison of the propagation of Islam with that of Christianity. There can be little doubt that Edwards had the deists in mind when he penned the entry, which is entitled 'In what respects the propagation of Mahometanism is far from being worthy to be looked upon as parallel with the propagation of Christianity'.

Edwards wanted the deists to see that not all religions were created equal. Instead, as a divinely revealed religion, Christianity stood in stark contrast to a religion such as Islam whose origins were clearly from below. In a series of nine points, he argues that Christianity ushered in a far greater revolution for good in the world than Islam did. He particularly notes that, while Islam may have brought some small benefit to barbarous tribes, it made no contribution to already Christian lands. Of particular importance for him is his conviction that Christianity ran counter to men's carnal desires, while Islam catered to them. This was sure proof that the former was from above while the latter was, at best, of human origin. Furthermore, Christianity had triumphed in the bastions of Greek and Roman learning, in world-renowned cities 'such as Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, Corinth, Athens and Rome; whereas Mahometanism was broached in a dark corner of the earth in Arabia. And the people among whom it first gained strength, who sent out armies to propagate it to the rest of the world, were an ignorant and barbarous sort of people…' Edwards then directs a particularly harsh criticism when he says that Christianity was chiefly propagated by reasoning and inquiry, whereas such enlightened ideals were strictly forbidden in Islam. In fact, he argues, they were discouraged, replaced instead by 'the power of the sword, by potent sultans, absolute tyrants, and mighty armies'. Christianity though, 'was propagated by the weakest of men, unarmed with anything but meekness, humility, love, miracles, clear evidence, a most virtuous, holy and amiable example [Jesus] … and by such weapons as these … it was propagated against all the strength of the strongest empire that ever was in the world'. Furthermore, Islam was propagated among Christians by taking advantage of the theological or ecclesiastical contentions that existed among Christians at that time. Edwards concludes his negative comparison by arguing that Christianity is a religion built on historical, often miraculous facts that were verifiable by those who lived at the time of the writing of the New Testament. He notes that it would have been easy to discredit the apostolic witness because of the immediacy of the context. However, the fact that other eyewitnesses did not discredit it, but in fact many accepted it, is a proof of the truth

of Christianity. 'But as to Mahometanism', he remarks, 'it pretends to no facts for the proof and foundation, but only Mahomet's pretenses to intercourse with heaven, and his success in his rapine, murder, and violence'. The claims of Christianity were publicly verifiable, while those of Islam depended on Muḥammad's private and therefore very suspect experience in a cave in Arabia.

In the final two sections of 'Miscellany' no. 1334, Edwards changes his tone. He says that the partial truth that Islam contains is a confirmation of Christian truth. In fact, Islam contains foundational truths of Christianity such as calling Jesus a great prophet, the messenger of God, and a miracle worker who healed the blind and lepers as well as raising the dead. It affirms he was miraculously born of the Virgin Mary and that he was God's servant and messenger. Finally, Islam affirms that Jesus was without sin. And then comes this startling statement: 'Now owning this is, in effect, owning the whole, for 'tis the foundation of the whole, and proves all the rest … Mahomet owns Jesus.' He seems impressed with the things that Muḥammad acknowledged about Christ, such as knowing that Jesus was the Messiah who was foretold in the Law and the Prophets, and that this son of Mary was, in fact, God's ambassador and his Word. Inasmuch as Islam preaches the doctrines of Christianity, concluded Edwards, the propagation of Islam is itself confirmation of revealed religion. That Islam was propagated among such ignorance and darkness is thus confirmation of the need for divinely revealed religion, to which only the Christian can lay claim. For Edwards, this was owing to the extreme darkness of humankind in matters of religion: 'how greatly [men] stand in need of a divine guide and divine grace … such as the gospel reveals.'

Edwards wanted to make clear that the deist position was untenable and, by comparing just one aspect of Christianity with Islam, he forcefully argued that all religions were not, in fact, created or propagated equally. Instead, there was one supreme revelation, found in Christianity, that was both the consummation of what had previously been revealed in Judaism, and also the source of whatever truth was to be found later in Islam.

That Christian truths were found in non-Christian religions was a notion that fascinated Edwards. His interest went much further than Islam, as he spent much energy investigating philosophers from ancient Greece and China, looking for biblical truth. Instead of denying that there was any truth in other religions, his purpose was to prove to his deist opponents that whatever aspects of truth a given religion might

contain were merely parts of the whole – God's supreme revelation given in the Bible.

These works are by no means the only ones in which Jonathan Edwards discussed Islam, albeit they are among the most prominent examples. He referred to Islam in many other sermons and treatises, and specifically in an unpublished manuscript, 'Notes on the apocalypse', his commentary on Revelation. In addition, in *Religious affections*, his classic exposition of how to discern between genuine piety born of the Spirit of God and the spurious sort of which hypocrisy is made, Edwards once again calls on Islam to help Christians measure the veracity of their own religious convictions. He writes that any Christians who believe in Christianity simply because those around them have taught them to do so, without reasoned and critical reflection, are no better than Muslims who believe in Islam simply because those around them have taught them to do so. The respective affections that flow from such a false premise are, in his estimation, no different from one another. Religious convictions can be sincere, yet sincerely wrong. So, by way of contrast to Islam he urges Christians towards the use of reason and critical reflection about their faith in order to prove its genuineness.

Edwards did not write about Islam in a vacuum, nor did he write from personal experience. He had access to several European scholars who greatly influenced him. In particular, Simon Ockley (1678-1720) of Cambridge, who wrote *History of the Saracens*, and Moses Lowman (1680-1752), who wrote *Paraphrase and notes on the Revelation*, both left a strong impression on him. However, it was the Swiss Reformed theologian Johann Friedrich Stapfer (1708-75) who seems to have had the most influence on him regarding Islam. Stapfer's *Institutiones Theologicae Polemicae Universae* (5 vols, 1743-7) provided a connection to continental Reformed thought, particularly as it related to his attempts to contextualise Reformed theology in the milieu of the Enlightenment. Consulting Stapfer on a variety of subjects, there is no question that Edwards was deeply influenced by him on Islam, as there are multiple instances where he quotes him directly in Latin.

Finally, there is the possibility that Edwards read the Qur'an for himself, for he lists in his 'Catalogue of books' George Sale's translation of 1734. But while this suggests that he could have read the Qur'an, it is not definite, as books listed in his expansive catalogue were not always owned or even read by him. Clearly, most of his information on Islam appears to be borrowed directly from his sources.

SIGNIFICANCE

The things that Edwards wrote about Islam are not the only means by which we can gauge his interest in the subject. Indeed, in his 'Catalogue of books', we find that he owned David Jones' *Compleat history of the Turks* (1719). He often lent it out to fellow ministers and laypeople alike. Though we may not know the occasions for his doing so, we can nevertheless surmise that, in lending such titles, Edwards was in some way sharing his own interest in the subject.

It is not widely known that Edwards had anything to say about Islam. Certainly, much of what he said or wrote was not original. He recounted the same narratives that characterised his peers' engagement with the religion of Muḥammad. However, in typical fashion, he would not allow himself to be boxed in by the narratives or experiences of others. This characteristic, combined with his keen interest in eschatology and his ongoing battle with deism, meant that he not only interacted with Islam more than most of his peers, but that he also made statements that seemed shockingly out of place. This is why he could simultaneously claim that Muḥammad was a false prophet and that he 'owned' the one true God. In Edwards' mind, the two were not diametrically opposed ideas as long as they were held in proper perspective. He seemed willing to accept that Muslims worshipped the God of Abraham but, in denying Jesus Christ as the mediator between God and man, they fell into a state of apostasy. This also explains how Edwards could say that Muḥammad, the man who led his followers to use their swords to spread his message, 'owns Jesus', the one who led his followers to put their swords away. He meant that, inasmuch as Islam affirmed foundational Christian doctrines such as Jesus' messiahship, it reflected God's truth; but in denying Jesus' divine sonship it became no more than a 'soul-killing religion'. For Edwards, whatever light Islam contained was true light, but it was at best a reflected light, dimmed by faulty knowledge of the Christian scriptures.

Edwards' remarks about Islam as a form of revealed religion resemble theoretical inferences made by theologians from a later period, and contrast starkly with the condemnations of Islam as a human or demonic invention made by Christians who encountered it at first hand. His views are at times striking in their originality and logical clarity, though they were not fully developed and they appear to have gone virtually unnoticed and unexploited.

PUBLICATIONS

Most of Edwards' manuscripts are still extant, and are held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. They have been digitised and are available online at http://beinecke.library.yale.edu

The Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University has made all Edwards' works available online for free, in a searchable database. The corpus stands at 73 volumes, with the final pieces currently being edited for publication: http://edwards.yale.edu

Works of Jonathan Edwards, vols. 1-26, New Haven CT, 1957-2008

Works that figure prominently in this entry are:

Jonathan Edwards, *An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth*, Boston MA, 1747; DRT Digital Store 3166.aa.9 (digitised copy available through the British Library)

Jonathan Edwards, *An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth*, Edinburgh, 1789; DRT Digital Store RB.23.a.19457 (digitised copy available through the British Library)

S. Austin et al. (eds), *The works of President Edwards*, Worcester MA, 1808, vol. 3: *An humble attempt*, pp. 353-494; 3 3433 06823061 8 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Jonathan Edwards, *United prayer for the spread of the Gospel, earnestly recommended; or, an abridgment of 'An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth'*, ed. G. Burder, London, 1814

Jonathan Edwards, *United and extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom earnestly recommended*, Andover MA, 1815 (New England Tract Society 'mostly extracted from *An humble attempt*')

Jonathan Edwards, *An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth*, London, 1831

A Treatise concerning religious affections, in J. Smith (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 2. *Religious affections*, New Haven CT, 1959 (the original MSS are not extant, although a working notebook entitled 'No. 7' exists in Yale's Beinecke Library)

Jonathan Edwards, *An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth, pursuant to scripture promises and prophesies concerning the last time*, in S. Stein (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 5. *Apocalyptic writings*, New Haven CT, 1977

'Notes on the apocalypse', in S. Stein (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 5. *Apocalyptic writings*, New Haven CT, 1977

A History of the work of redemption, in J. Wilson (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 9. *A History of the work of redemption*, New Haven CT, 1989

'Miscellany' no. 1334, in D. Sweeney (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 23. *The 'Miscellanies' 1153-1360*, New Haven CT, 2004

Edwards' works have been translated into numerous languages. The following Arabic editions are helpful to note:

Mawʿiẓa fī ghaḍab Allāh ʿalā l-khuṭā [trans. of 'Sinners in the hands of an angry God'], Beirut, 1849

Kitāb tārīkh al-fidā' [trans. of 'A history of redemption'], Beirut, 1868

STUDIES

Innumerable studies have been published on aspects of Edwards' thought. The most relevant for the present purposes are:

R.A. Leo, 'The reverend and the shaykh. Jonathan Edwards, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the encounter of eighteenth-century conservatism in New England and Najd', Birmingham, 2018 (PhD Diss. University of Birmingham)

M. McClymond and G. McDermott, 'Christianity and other religions', in *The theology of Jonathan Edwards*, Oxford, 2012, 580-98

G. McDermott, 'Islam. The left arm of antichrist', in *Jonathan Edwards confronts the gods. Christian theology, enlightenment religion, and non-Christian faiths*, Oxford, 2000, 166-75

R.A. Leo

Peter Markoe

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1752
PLACE OF BIRTH St Croix, Danish West Indies
DATE OF DEATH 30 January 1792
PLACE OF DEATH Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BIOGRAPHY

Peter Markoe was born on the island of St Croix around 1752, his grandfather having emigrated there from France in the 1680s. Peter's father, Abraham Markoe, moved with his family to North America in 1771 and settled in Philadelphia. Peter was Abraham's first son from his first wife, Elizabeth Rogers.

Information about Peter Markoe's early life and education are rather sketchy, partly because he was known to be the black sheep of the family, and partly because the Markoe family records are said to have been lost during the insurrection at St Croix in 1878. He attended Trinity College, Dublin, and graduated from Pembroke College, Oxford, in February 1767. Subsequently, he returned to Philadelphia, where he spent the remaining years of his short life; he died at the age of 40 in 1792.

As an immigrant to Philadelphia, Markoe took the Oath of Allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania on 22 March 1784. Throughout the remainder of his life, he demonstrated a clear sense of patriotism towards his newly-adopted country and was active as a captain in the Philadelphia Light Horse and a member of the Society of the Lately Adopted Sons of Pennsylvania, as well as being enlisted in the Philadelphia Militia in 1785.

He was not a prolific writer. He was reported to frequent the Philadelphia bars and taverns and suffered from a hot temper. His admirers, however, find excuses for these factors and give him credit for dealing with issues that were relevant to his generation and of crucial importance to the country and his immediate community. This merit is clearly seen in *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania*, a work produced during a period that witnessed the beginning of a protracted process of negotiations and wars with the 'Barbary States', and, more importantly, the debates over the country's political and judicial systems.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Peter Markoe, *The patriot chief. A tragedy*, Philadelphia PA, 1784

Peter Markoe, *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania. Or, Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States in America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*, Philadelphia PA, 1787

Peter Markoe, 'An epistle to Mr. Oswald', *The Pennsylvania Journal, and the Weekly Advertiser*, 21 February, 1787

Peter Markoe, *Miscellaneous poems*, Philadelphia PA, 1787

Peter Markoe, 'The times. A poem', *The Pennsylvania Herald, and General Advertiser*, 24 November 1787 (second printing, *The times. A poem*, Philadelphia PA, 1788)

Secondary

T. Marr (ed.), *Peter Markoe, The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania. Or, Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States of America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*, Yardley PA, 2008

F. Shaban, *Islam and Arabs in early American thought. The roots of Orientalism in America*, Durham NC, 1991

M.C. Diebels, 'Peter Markoe (1752?-1792). A Philadelphia writer', Washington DC, 1944 (PhD Diss. Catholic University of America)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania

DATE 1787

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania (in full, *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania. Or, Letter written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States in America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*) takes the form of a collection of 24 letters written mainly by the fictitious Algerian spy Mehmet, who is originally from Carthage (*The Algerine spy*, ed. Marr, pp. 25-6; all the references that follow are to this edition) during his trip from Algiers through Spain to the United States, where he settles in Philadelphia. The text covers pp. 12-129 in the 1787 first edition.

The supposed translator says that the letters were 'written in different languages, but chiefly in Arabic, delivered into my hands with a note, which contained a request that I should translate and publish them for the good of the United States' (p. 5). They are not individually dated but

arranged chronologically, and cover the period 'from 1783 to the meeting of the Convention in Philadelphia' in 1787. The United States at the time was a fledgling young country locked in a struggle with the North African Muslim 'Barbary' states of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco over the right to navigate the Mediterranean for commerce and the piracy and hostage-taking by these countries from 1785 to 1815. This period also witnessed the formative years of the United States' legislative and constitutional system of governance. In fact, this latter topic is the main theme analysed by the supposedly Algerian author.

The fact that Mehmet is Muslim, which is already evident in his name, comes through frequently in the correspondence. In fact, in his first letter to his correspondent Solyman in Algiers, Mehmet states that he undertook this mission in the service of the 'Musselman faith'; he also 'recommends [his] soul to Allah', and asks Solyman to get him a clarification from 'our great spiritual guide' as to whether the dispensation he had granted Mehmet 'to drink wine' included 'all fermented and even distilled liquors'. In 'the lands of Christians', he says, he would have to partake in this pastime in order to carry out his mission (pp. 7-8). We also learn from his correspondence that he was advised to pretend to be a Frenchman, 'a native of the South of France', because he knew French and because this would explain the 'swarthiness' of his complexion (p. 9).

Not until he is settled in Philadelphia does Mehmet write his first and only letter to his wife Fatima (p. 82). However, he does send her many expressions of affection and praise in his letters through Solyman, his Algerian confidant and official contact. In fact, Fatima seems to be ever-present in his correspondence. In Letter 1, Mehmet asks Solyman to 'council, assist and console the treasure of my heart' (p. 1). He also assures Fatima that 'she need not fear that I would replace her in my affections with a European or American rival' (p. 11). Letter 5 begins and ends on the note that Fatima is 'the beloved of my soul' (p. 31).

The Fatima story, however, ends on a note of betrayal when Solyman informs Mehmet of Fatima's decision to end their marriage, and that she had 'fled with his chief gardener' (p. 116). By then, Mehmet was at peace with himself in his new life in Philadelphia and with his new religion, Christianity, which he ultimately accepted. In a gesture of chivalry, he grants Fatima his blessings and offers her gifts. Fatima herself leaves for Gibraltar and becomes a Christian.

One of the most interesting subjects dealt with in Mehmet's letters is his encounters with women in Europe and America. The contrast in

social habits and the position and behaviour of women is a constant theme. Mehmet is both fascinated by women's liberated and independent, outgoing attitude, and critical of their more than frivolous and casual social habits. One example is his encounter with the society of women in Gibraltar, where he remarks that his host's wife, 'although sufficiently domesticated, partakes of all the amusements of the place; she visits, and is visited by, several respectable families'. At first, Mehmet feels bashful and reserved and 'answered their questions with diffidence and hesitation'. 'Strange that I the man', he comments, 'who in his harem, inspired awe and even terror, should in his turn, be awed into silence, and shrink from the eye of female observation' (pp. 27-8). This prompts Mehmet's remark that he is 'accustomed to women who are reserved, bashful and timid', in contrast to Western women. However, he 'suppressed these unmanly feelings, and entered into the spirit of their conversation, which was decent and lively' (p. 28).

Mehmet then describes in detail the social habits of women indulging in conversations about divorce and elopement, and of 'fondling' and kissing a lapdog 'and even speaking to [him] with all the rapture of maternal tenderness' (p. 27), and of the woman who suddenly turns pale and the excitement of reviving her with 'a dozen essence-bottles'. He is 'distressed for the lady', but is surprised to learn that 'her fainting was caused when she heard that her monkey had fallen and slipped his shoulder' (pp. 30-1). On retiring to his apartment, Mehmet muses: 'How different, my friend, are these women from the beloved of my soul; who is more intent to hear, than eager to speak; who, satisfied with my love, aims not at the admiration of others; with whom silence is wisdom and reserve is virtue' (p. 31).

On a number of occasions, Markoe shows some limited and superficial knowledge of Islam and Islamic sects. For example, Mehmet notes while in Gibraltar that 'different sects of Christians have frequently been intolerant to each other', and notices that 'the followers of Mahmet have been indulgent to those who profess Christianity' (p. 15). He admits, though, 'that there are schisms even in our holy religion'. Mehmet refers, as an example to 'the disciples of Hali' [ʿAlī], who 'differ in some particulars from the followers of our prophet' (p. 15).

Speaking through the persona of Mehmet, Markoe presents a viewpoint of Islam and Muslims very unusual at the time. He seems to argue that the persecution and expulsion of Moorish Muslims from Spain was a historical mistake with lasting adverse consequences. 'Moderation', says Mehmet, 'would have reconciled our forefathers … to the superstitions

of the Nazarines.' For the Moors were intelligent and brave people and 'their expulsion weakened Spain' (p. 14).

The difference, Mehmet concludes, 'between Mahomatans and Christians' in this particular context of intolerance, is that 'the rabble among us are sometimes guilty of religious rancer [sic]; but in Christian countries, persecution proceeds from those who are, or at least are supposed to be, the most enlightened. What glory to the generous followers of the bold and intrepid Mahomet! What disgrace to the pretended disciples of the meek and humble Jesus!' (p. 16). Early on, Mehmet shows a bias towards his own faith by wishing that a 'great inquisition of reason be established throughout the world! Thus shall our holy faith be established in the hearts of the barbarous idolater, and the obstinate Jew and Christian' (p. 51). This is in stark contrast to his last letter, where he extols the virtues of the United States, renounces his homeland and faith and adopts Christianity (pp. 122-5).

Mehmet's final thoughts on his newly adopted country and religion are eloquently expressed in his last letter: 'Algiers, thou witness of my glory and disgrace, farewell. And thou Pennsylvania, who has promised to succor and protect the unhappy, that fly to thee for refuge, open thy arms to receive Mehmet the Algerine, who, formerly a Mahometan, and thy foe, has renounced his enmity, his country and his religion, and hopes, protected by thy laws, to enjoy, in the evening of his days, the united blessings of FREEDOM and CHRISTIANITY. FAREWELL. THE END' (p. 125).

SIGNIFICANCE

Peter Markoe's *The Algerine spy*, like Royall Tyler's *The Algerine captive*, is part of a tradition of polemics that goes back to the early times of Islam. The 'author' Mehmet sets out arguments for both Christianity and Islam, and provides the means for underlining differences between Muslim and Christian culture and for criticising aspects of each. He finally attests the superiority of Christianity by converting.

PUBLICATIONS

Peter Markoe, *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania. Or, Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States in America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*, Philadelphia PA, 1787; F153.M4 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Peter Markoe, *The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania. Or, Letters written by a native of Algiers on the affairs of the United States of America, from the close of the year 1783 to the meeting of the Convention*, ed. T. Marr, Yardley PA, 2008

STUDIES

J. Voss, 'The eagle and the crescent. Early U.S. literary encounters with Islam', Louisville KY, 2006 (PhD Diss. University of Kentucky), pp. 84-111

F. Lambert, *The Barbary Wars. American Independence in the Atlantic world*, New York, 2005

P. Baepler, *White slaves, African masters. An anthology of American Barbary captivity narratives*, Chicago IL, 1999, pp. 171-2

R. Allison, *The Crescent obscured. The United States and the Muslim world, 1776-1815*, New York, 1995, pp. 3-4

Shaban, *Islam and Arabs in early American thought*

H. Barnby, *The Prisoners of Algiers. An account of the forgotten American-Algerian War of 1785-1796*, London, 1966

Diebels, 'Peter Markoe (1752?-1792)', pp. 49-66

Fuad Shaban

New England Puritans and Islam

DATE 17th/18th centuries
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

New England Puritans were concerned with the 'religion of Mahomet' for a variety of reasons. Beyond the fact that it was, along with Catholicism, an archetype for all false religion, they wrote and spoke about Islam in relation to three primary themes: eschatology, captivity, and deism. The first saw Islam as an ideological threat predicted to be part of the biblical eschaton. The second saw Islam as a practical threat, thanks to the numbers of seafaring European and American Christians who were being enslaved by the Barbary pirates of North Africa. The third saw Islam not as a threat, but as a foil for the deist elevation of natural religion to the status of revealed religion. None, however, saw Islam as an existential threat to the true Protestant religion, which they felt was certain to triumph eventually throughout the world. Puritans almost universally held that the coming of Islam in the 7th century was God's judgement on the theological laxity and political squabbling of the Eastern churches, but they did not believe that it would prevail against the Protestant cause – provided that God's people learned from the past and did not repeat the mistakes of history.

The main sources for colonial-era thought on the subject were British and continental depictions of Muḥammad, Islam, Muslims and the Qur'an that were typically polemical in nature, with Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* (1697) standing as a prime example. The degree to which individual New England divines were conversant with the actual precepts of the religion, however, differed from one clergyman to the next. Although no prominent thinkers are known to have had personal contact with Muslims (though perhaps some did, unwittingly, through contact with slaves or traders), the Puritans of New England generally displayed little variety in their treatment of Islam or Muslims.

What follows is a sampling of this treatment from some of American Puritanism's better-known voices.

John Cotton (1585-1652)

At the dawn of New England Puritanism, John Cotton was among the first prominent English Puritan ministers to resettle in America. He was minister at the iconic St Botolph's Church in Boston, Lincolnshire, for nearly 20 years after he graduated from Cambridge. Opposition to his Puritan beliefs eventually forced him to emigrate to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where he was welcomed by Governor John Winthrop in 1633. He spent the final two decades of his life as minister of the church at Boston, Massachusetts, which was in those days far less well-known than its English namesake. Ironically, it was Cotton himself who would help to invert the two Bostons in eminence. His distinguished ministry of preaching and writing in America helped to bolster the young city and establish it as the religious and political epicentre of Puritan New England.

Cotton gave a sermon series on Revelation, *The powring ovt of the seven vials* (1642), in which eschatological concerns prompted him to summon Islam as a fulfilment of end-time prophecies. As theologians before and after him were wont to do, Cotton identified Islam as the historical actualisation of the pouring out of the sixth vial of Revelation 16:12, which dries up the Euphrates to 'prepare the way for the kings of the East'. Notably, he was more concerned with the evils of Rome and her papal Antichrist than with those of Constantinople (Istanbul), because he saw the Turks as a divinely ordained judgement on Roman Catholic heresy more than as a direct threat to Protestanism. The 'Idolatries, Murthers, Sorceries, Fornications, and Thefts of Christendome' were the cause of Islam's dominion. When the errors of Rome were righted by Protestant truth, predicted Cotton, 'Turkish Tyrannie' would also crumble (*The powring ovt of the seven vials*, p. 19).

Roger Williams (1603-83)

Born in London, Roger Williams felt compelled to emigrate to America in 1630 after becoming a Puritan while studying at Cambridge. He refused an invitation to preach at the church in Boston, Massachusetts, on the grounds that it had not sufficiently separated from the Church of England. After being expelled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for promoting such 'dangerous ideas', Williams was welcomed to the

Plymouth Colony by Governor William Bradford. However, he soon left Plymouth as well due to his displeasure with colonial treatment of the native Americans, who he felt should have been better compensated for their land. He finally settled at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1636, which he founded on the principle of total religious liberty.

For Roger Williams, Islam was an archetype for false religion. He likened one of his theological opponents, George Fox, to both Muḥammad and the pope as the leaders of false religious movements. So great was his distaste for Fox's Quaker movement that he predicted, 'no doubt but the *Quakers* will use the Sword as much as *Mahomet*' (*George Fox digg'd out of his burrowes*, p. 263). According to Williams, '*Old* and *New-England* may flourish when the *Pope* and *Mahomet*, *Rome* and *Constantinople* are in their Ashes' (*George Fox digg'd out of his burrowes*, Introduction, unnumbered page). Since they already had formidable enemies such as these from without, why should Protestants therefore tolerate the formation of new false religions from within?

Interestingly, Williams's differences with the leaders of Massachusetts Bay also extended to his ideas on infant baptism and state religion. He opposed infant baptism on the grounds that he saw no evidence for it in the Bible, and that it tended to promote the kind of religious compulsion that caused the Puritans to split from the Church of England in the first place. Founding the First Baptist Church in America in 1638, where only consenting adults were baptised as members, Williams heavily promoted the idea of the separation of church and state. He condemned Massachusetts Bay for too closely fusing the two together, famously stating that 'Forced worship stinks in God's nostrils' (*The correspondence of Roger Williams, volume II: 1654-1682*, ed. G.W. LaFantasie et al., Providence RI, 1988, p. 618). He did not hide his distaste for Constantine, whom he saw as doing grievous harm to biblical Christianity by making it a state religion. Such erroneous application of the true freedom of the Gospel only led to the 'rape of the soul' that all forced religion produced in its citizens, be they Catholic, Muslim, Anglican or *even* Puritan. His ideas on the separation of church and state heavily influenced the framers of the US Constitution, who did not want the new nation to foster the kind of tyranny that Catholic, Anglican and Islamic nations produced, in large part because of forced religion.

Jonathan Edwards (1703-58)

A century after Cotton and Williams, in the twilight of New England Puritanism, Jonathan Edwards stands as a towering figure in early American religion. His sermon, 'Sinners in the hands of an angry God' is credited with helping to spark the Great Awakening. After graduating from Yale, Edwards occupied the pulpit of the church at Northampton, Massachusetts, for nearly 25 years. His writings are among the most erudite in early American intellectual religious history, and focus mainly on the sovereign majesty and beauty of God, especially in his work of redemption.

Edwards had comparatively more to say about Islam than most other Puritan divines. In 'Notes on the apocalypse', he saw Islam as fulfilling several biblical prophecies. In addition to concurring with John Cotton about the sixth vial of Revelation 16, he vividly depicted Muḥammad as the star that fell to earth in Revelation 9:1, and likened the early Islamic conquests to the locusts that swarmed across the earth in Revelation 9:3. If the pope was the Antichrist and leader of Satan's kingdom in the West, then Muḥammad was the false prophet and leader of Satan's kingdom in the East.

Edwards was not only motivated to present Islam for its relation to the eschaton, however. He was also compelled by the threat of English deism when he penned his most extensive thoughts on the subject, 'In what respects the propagation of Mahometanism is far from being worthy to be looked upon as parallel with the propagation of Christianity' in 'Miscellany' no. 1334, probably written just a year or two before his death. In comparing the spread of Islam with that of Christianity, Northampton's illustrious minister saw in Islam the perfect foil for deist claims that all religions were essentially alike. How could this be true when Islam was spread by the sword, while Christianity was spread by love and sacrifice? Islam was propagated among ignorant desert dwellers 'in a dark corner of Arabia' and forbade the seeking of knowledge, while Christianity was propagated among the pillars of learned society in Rome and Greece, and urged free inquiry. Islam was a carnal religion that catered to man's sensuality, while Christianity was a spiritual religion that catered to man's soul. Thus, Edwards was concerned with Islam as both a divinely foretold prophetic judgement on the apostate church and a prime example of the follies of deist logic.

In addition to rather unremarkable polemical rhetoric on Islam, though, Edwards made some unorthodox assertions in a 1739 sermon

series published as *History of the work of redemption* (1774), stating that Muḥammad 'owns Jesus' inasmuch as he revered him as the Word, Messiah, servant and virgin-born prophet of God. He further acknowledged that Muslims also worship the God of Abraham, albeit incompletely, owing to their faulty knowledge of scripture, from whence they 'apostatized from' the true Christian religion. In this way, Edwards' theology of religions not only stood apart from those of his contemporaries, but anticipated later Christian theological discussions by more than a century.

Cotton Mather (1663-1728)

Situated, as it were, at high noon of the New England Puritan enterprise, between John Cotton (his grandfather and namesake) and Jonathan Edwards, was Cotton Mather. A Harvard-trained theologian and a prolific author, Mather was also a fellow of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge thanks to his contributions in natural science. Taking the pulpit after his father, Increase (1639-1723), Cotton Mather served as minister of Boston's North Church for over 40 years.

Mather's engagement with Islam was primarily motivated by the issue of Christians taken captive by Barbary pirates. While he mentioned the issue in his acclaimed history, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Mather also wrote two separate works devoted to the issue, *A pastoral letter to the English captives* (1698) and *The goodness of God* (1703), where he portrayed Muslims as 'fierce monsters' and 'devils', and Muḥammad as 'the Impostor' with 'his accursed Alcoran!'. Mather pleaded with the captives to remain true to Jesus in the face of pressure to deny him and convert to Islam (as one 'wretched' French Catholic had reportedly done). It would be far better to die and be received into heaven by Christ, or wait patiently for redemption, said he. For, 'we had rather you should endure all manner of *temporal miseries*, than incur *eternal* ones: We had rather a *Turk* or a *Moor* should continually trample on you, than that the *Devil* should make a *prey* of you.' The prayers of the faithful 'Churches of poor New-England' were, in the end, the reason for the slaves' eventual redemption and return to the colonies. God's 'Efficacious order, to let them go' proved irresistible even to a king as diabolical as 'Mully Ishmael' (Mūlay Ismāʿīl ibn Sharīf), warrior-king of Morocco from 1672 to 1727 (*The goodness of God*, pp. 45-6).

To bolster their faith, Mather reminded the captives that 'There were many irrefragable proofs, of our Lord's being the *Messiah*, whom God

had promised for to be the *Redeemer of the world* ... Our Jesus *did* all the *Messiah* was to do; The characters of the *Messiah* were fully answered in our Jesus' (*A pastoral letter to the English captives*, p. 6). As proof that Mather had either read the Qur'an himself or at least read about its contents, he noted that if Muslims would only read their own book, they would be able to see clearly that it mentioned Jesus as the Messiah. The fact that Muslims have always maintained that Jesus is the Messiah was obviously lost on Mather, who surely had a different understanding of the significance of the term 'Messiah'. Mather's Christian soteriology depended upon a long series of Old Testament Messianic prophesies that all found their fulfilment in Jesus as the long-awaited Messiah – the anointed deliverer of God's people. Because Islamic soteriology lacks the chain of Messianic promises found throughout the Hebrew Bible, focusing instead on a succession of prophets and messengers who testified to the unity of God, Muslims have not traditionally attached much significance to the term 'Messiah', other than as an honorific title for Jesus. In this, Mather's point, limited as it was by his own knowledge of Islam, does not carry the weight that he intended.

Amidst an otherwise demeaning body of commentary on Islam, Cotton Mather did make an unusual observation in *The Christian philosopher* (1721). Here he held up the medieval Andalusian Islamic philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl (1105-85) as exemplary for his efforts in demarcating the natural link between human reason and belief in God. 'Even a Mahometan' can see and argue that 'Reason, in a serious view of nature' is enough to prove God's existence, bellowed Mather in an attempt to stoke the fires of theistic philosophy among his readers. While such an assessment falls shy of outright praise for a Muslim thinker, it is an anomaly in Mather's wider thought on Islam.

Like his father, Increase Mather, as well as many other Puritans from old and New England, Cotton also believed that Islam must collapse before a great ingathering of Jewish people into the Christian religion could finally occur, as they believed was foretold in the Bible. This imminent collapse was to be primarily witnessed in the political realm – as the Ottoman Empire was then the visible outward political expression of the inward spiritual reality of Islam as a religion. This is why Mather preached about a day 'when the *Turkish Empire*, instead of being any longer a *Wo* to *Christendome*, shall itself become a *Part of Christendome*' (*Things for a distress'd people to think upon*, pp. 34-5). In this way, we might reasonably discern that he did not wish to see Muslim *individuals* die, but rather, Muslim *states* – which might then be peacefully subsumed

into Christian ones, while their citizens were instructed in the true religion of Christ and thereby truly begin to live.

Jonathan Dickinson (1688-1747)

Preceding Jonathan Edwards at both Yale and Princeton, Jonathan Dickinson was a native of Massachusetts who commenced his ministry in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1709 at the Congregational church, and later helped form the Presbyterian synod of New York. In 1747, he obtained a charter for the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), becoming its first president.

Dickinson was a learned scholar and a devoted teacher, and sought to counter 'rational' religionists who were influenced by deist and Enlightenment thought in their accusations against orthodox Calvinist doctrine. In 1732, he wrote the *Reasonableness of Christianity* to codify his argument. In this document, Dickinson called out Islam and other non-Christian religions in a series of rhetorical questions meant to expose the folly of his opponents' logic. 'Shall we then repair for help unto the *Mahometan religion*, and consult the *Alcoran* in our present distress?' he asked his readers. 'Alas, in vain! For no wise man can trust in such a *rhapsody of nonsense* and confusion, and in such a *medly* of inconsistent, and absurd *doctrines* of *religion* and *tyranny*, twisted together, without some better *evidence* of its *Divine authority*, than the bare word of the voluptuous and ambitious *author*' (*Reasonableness of Christianity*, p. 60).

In defence of divine miracles, Dickinson argued that Christianity alone could convincingly attest to its claims because most miracles mentioned in the Bible were done in plain sight, and in view of all kinds of people, even opponents. In other words, they would have been easy to refute, and the fact that biblical miracles have stood the test of time and criticism is proof of their occurrence. The same could not be said for Islam: 'Let 'em call in the help of the *Alcoran*, or what other legendary fables they please; and bring convincing proof of but one single *miracle* wrought in confirmation of any other *Doctrine*'. He continued, 'I'm sensible they can produce *romantick* and fabulous Histories enough, that will discover the fruitful invention of the obscure deceitful *Authors*; such as … *Mahomet's* night-journey to Heaven, and the infamous *Popish Legends:* But what attestation have they to the truth of these *Facts*, and what to confirm our belief of 'em; but the bare reports of the unknown *Authors*?' (pp. 160-1).

Aaron Burr Sr (1716-57)

After graduating from Yale, Aaron Burr Sr (whose son Aaron Jr would later become the third vice-president of the United States under Thomas Jefferson) became the minister of the Presbyterian Church of Newark, New Jersey. Burr was also tied to Jonathan Edwards, as both his son-in-law and predecessor as president of Princeton, which he helped Jonathan Dickinson to found, and where he served from Dickinson's death until his own a decade later.

In a 1756 sermon given just one year before his death, *The watchman's answer to the question, what of the night?* (1757), Burr set out a fairly detailed historicist rendering of his thought, based on the text of a rather obscure Old Testament passage (Zechariah 14:6-7). Princeton's second president was convinced that hard times lay ahead for the Church – in fact they had already begun to manifest themselves in many ways. While his famous father-in-law saw the gradual spread of the gospel over the earth as ushering in more peace and stability for the Church until the millennium commenced in full, Burr's eschatology differed inasmuch as he believed that a very dark night was in store for the Church before the light of the millennium would suddenly dawn. Burr did concur with Edwards that Islam was originally loosed upon the earth to judge 'the abominable corruptions of Popery', thus fulfilling the prophetic imagery of Revelation 9. However, he went further in his depictions of 'that false Prophet and great Impostor *Mahomet,* who made his appearance [in] A.D. 606' (*The watchman's answer*, p. 17).

Burr somehow knew that the people of Mecca 'attempted to crush the *Impostor* in the bud', but eventually failed in their attempts to resist Muḥammad and his message. He attributed the composition of the Qur'an to the helping hands of 'an apostate Jew and a Nestorian monk', whereby Muḥammad 'deluded his Followers' into believing that God had appointed him 'to institute a new religion' whose cause was 'meritorious to die for', as it was to be 'propagated by the sword'. Having 'brought all *Arabia* into his Power', Muḥammad 'and his Followers (who, from their pretended descent from *Sarah, Abraham*'s Wife, were called *Saracens*) soon overran the greatest part of *Asia*', and worse yet, 'began to spread themselves exceeding fast in *Europe*, till their memorable defeat by *Charles Martel*, A.D. 734'. Burr summarised his sketch of the birth and spread of Islam by stating: 'The miseries brought on the Christian Church, by the spread of this Impostor, were exceeding great' (*The watchman's answer*, p. 17).

Although the Saracens initiated the darkness that was Islam, the Turks had adopted it for themselves when they inherited the lands of the Islamic empire. Thus the Turkish threat to Europe was an *Islamic* threat – as, in Burr's estimation, 'The *Mahometans* have ever been professed enemies to Christianity, and endeavour to root it out wherever they come, and are at present, the greatest *Obstacle* in the way of spreading the *Gospel*' (*The watchman's answer*, p. 20).

According to Burr, the colonists, who still saw themselves as fully British at the time he was writing, were in for major trouble in the days ahead. Because of their laxness in matters of religion, he felt that his British comrades were in danger of being overrun by the apostate French Catholics or, even worse, by the apostate Turkish Muslims. 'The *French* act like *men,* build forts and defend them; but the *English* act like *women*' (*The watchman's answer*, p. 29), he chided his hearers. Even so, followers of Christ were promised by Jesus himself that they were destined to suffer in this world, and so: 'We, indeed, may be laid in the silent dust, before this *blessed day* appears; but we can now behold it, as *Abraham* saw the *Day* of Christ; and if we are possessed of the same *excellent spirit,* shall rejoice and be exceeding glad' (*The watchman's answer*, p. 39).

Burr's only concern, then, was that Christians should hold fast to their faith, to the testimony of Jesus in the Bible, and should not yield to the surrounding culture, nor look elsewhere for deliverance. He rebuked his listeners, 'That our danger is *great,* and *near,* is acknowledged by all; but where do we look for deliverance? Is it not to our victorious *fleets?* – the *wisdom* of our commanders? – the *number* and *bravery* of our men?' (*The watchman's answer*, p. 43). God's people must look to him alone in the day of distress, maintained Burr, and only by doing this would they be guaranteed to be delivered from all their enemies, whether near (Catholicism) or far (Islam).

SIGNIFICANCE

Whether as archetype for false religion, agent of divine wrath, historical realisation of eschatology and harbinger of biblical prophecy, tormenter and tester of Christians, or foil for deism, Islam was called upon by the Puritans of New England to fulfil a variety of theological, polemical and political functions. On this crowded list, however, the role of Islam as the fulfilment of the prophetic voice of scripture stands out as the main item. Perhaps more than anything else, the Puritans were driven by a sense of the sovereignty of God. And in this regard, whatever else Islam might be, it *had* to be divinely ordained in order to exist. To speak otherwise

would be to question the sovereignty of the God, who had so obviously allowed Muḥammad to propagate his new religion with such incredible 'success'. As one considers all that the New England Puritans wrote and said about Islam, then, it is helpful to recall that this is what was foremost in their minds.

This continuous tendency to view Islam as God's chosen instrument to advance his purposes on earth was present from the birth of New England Puritanism all the way to its death. Indeed, at the end of the Puritan era, we find Samuel Langdon (1723-97), who served as minister at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and later as president of Harvard University, still speaking in very much the same way that John Cotton had nearly two centuries before. Langdon saw in the rise of 'Mahomet and the armies of the Saracens' the historical fulfilment of the fifth trumpet of Revelation, and in the Turks of his own day the fulfilment of the sixth and penultimate trumpet of Revelation (*Observations on the revelation of Jesus Christ to St John*). The only thing that remained was for the seventh and final trumpet to sound – for this would signify the end of the age and the return of Christ. In this final triumph of Christ and his Kingdom, the Puritans of New England envisioned a world where Islam as a false religion would be destroyed, but Muslims as people would worship the God of the Bible 'in spirit and truth' (John 4:23). As Jonathan Edwards put it, in that glorious day, people from *all* nations – including Muslim ones – 'shall be full of light and knowledge', and that 'Indians will be divines, and that excellent books will be published' even in 'Turkey' (*A history of the work of redemption*, p. 480).

Seen through this lens, the abiding influence of the New England Puritan contribution to contemporary Christian views of Islam is unmistakable. As theological heirs to much of Puritan thought, modern Evangelicals in particular display a nearly seamless integration of the views described above. The simultaneous focus on Islam as a false religion with eschatological significance, *and* on the conversion of Muslims to the Christian faith is a hallmark of much contemporary Evangelical discourse, especially in North America.

PUBLICATIONS

John Cotton, *The powring out of the seven vials, or, An exposition of the 16 chapter of the Revelation, ... preached in sundry sermons at Boston in New-England*, London, 1642; Wing C6449 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)

John Cotton, *The powring out of the seven vials: or, An exposition of the sixteenth chapter of the Revelation: ... Preached in sundry sermons at Boston in New-England*, London, 1645; Wing C6450 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)

John Cotton, *The pouring out of the seven vials*, Oswestry: Quinta Press, 2011 (reset text based on 1642 edition)

Roger Williams, *George Fox digg'd out of his burrowes*, Boston MA, 1676; 228 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*)

Cotton Mather, *A pastoral letter to the English captives, in Africa, from New England*, Boston MA, 1698; Wing 768:15 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)

Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London, 1702; ESTC T079039 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Cotton Mather, *The glory of goodness. The goodness of God*, Boston MA, 1703; 1123 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*)

Cotton Mather, *The Christian philosopher*, Boston MA, 1721; ESTC T067765 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Cotton Mather, *Things for a distress'd people to think upon*, Boston, 1696 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*)

Jonathan Dickinson, *The reasonableness of Christianity*, Boston MA, 1732; ESTC W28996 (digitised version available through British Library)

Aaron Burr, *The watchman's answer to the question, what of the night?*, New York, 1757; 7864 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*)

Jonathan Edwards, 'Notes on the apocalypse', in S.J. Stein (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 5. *Apocalyptic writings*, New Haven CT, 1977 (originally written in 1723)

Jonathan Edwards, 'Miscellany' no. 1334, 'In what respects the propagation of Mahometanism is far from being worthy to be looked upon as parallel with the propagation of Christianity', in D. Sweeney (ed.), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 23. *The 'Miscellanies' 1153-1360*, New Haven CT, 2004 (originally composed 1755-7)

Jonathan Edwards, *A history of the work of redemption*, Edinburgh, 1774 (many editions and translations of this work exist, most recently a French trans. in 2016); ESTC T072105 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Samuel Langdon, *Observations on the revelation of Jesus Christ to St John*, Worcester MA, 1791; 23486 (digitised version available through *Early American Imprints*)

STUDIES

R.A. Leo, 'The reverend and the shaykh. Jonathan Edwards, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and the encounter of eighteenth-century conservatism in New England and Najd', Birmingham, 2018 (PhD Diss. University of Birmingham

D. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an. Islam and the founders*, New York, 2013

T. Kidd, *American Christians and Islam. Evangelical culture and Muslims from the colonial period to the age of terrorism*, Princeton NJ, 2009

T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, Cambridge, 2006

R.A. Leo

Bryan Edwards

DATE OF BIRTH 21 May 1743
PLACE OF BIRTH Westbury, Wiltshire
DATE OF DEATH 16 July 1800
PLACE OF DEATH The Polygon, Southampton

BIOGRAPHY

Bryan Edwards was born on 21 May 1743 in Westbury, Wiltshire, England, to Elizabeth Bayly and Bryan Edwards. After his father's death in 1756, he, his mother and five siblings came under the protection of his uncle, Zachary Bayly. Edwards lived with his uncle in Jamaica from 1759 until Bayly's death in 1769. He had started his studies in Bristol and continued them in Jamaica, where he developed an interest in literature, history and botany.

Almost upon his arrival in Jamaica, Edwards witnessed a slave revolt, which probably inspired him to follow his uncle into politics. He was elected a member of the House of Assembly for St George parish in 1765, at the age of 22. Upon his uncle's demise, Edwards inherited five of his estates, and in 1773 his friend Benjamin Hume bequeathed him two more, as well as a cattle pen, giving him a combined labour force of at least 1500 slaves. As one of the richest persons in Jamaica, Edwards immersed himself in a small but serious scholarly community, which saw the island as a laboratory for the study of plants and human societies. He was elected a fellow of the American Philosophical Society in 1774.

Edwards returned to England in 1782, where he ran for parliament as a critic of the war against American independence and lost by eight votes. Despite his loss, he continued to represent the interests of West Indian planters in England by protesting against the prohibition of trade between the West Indies and the newly independent United States of America. Edwards sought to remind the British Empire of the value of its sugar colonies, which depended heavily on slave labour. He advocated for local control and proper management of slavery in the Americas. When he was finally elected to parliament in 1796 for the Cornish borough of Grampound, he came to be known as one of the so-called 'moderate' West Indians who supported the reform, but not the abolition, of the slave trade. Edwards was aware that the abolition of slavery would

disrupt his entire social order. He thus justified the institution on socio-political and economic grounds, while acknowledging its inhumanity.

The subject of slavery, both its management and its social and economic significance, held a prominent place in Edwards's research and political agenda. In 1791, he joined a relief expedition to the French colony of San Domingo to research the history of the slave rebellion on the island. In 1797, he published a *Historical survey of the French colony in the island of St Domingo* in order to admonish his contemporaries about the dangers of abolition. The book included an account of his expedition and a history of the island's government, particularly in relation to its management of slaves as well as free people of colour, and its relationship with France.

Edwards left Jamaica for the last time in 1792. The following year, he published his best-known work, the two-volume *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies*. On the basis of this publication, in 1794 he was elected a fellow to the Royal Society. Edwards died in his home at The Polygon, Southampton, on 16 July 1800, before he could complete the preface to the 1801 edition of the *History*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Bryan Edwards, 'Sketch of the life of the author', in *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies*, Philadelphia, 1810, pp. x-xvi

Secondary

R. Sheridan, art. 'Edwards, Bryan (1743-1800)', in *ODNB*

O.M. Blouet, 'Bryan Edwards, F.R.S., 1743-1800', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 54 (2000) 215-22

H. Vendryes, 'Bryan Edwards', *Jamaican Historical Review* 1 (1945) 76-82

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The history, civil and commercial, of the British West Indies

DATE 1793

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Bryan Edwards's *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies* was first published in 1793, in two volumes. An abridgement

of the book by Thomas Taylor appeared in 1794. Another edition was published posthumously in 1801 with two new prefaces. One of these prefaces was authored by Edwards himself but not fully completed; it included a brief autobiography. The other preface was by the editor, Daniel McKinnen. The 1801 edition also included an updated version of Edwards's publication on St Domingo. In addition to multiple reprints, three more editions were published, which expanded Edwards's work to five volumes. The *History* was also translated into French, German, Dutch, Portuguese and Italian.

While in the first volume of the *History* (516 pages) Edwards provides a broad overview of the Caribbean Islands, in the second volume (495 pages) he narrows his focus to plantation life in Jamaica with which he was intimately familiar. It describes the current inhabitants of the island, including the characteristics and management of slaves, some of whom he describes as 'Mahometans' (*History*, 2nd ed., p. 60); provides information about the history of agriculture on the island, focusing primarily on sugar cane; and concludes with a description of the colonial institutions on the island, and West Indian relations with Britain and the Americas.

The *History* is typical of books generally associated with the Age of Discovery. It is a product of the relations between Europe, West Africa and the Americas, which were triangulated through the Atlantic Ocean. The book provides valuable insights into the experiences of a member of the British landowning class in the West Indies as he sought to make sense of differences in custom, religion, race, ethnicity, geography and natural habitats that the Atlantic networks introduced.

Edwards was aware that there were Muslims among the enslaved Africans in the Americas, and associated their presence with the West African jihads of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He stated that 'the prisoners taken in these religious wars furnish ... great part of the slaves which are exported from the factories on the Windward Coast; and it is probable that death would be the fate of most of the captives if purchasers were not to be met with' (*History*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, p. 60). This recognition of the involvement of Muslims in both the slave trade and the making of the Atlantic World was unremarkable to Edwards. In fact, he wrote that 'an old and faithful Mandingo servant', literate in Arabic and able to recite parts of the Qur'an used in Muslim ritual prayers, 'stands at my elbow while I write this' (p. 61).

On account of the presence of literate Muslim slaves in Jamaica, Edwards describes Mandingos as considering themselves to possess

'a marked superiority' and displaying 'such gentleness of disposition and demeanour, as would seem the result of early education and discipline' (p. 62). Unlike some mid-19th-century opponents of slavery, who pointed to literacy among Muslim slaves to highlight Africans' 'humanity and potential for civilization', Edwards was not concerned with civilising Africans but with managing them on the plantation. He tells his reader that Mandingos have a propensity to steal and are not suitable for hard labour. In addition, they could be easily distinguished from Africans 'born nearer to the equator' because they are a 'less glossy black than the Gold Coast Negroes; and their hair though bushy and crisped, is not woolly, but soft and silky to the touch' (p. 62). He goes on to explain that their lips are not as 'thick', their noses not as 'flat', and their skin not as 'fetid' as 'the more southern Natives' (p. 62).

SIGNIFICANCE

While Edwards' mentions of his encounters with Muslims in the *History* are brief, they are nevertheless indicative of his semi-scientific curiosity about human nature and cultures, and his emphasis on the importance of practical knowledge for Britain's proper management of its colonies. It was on the basis of 'actual experience and personal observation' ('Sketch of the life of the author', p. xii) that Edwards considered himself 'better qualified [than other Europeans] to judge of the influence of climate and situation, on the disposition, temper, and intellects, of' the inhabitants of the West Indies (p. vii).

The emphasis Edwards placed on personal experience as being essential for understanding life in the colonies generally, and the management of slaves in particular, was representative of an emerging elite class in western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. Edwards and his ilk, though wealthy, were not aristocrats. As the *History* and Edwards' election to the Westminster parliament demonstrate, they established a place for themselves within the empire by emphasising how the practical management skills they developed in the colonies as mercantile capitalists, colonial administers and plantation managers were essential to the proper functioning of the empire, which had come to depend on its colonies for its economic prosperity.

PUBLICATIONS

Bryan Edwards, *The history, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 2 vols, Dublin, 1793 (1794); U102476477 (vol. 1) and U102476993 (vol. 2) (digitised version available through *The making of the Modern World*)

Bryan Edwards, The history, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies, 2nd edition, 2 vols, London, 1794; U103781672 (vol. 1) and U103975541 (vol. 2) (digitised version available through *The making of the Modern World*)

Bryan Edwards, 'Beschreibung der brittischen kolonien in Westindien', in *Auswahl der Besten ausländischen geographischen und statistischen Nachrichten zur Aufklärung der Völker und Länderkunde*, ed. and trans. M.C. Sprengel, 2 vols, Halle, 1794 (German trans.); VD18 9036998X (digitised version available through Universtätbibliothek Heidelberg)

Bryan Edwards, *Burgerlyke en handelkundige geschiedenis van de Englische volkplantingen in de West-Indiën*, 6 vols, Haarlem, 1794-9 (Dutch trans.); O 63-7893-7895 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Hague)

Bryan Edwards, *An abridgement of Mr. Edwards's civil and commercial history of the British West Indies*, 2 vols, London, 1794

Bryan Edwards, *The history civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies, to which is added, an historical survey of the French colony in the island of St Domingo, abridged from The history written by Bryan Edwards*, Glasgow, 1798 (1799); ESTC T137075 (digitised version available through *ECCO*)

Bryan Edwards, *Extracto do livro quinto da historia civil e comercial das colonios Occidentales Inglezia*, Lisbon, 1798 (Portuguese trans. of part of vol. 5 of one of the expanded editions)

Bryan Edwards, *The history, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 3rd edition, 3 vols, London, 1801; U104898473 (digitised version available through *The making of the Modern World*)

Bryan Edwards, *Histoire civile et commercial des colonies anglaises dans les Indes Occidentales, depuis leur découverte par Christophe Colomb jusqu'à nos jours; suivie d'un tableau historique et politique de l'île de Saint-Domingue avant et depuis la révolution française*, Paris, 1801 (French trans.); 8-Nt-456 (digitised version available through BNF)

Bryan Edwards, *The history, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 4th edition, 4 vols, Philadelphia PA, 1805 (1806, 1807, and 1810); U107183939 (vol. 1), U106502713 (vol. 2), U107809146 (vol. 4) (digitised version available through *The making of the Modern World*)

Bryan Edwards, *The history, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies: with a continuation to the present time*, 5th edition, 5 vols, London, 1819; (repr. Cambridge, 2010); U106974384 (vol. 1), U106505955 (vol. 2), U107055247 (vol. 3), U106209003 (vol. 4), U107150721 (vol. 5) (digitised version available through *The making of the Modern World*)

STUDIES

E.V. Goveia, 'Eighteenth century', in *Historiography of the British West Indies. To the end of the nineteenth century*, Washington DC, 1980, pp. 33-95

L.J. Ragatz, *A guide for the study of British Caribbean history 1763-1834*, Washington DC, 1932, pp. 164-5

Kambiz GhaneaBassiri and Shea McElroy

Legislation restricting Muslim presence in Colonial Spanish America

DATE 1492-c. 1800
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Beginning with the earliest voyages to the western hemisphere, the Spanish Crown sought to restrict emigration to the lands it had claimed to 'old Christians', or Spaniards without Muslim or Jewish ancestry. Spanish ecclesiastical and secular authorities both expressed concern about the religiosity of indigenous peoples whom they hoped to convert to Catholicism, and wanted to prevent the influence of Islam and Judaism from reaching their newly established colonies. The Spanish Habsburg monarchy's rivalry with the Ottoman Empire during the 16th century also prompted officials to associate political loyalty to the Spanish Crown with piety and devotion to Catholicism. Muslims and their descendants in both Spain and Spanish America faced increasing suspicion during the 16th and 17th centuries, which is also reflected in the legislation restricting their movement and settlement. In this light, faith in Islam was cast by the Crown and some Spanish authorities as politically subversive.

Regulations specified that prospective emigrants to the Americas had to obtain official licences that proved they were 'old Christians'. The documentation provided both their genealogies and an account of their upstanding character and Christian piety. During the 16th century, legislation affecting the ability of Muslims and Moriscos to settle in the Americas was expressed in royal decrees issued by the monarch in consultation with the *Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias* (Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies). The Council of the Indies was one of several governing councils in Spain and the one that oversaw policies pertaining to the Americas. Its members were the *oidores* or judges, who deliberated on matters in response to situations that arose on the ground before making recommendations to the king to issue the relevant decrees. When it came to emigration, the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade) in Seville handled the application process and issued licences to individuals deemed suitable following an investigation into their ancestry and reputation. The House of Trade also had a court in which anyone caught travelling to

the Americas without permission could be prosecuted. Finally, officials of the *audiencias* or royal courts in the principal Spanish American cities were urged periodically by royal decrees to locate Muslims and Moriscos in their midst and deport them to Spain. By the late 16th century, these royal decrees or *cédulas* began to be compiled and bound into books called *cedularios*, which continued to be consulted in later policy debates and decisions. Original manuscript copies of these royal decrees can be found in the Archive of the Indies (*Archivo de Indias*; AGI) in Seville, and in the national archives of countries across Latin America.

Such royal decrees applied to both free and enslaved Muslims and Moriscos. Some also targeted specific African societies with large Muslim populations such as the Wolof (labelled Jolofes or Gelofes in contemporary sources) in Senegambia, deemed by the authorities to be prone to rebellion owing to their association with Islam. As a result, royal decrees periodically prohibited enslaved Wolof men and women from being transported to the Spanish American viceroyalties.

The first decree restricting Muslims in the Americas was issued by King Ferdinand (r. 1479-1516) in 1501 to the governor of Hispaniola, Nicolás de Ovando, followed by another directive to the House of Trade in 1508 that its judges were not to allow anyone with Muslim ancestry to pass to the Americas. In preventing Muslims, Jews and recent converts to Catholicism from emigrating, the 1501 decree explained, 'As we with great care have to carry out the conversion of the Indians to our holy Catholic faith, if you find persons suspect in matters of the faith present during the said conversion, it could create an impediment' (*Cedulario Indiano Recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, vol. 1, p. 455). In 1514, Queen Juana (r. 1504-55) extended the earlier prohibitions to include new lands falling under Spanish jurisdiction, including Florida and the Caribbean island of Bimini (AGI, Indiferente 419, L. 5, fol. 250r). Charles V (r. 1516-56) issued further decrees explicitly prohibiting Muslims, Moriscos and their descendants from travelling to the Americas, citing in 1539 'the great damage and disadvantage that results' from their presence (*Cedulario Indiano Recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, vol. 1, pp. 452-3). Charles's subsequent decrees in 1543 and 1550 stressed the religious disadvantages the Crown perceived would follow by allowing Muslims and recent converts from Islam to travel to Spanish America: 'In such a new land as this in which the faith is freshly planted it is expedient that all opportunity [to pass] should be removed so that there cannot be sown or made public in it the sect of Muḥammad or any other … that undermines our holy Catholic faith' (AGI, Indiferente 424, L. 22, fol. 240r).

During the reign of Philip II (r. 1556-98), Spanish officials' concerns heightened and were rendered more explicit, as is reflected in the language of the *cédulas* restricting emigration. In 1559, Philip urged bishops and archbishops, with the support of secular authorities, to find and punish any Muslims, Jews or Protestants they found residing in their dioceses: 'Because … the Devil is so solicitous to sow heresies in Christendom, some Lutherans and others who are of the caste of Muslims and Jews who want to live in observance of their law and ceremonies have come to these parts … If any [heresy] is found it should be extirpated, undone and punished with rigour' (AGI, Indiferente 427, L. 30, fol. 96r). A decree issued by Philip II in 1570 ordered inquisitors to assume these duties, coinciding with the establishment of inquisitorial tribunals in the vice-regal capitals of Lima and Mexico City. The language of this decree strongly emphasised the role of Divine Providence in the Crown's imperative of maintaining Catholicism among indigenous peoples in the 'provinces that God has entrusted' to the Spanish Crown (*Cedulario Indiano Recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, vol. 1, pp. 46-7). Furthermore, by punishing and expelling heretics, a category that included Moriscos, 'by divine clemency and grace our Kingdoms and lands have been cleansed of all error, and this pestilence and contagion has been avoided' (*Cedulario Indiano Recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, vol. 1, pp. 46-7). By the last decades of the 16th century, representations of Muslims and Moriscos in the royal decrees reflected increasingly racialised attitudes as expressed in preoccupations with *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity), echoing Spanish commentators such as Pedro Aznar Cardona, who viewed not only Moriscos but also their descendants as both a religious and political threat.

In 1568-71, many members of the Morisco population of the southern Spanish kingdom of Granada rose up in armed protest against the increasingly restrictive policies of the Crown that sought to prohibit all practices it associated with Islam. When royal forces suppressed this rebellion in the Alpujarras mountains near Granada, some Granadan Moriscos faced enslavement, while others were resettled among larger Christian populations in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Growing anxieties concerning the loyalty of Granadan Moriscos also accounted for the increase in surveillance and concern with their presence in the Americas, as is reflected in the language of the royal decrees issued by Philip II. In 1578, Philip II singled out the Granadan Moriscos residing in the viceroyalties, instructing the officials of the *audiencias* to remit to Spain all free and enslaved Granadan Moriscos living under their

jurisdiction, including their children. Philip II also ordered that no more Moriscos should be allowed to pass to the Americas and that no more individual licences should be granted to Morisco slaves to accompany their masters overseas 'regardless of any … licences you would have for them' (*Cedulario Indiano Recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, vol. 4, p. 383). Memory of the Alpujarras uprising persisted, influencing later policies toward the Moriscos, including their expulsion from Spain in 1609-14.

Enforcement of all the royal decrees issued during the early colonial period varied according to local interests. Some colonial officials paid little attention to such decrees, viewing Moriscos as possessing skills that were valuable in the new settlements. Some Moriscos did indeed act as interpreters, artisans, healers or labourers, and a few rose to positions of high status. Nonetheless, because Muslims and Moriscos were prohibited from settling in the viceroyalties, they were vulnerable to denunciations in local disputes before the inquisitorial, ecclesiastical or secular courts for practising Islam in secret or being the descendants of Muslims. In cases where prosecutions were successful, the accused could face the confiscation of their goods, imprisonment, deportation to Spain, or even enslavement if prosecutors could convince the courts that the accused were runaway slaves. Despite individual prosecutions, no systematic attempt was ever implemented to expel Muslims and Moriscos from Spanish America, very likely due to the practical issues this would entail given the geographical distances and financial cost. As mentioned, enforcement of the royal decrees was in practice left to the discretion of local governors and *audiencia* officials.

During the 17th century, attempts were underway in Spain to compile the hundreds of thousands of royal decrees relating to colonial governance in the Americas into a single source that could be consulted by jurists and officials on both sides of the Atlantic. Spanish jurists Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Rodrigo de Aguiar y Acuña and Antonio de León Pinelo at various points oversaw the consolidation of the 400,000 royal decrees into nearly 6,400 laws, which were finally published as the *Recopilación de leyes de Indias* in 1681 (for these figures see Lynch, 'The institutional framework', 1992). Earlier decrees restricting Muslim and Morisco settlement in Spanish America were also included in this work. For example, Book IX Title XXVI Law XV of the *Recopilación* restated Charles V's prohibitions on new converts from Islam and Judaism, and their children, from passing to Spanish America without a royal licence. Law XVII ruled that anyone who brought a North African (*berberisco*) slave 'of the caste

of Muslims' without royal permission should return them at their own expense to Spain, to be confiscated at the House of Trade in Seville for the royal treasury. Anyone who brought a Morisco slave to the Americas without permission would face a harsh fine of 1,000 gold *pesos* or imprisonment if they could not pay. Book VII Title V Law XXIX cites a 1543 decree that all free or enslaved berberiscos, Moriscos and the children of Jews should be expelled from the Indies, and that the viceroys, governors and judges of the royal courts 'with great diligence' should locate any in their midst to return them to Spain 'on the first ships that arrive and that in no way any remain in those provinces'.

By the reign of Charles III (r. 1759-88), new legislation was issued that rendered portions of the *Recopilación de leyes de Indias* of 1681 less useful to colonial officials, although it continued to be consulted until the end of the colonial period. However, more research remains to be conducted regarding the extent to which earlier 16th- and 17th-century concerns with any Muslim presence in the Americas remained relevant, and whether Spanish officials during the late 18th century continued to enforce the earlier laws restricting their emigration.

SIGNIFICANCE

The royal decrees regulating emigration and addressing the presence of Muslims and Moriscos in colonial Spanish America comprise only a subset of the thousands of decrees issued by the Crown between 1492 and 1800. By the late 17th century, these decrees were compiled into printed works such as the *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* that could circulate across the empire to be consulted by the judges and officials of the *audiencias*. Although only a small percentage of the total legislation addresses Muslim presence, the decrees are still significant in the broader context of Christian-Muslim relations in colonial Spanish American history. They reflect the anxieties of the Spanish authorities to maintain territorial claims and jurisdiction over lands in the western hemisphere by restricting the movement of non-Christians and new Christians within the empire, including Muslims, converts from Islam, and their descendants. Such laws had a direct impact on the lived experiences of Muslims and Moriscos who were able to evade the restrictions and settle in the Americas, making them vulnerable to denunciations and prosecution by local courts as well as the inquisitorial tribunals in Mexico City, Lima, and Cartagena de Indias.

PUBLICATIONS

Manuscript copies of the original royal decrees are held at the Archivo de Indias (AGI) in Seville, the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) in Madrid, and in the national archives in a number of countries in Latin America. Because of the high number of decrees that were issued by the Crown to local officials throughout the colonial period concerning the presence of Muslims in the Americas, it is impossible to provide a comprehensive list of all surviving manuscript copies here.

The online catalogue PARES (Portal de Archivos Españoles) is a useful finding aid for the Spanish archives: http://pares.mcu.es

MS Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional – CODICES, L.772 *Recopilación ordenada por el rey Felipe II de las leyes, instrucciones, ordenanzas, cédulas y provisiones para el buen gobierno de las Indias* (17th-century bound manuscript copy)

K.P. Cook, 'Forbidden crossings. Emigration legislation and Morisco responses', in K.P. Cook, *Forbidden passages. Muslims and Moriscos in colonial Spanish America*, Philadelphia PA, 2016, 53-79 (discusses the legislation restricting Muslim and Morisco emigration to Spanish America, and includes information about a number of the royal decrees.)

Editions of 16th century works:

Diego de Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, s.l., 1596

A. García-Gallo (ed.), *Cedulario Indiano Recopilado por Diego de Encinas, Oficial Mayor de la Escribanía de Cámara del Consejo Supremo y Real de las Indias (1596)*, Madrid, 1945-6

Editions of 17th century works:

A. de León Pinelo et al., *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Catolica del Rey Don Carlos II Nuestro Señor va dividida en quatro tomos, con el Indice general, y al principio de cada tomo el Indice especial de los titulos que contiene*, Madrid: por Julian de Paredes, 1681; Sabin 68386 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

A. de León Pinelo et al., *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Catolica del Rey Don Carlos II Nuestro Señor va dividida en quatro tomos, con el Indice general, y al principio de cada tomo el Indice especial de los titulos que contiene*, Madrid: A. Balbas, 1756; OL81539W (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

A. de León Pinelo et al., *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Catolica del Rey Don Carlos II Nuestro Señor va dividida en quatro tomos, con el Indice general, y al principio de cada tomo el Indice especial de los titulos que contiene*, Madrid: por Andres Ortega, 1774; OL81539W (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

A. de León Pinelo et al., *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, Madrid: por la viuda de Joaquin Ibarra, 1791; 16338 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

A. de León Pinelo et al., *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, Madrid, 1943 (uses 1791 edition)

A. de León Pinelo et al., *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, Madrid, 1973 (uses 1681 edition)

F. de Icaza Dufour (ed.), *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias. Estudios históricos-jurídicos*, México City, 1987

STUDIES

K.P. Cook, *Forbidden passages. Muslims and Moriscos in colonial Spanish America*, Philadelphia PA, 2016

V.T. Anzoátegui, *El poder de la costumbre. Estudios sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario en América hispana hasta la Emancipación*, Buenos Aires, 2001

A.P. Jacobs, *Los movimientos migratorios entre Castilla e Hispanoamérica durante el reinado de Felipe III, 1598-1621*, Amsterdam, 1995

J. Lynch, 'The institutional framework of colonial Spanish America', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1992) 69-81

I. Altman and J. Horn (eds), *'To make America'. European emigration in the early modern period*, Berkeley CA, 1991

Karoline Cook

Contributors

Name	Affiliation	Entries
Mohammed Alsulami	Assistant Professor, Umm al-Qura University, Mecca	Mīrzā Ẓahīrā Tafrishī
Ivane Amirkhanashvili	Head of the Scientific Research Centre of Rustvelology, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	Davitʻ Guramishvili
Ines Aščerić-Todd	Lecturer in Arabic and Middle Eastern Cultures, Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures, University of Edinburgh	Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds
Betül Avcı	Assistant Professor of Religious Studies, Ibn Haldun University, Istanbul	Derviş Ali Nakşibendî
Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh	Doctoral candidate, Swansea University, South Wales	William Jones
Khatuna Baindurashvili	Doctoral candidate, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia	Iakob Shemokʻmedili
Doaa Baumi	Doctoral candidate, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī
Jaco Beyers	Professor of Biblical Studies and Religion, Department of Science of Religion and Missiology, University of Pretoria, Hatfield, South Africa	Georg Forster and Carl Peter Thunberg; Theodor Krump

Name	Affiliation	Entries
George Bournoutian	Professor of History, Department of History, Iona College, New Rochelle NY	Abraham Erewants‘i; Abraham III, Kretats‘i; Simeon of Yerevan
Hayat el Eid Bualuan	Professor of Cultural Studies, American University of Beirut	Islam and Muslims in the works of Christian Arab historians of the 18th and early 19th centuries
Eka Chikvaidze	Researcher, Department of Georgian Literature, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	Besarion Orbelishvili
Karoline Cook	Lecturer in the History of the Atlantic World, Department of History, Royal Holloway, University of London	Contesting belonging: relationships between Muslims and Christians in colonial Latin America; Legislation restricting Muslim presence in colonial Spanish America
S. Peter Cowe	Narekatsi Professor of Armenian Studies, Faculty of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, University of California, Los Angeles CA	*Hazar erku hariwr t‘vakan*; Łukas Sebastac‘i; Martyrology of Loys Grigor; Sēfērołli T‘okat‘c‘i; Step‘anos Kafayec‘i; Verse martyrologies of Xanum Vkayuhi

Name	Affiliation	Entries
Seta B. Dadoyan	Independent Scholar, previously Professor of Humanities, American University of Beirut	Samuēl Anetsʿi and his continuators
Lejla Demiri	Professor of Islamic Doctrine, Centre for Islamic Theology, University of Tübingen	ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī; İbrahim Müteferrika; İskender ibn Ahmed Feylesof et-Trabzonî
Joslyn De Vinney	Doctoral candidate, Columbia University, New York	Alexander Dow
Emine Nurefşan Dinç	Assistant Professor, Divinity of Faculty, Namik Kemal University, Tekirdağ, Turkey	Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza; Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa
Isaac Donoso	Profesor Ayudante Doctor, Departamento de Filologias Integradas, Universidad de Alicante	José Torrubia; Juan de Arechederra y Tovar; Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu; Muḥammad Muʿizz al-Dīn Pangiran Bantilan; Pedro Martínez de Arizala
Muhammad Fawzy Abdelhay	Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies in English, Faculty of Languages and Translation, Al Azhar University, Cairo	Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṣiyām al-Damanhūrī
Irena Fliter	Teaching Fellow, Humboldt University of Berlin	Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi

Name	Affiliation	Entries
James Frankel	Assistant Professor, Center for Chinese Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Hawaii	Liu Zhi
Martha Frederiks	Professor of the Study of World Christianity, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Utrecht University	Abbé Demanet; Francis Moore; Introduction: 18th-century Africa and the Americas; Jean-Baptiste Gaby; Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur; Nicholas Owen
Solomon Gebreyes Beyene	Research Fellow, Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg	*ʾAlaqā* Gabru; Chronicler of Iyasu II
Ronney el Gemayel	Directeur, Centre de documentation et de recherches arabes chrétiennes, Faculté des sciences religieuses, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut	ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir
Merab Ghaghanidze	Professor, School of Governance and Social Sciences, Free University of Tbilisi	Grigol Vakhvakhishvili-Dodorkeli
Kambiz Ghanea-Bassiri	Professor of Religion and Humanities, Religion Department, Reed College, Portland OR	Bryan Edwards
Nana Gonjilashvili	Associate Professor, Institute of Georgian Literature, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia	Timote Gabashvili

Name	Affiliation	Entries
David D. Grafton	Professor of Islamic Studies and Christian-Muslim Relations, Duncan Black Macdonald Center, Hartford Seminary, Hartford CT	Johann Heinrich Michaelis
Alan Guenther	Assistant Professor of History, Briercrest College and Seminary, Caronport, Canada	Charles Hamilton
Dennis Halft	Postdoctoral Research Fellow, The Center for the Study of Conversion and Inter-Religious Encounters, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel	Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz J̌ułayecʻi; Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī
Sara Harwood	Doctoral candidate, Georgia State University, Atlanta GA	Cotton Mather
Philip Jan Havik	Senior Researcher, Centre for Global Health and Tropical Medicine, Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon	Michel Jajolet de la Courbe
Wai Yip Ho	Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences, Hong Kong Institute of Education	Ma Zhu
Serkan Ince	Research Assistant to the Chair of Islamic Doctrine, Centre for Islamic Theology, University of Tübingen	İbrahim Müteferrika; İskender ibn Ahmed Feylesof et-Trabzonî

Name	Affiliation	Entries
Rasūl Jaʿfariyān	Professor of History, University of Tehran	Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī
Daniel Jeyaraj	Professor of World Christianity, Department of Theology, Philosophy and Religious Studies, Liverpool Hope University	Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg
Adam Jones	Professor of History and Social History of Africa, Institute of African Studies, University of Leipzig	Jean Barbot
Lia Karichashvili	Researcher, Scientific Research Centre of Rustvelology, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	Besiki
Gulfishan Khan	Associate Professor in Medieval Indian History, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India	Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn; Murtaḍā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī
Nana Kharebava	Researcher, Department of Iranian Studies, Centre for Near and Middle East Studies, Phillips University, Marburg, Germany	King Archʿil
Hilary Kilpatrick	Independent scholar	Niqūlāwus al-Ṣā'igh
Necmettin Kızılkaya	Associate Professor of Islamic Law, Department of Religion, Istanbul University, Istanbul	Vahdetî
Gijs Kruijtzer	Independent researcher	Daniel Havart

Name	Affiliation	Entries
Gocha Kuchukhidze	Senior Researcher, Department of Georgian Literature, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	Catholicos Anton I
R.A. Leo	Associate Researcher, Centre for Muslim-Christian Studies, Oxford	Jonathan Edwards; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; New England Puritans and Islam; North American perceptions of Islam in the 18th century
Ani Letodiani	Researcher, Department of Georgian Literature, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	Vakhushti Bagrationi
Heike Liebau	Senior Researcher, Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin	Benjamin Schultze
Shea McElroy	Independent scholar	Bryan Edwards
Andreu Martínez	Associate Professor, History and Heritage Management Department, University of Gondar, Ethiopia	Hiob Ludolf; Charles-Jacques Poncet
Rudolph Matthee	John and Dorothy Munroe Distinguished Professor of History, University of Delaware, Newark DE	A Chronicle of the Carmelites and the papal mission in Persia; Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shah of Persia
Saba Metreveli	Researcher, Department of Georgian Literature, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	T'eimuraz II

Name	Affiliation	Entries
James Harry Morris	Doctoral candidate, University of St Andrews	Arai Hakuseki; *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*; The Yongzheng Emperor
Joseph Moukarzel	University Librarian, Holy Spirit University of Kaslik, Jounieh, Lebanon	Buṭrus Ḍūmīṭ Makhlūf; Isṭifān al-Duwayhī; Isṭifān Ward; Isṭifānūs Akīllī
Mohamed A. Moustafa	Doctoral candidate, University of Arizona, Tucson AZ	Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī
Nana Mrevlishvili	Researcher, Department of Georgian Literature, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	King Vakhtʿang VI
Charbel Nassif	Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Leiden	Ottoman and Arab influences on Melkite art in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries
Irina Natsvlishvili	Researcher, Department of Georgian Literature, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani
Claire Norton	Reader in History, St Mary's University, Twickenham	
Abdullah Omran	MA researcher, Indiana University, Bloomington IN	ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿUmarī l-Ṭarābulusī l-Ḥanafī

Name	Affiliation	Entries
Reza Pourjavady	Chair for Oriental Studies, Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, Germany	Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī
Douglas Pratt	Honorary Professor, Theological and Religious Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand	Introduction: South Asia, South East Asia and China. 18th-century contexts
Charles M. Ramsey	Non-resident Fellow, Institute for Studies of Religion, Baylor University, Waco TX	Shāh Walī Allāh
Peter G. Riddell	Vice Principal (Academic), Melbourne School of Theology, Australia	ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī
Umar Ryad	Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Leuven, Belgium	Introduction: the Ottoman and Persian Empires in the 18th century
Elena Sahin	Doctoral candidate, Philosophy Faculty I, Seminary of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg, Germany	Jirmānūs Farḥāt
Marinos Sariyannis	Principal Researcher, Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Foundation for Research and Technology, Rethymno, Crete	*Suâl-i Osmânî ve Cevâb-ı Nasrânî*
Fuad Shaban	Professor of Literature and Translation, Department of English, University of Petra in Amman, Jordan	Peter Markoe

Name	Affiliation	Entries
Mariam M. Shehata	Doctoral candidate, Dept of Religions and Philosophies, SOAS, University of London	Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Bākirjī
Ebrahim Ashk Shirin	Doctoral candidate, Lebanese University, Beirut	Muḥammad Khalīl Qā'inī
Souad Slim	Professor of History, Cultural Studies and Methodology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Balamand, Lebanon	ʿAbbūd Ṣaydaḥ
Yusak Soleiman	Faculty member, Theology Department, Jakarta Theological Seminary, Indonesia	*De Kerckenraeds van Gereformeerde Kerk te Batavia*
Gé Speelman	Assistant Professor in Religious Studies, Protestant Theological University, Amsterdam	Onno Zwier van Haren
Karel Steenbrink	Professor Emeritus, Utrecht University	*Corpus Diplomaticum*; François Valentijn; Javanese court chronicles on the rising power of the Dutch, 17th and 18th centuries; *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*; No (longer) fear, but control and care. Europeans and Muslims in South East Asia, 17th and 18th centuries

Name	Affiliation	Entries
Alberto Tiburcio	Researcher, Department of Iranian Studies, Centre for Near and Middle East Studies, Phillips University, Marburg, Germany	Abgar ʿAlī Akbar Armānī; ʿAlī-Murād Khān Zand; ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, António de Jesus
Zoia Tskhadaia	Researcher, Department of Georgian Literature, TSU Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi	Sayatnova
Ernest Tucker	Professor, History of the Middle East, Central Asia, Iran, Turkey, Center for Regional Studies, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis MD	Nādir Shah
Clarissa Vierke	Professor of Literatures in African Languages, Faculty of Languages and Literatures in African Languages, University of Bayreuth, Germany	Bwana Mwengo bin Athman
Stuart Vogel	Independent researcher	Eusèbe Renaudot
Carsten Walbiner	Researcher, Research Centre for Oriental Christianity, Catholic University Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Eichstätt, Germany	Būlus Yūyāqīm; Buṭrus al-Lādhiqī; *Fī mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān al-mutafarriqa fī l-sharq*; Makirdīj al-Kassīḥ; The martyrdom of Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl; Patriarch Yuʾannis XVIII
Joshua M. White	Assistant Professor, Corcoran Department of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville VA	Ottoman slave manumission documents

Index of Names

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

Aaron Burr Sr 711-12, 831, 856-7
ʿAbbās I, Shah of Persia 49, 260, 293, 295, 303-4, 326, 327, 344, 358-9, 382, 388, 421, 441, 626
ʿAbbās II, Shah of Persia 245, 247, 327, 359, 414
Abbé Demanet *798-802*
ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh 234-5, 238-9
ʿAbbūd Ṣaydaḥ *150-3*
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī l-Wazīr 198, 202, 203, 204, 205
ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿUmarī l-Ṭarābulusī l-Ḥanafī *210-13*
ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir *101-7*
ʿAbd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī *108-29*
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī 174, *614-20*
ʿAbd al-Sattār bin Qāsim Lāhōrī 546
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad ibn 10, *214-20*, 619
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʾrānī 616
ʿAbdallāh ibn Ṭrād 234, 235
ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī 126, 616, 826
Abdul Rahman Ibrahima 695, 705
Abel, brother of Cain 376
Abgar ʿAlī Akbar Armanī *256-9*
Abolition, abolitionism, abolitionist 692, 695, 705-6, 708, 721, 861-2
Abraham, patriarch 24, 109, 112, 114, 139, 157, 167, 434, 825, 840, 853, 856-7
Abraham III, Kretatsʿi 4, 366, *380-5*
Abraham Erewantsʿi 366, *386-90*
Abraham Hinckelmann 522
Abraham ibn Ezra 299
Abraham Kretatsʿi, *see also* Abraham III, Kretatsʿi 4, 366, *380-5*
Abraham of Yerevan, *see also* Abraham Erewantsʿi 366, *386-90*
Abraham of Crete, *see also* Abraham III, Kretatsʿi 4, 366, *380-5*
Abū Bakr, Rightly-Guided Caliph 201, 435
Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī 63, 614, 827
Abū l-Fidāʾ, historian 683
Abubakr bin Mwengo, *see* Bwana Mwengo bin Athman 777
Act of Settlement, *see also* Declaratory Act 567
Adam, first human 111-12, 126, 157, 163, 376, 430, 630
Adriaan Reland 826
Āghā Muḥammad Khān, Shah of Persia 309, 460
Āguì, Manchu general 670-3
ahl al-kitāb, *see also* People of the Book 63-4, 109, 115-17, 217
Aḥmad *al-faqīh*, *see* Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-ʿAlavī 49, 270
Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṣiyām al-Damanhūrī *173-7*
Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAlīm 166
Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhim al-Ghāzī 743
Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Bākirjī *98-100*
Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-ʿAlavī al-ʿĀmilī, *see also* Aḥmad *al-faqīh* 49, 270
Aḥmad Walī Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿUmarī l-Dihlawī, *see also* Shāh Walī Allāh 471, *525-33*
Ahmed III, Ottoman sultan 3-4, 8-9, 91, 93, 367
Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi 93
Akaki Tsereteli 360, 463
Akbar, Mughal emperor 541, 546
ʾAlaqā Gabru *807-10*
Albreda 747, 749, 750, 798, 801
Alcoran, *see also* Qurʾan 564, 709, 784, 816, 836, 853, 855
Alekʿsandre Čavčavaże 457
Aleppo 9, 15, 18, 19-20, 23-4, 26, 30, 32, 33-5, 52, 67, 98, 101-2, 103, 106, 109, 135-6, 137-8, 150, 153, 165, 169, 170, 171, 178-9, 181, 183, 184, 187, 190, 196, 207, 308, 210, 236, 252, 440-1, 459
Alexander Dow *538-43*
Alexander VI, pope 725-6
Alexandria 13, 716, 774, 837
Algiers 7, 76, 703, 708, 721-2, 733, 844-5, 847
ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *see also* Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī 245, 260, *534-7*

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Rightly-Guided Caliph 194, 202, 778
Ali ibn el-Yunânî, *see also* Derviş Ali Nakşibendî *80-3*
ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, António de Jesus *266-73*, 277, 283, 287
Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza *60-6*
Alimudín I, Sultan of Jolo, Sulu, *see also* Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu *591-5*, 586, 589, 596, 598, 602-3
ʿAlī-Murād Khān Zand *309-12*
Allāhyār bin Allāhyār Uthmānī Bilgramī, *see also* Murtaḍā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī *549-52*
Alonso de Sandoval 702
Alpujarras uprising 728, 730, 869-70
Ambon 482, 484, 575-6, 578-80, 609, 626, 628, 698
American War of Independence 696, 707
Amharic language 742, 772, 775, 790
Amiot, Jean Joseph Marie 666-7, 668, 670-6, 679-80, 682, 683
Anatolia and Anatolians 27, 30, 36, 39, 60, 228, 396, 398, 424
Anetsʿi, Samuēl *426-47*
Ani 426, 429, 431-3, 436, 438, 442, 444
Annunciation of Jesus 126, 376
Annunciation of Muḥammad 149, 299
Anthonij Paulo 484
Anthony Jansen van Salee 705
Antichrist (seen as Islam, Muḥammad) 713
Antichrist (seen as the pope, Roman Catholicism) 713, 824, 834, 850, 852
Antioch 15, 67, 69, 124, 152, 190-1, 235, 137, 436, 551, 837
Antoine Gaubil 676
Anton I, Catholicos, *see also* Tʿeimuraz Bagrationi 320, 406, *417-22*, 453
António de Jesus, ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām *266-73*, 277, 283, 287
apostasy (from Christianity to Islam) 178, 231, 358, 484, 840
apostasy (from Islam to Christianity) 216
Apostles of Christ 27, 81, 82, 166, 192, 193, 295, 551, 716
Apthorp, East 718
Apupakʿr, *see* Abū Bakr, caliph 435
Arai Hakuseki *658-65*
Aṛakʿēl Dawrizhetsʿi 443
Aramaic language 298, 299, 300
de Arechederra y Tovar, Juan *586-90*
Archibald Swinton 544, 546, 547
Archʿil, King of Kʿartʿli 5, 245, 248, *315-18*, 357-8, 377, 450
Archʿil II Bagrationi, *see also* King Archʿil 5, 245, 248, *315-18*, 377-8, 450
Arianism 71, 433
de Arizala, Pedro Martínez 591, *600-3*
Armenian Apostolic Church 260
Armenia and Armenians 4, 9, 12, 32, 39, 67, 102, 109, 153, 169, 256-7, 258, 260-1, 262, 264, 265, 267, 279, 282-6, 287, 294-5, 304, 306, 311, 312, 324-9, 330, 348, 350-2, 358, 363-5, 365-9, 369-71, 380-3, 386-8, 388-9, 396-7, 397-8, 399-400, 401, 411, 413-14, 415, 423-4, 427-8, 429-41, 442-4, 459-60, 461-2, 463, 534, 764, 768
Arminianism 834
Arutina, *see also* Sayatnova *459-64*
Ascension of Christ 104, 109, 158, 264, 376
Astley, Thomas 784
Astrakhan 346, 374, 391, 406, 448
Astuatsatur, Armenian Catholicos 387-8
Athanasius Dabbās, Patriarch of Antioch 101-2, 103, 124, 190-1
Audiencia (appellate court) 600, 731-2, 734, 868-70, 871
Aurangzeb, Mughal emperor 470, 501, 528, 556, 670
Avānūs khalīfa, *see also* Hovhannēs Mrkʿuz J̌ułayecʿi *260-5*, 275, 311, 534
Aydınî Âlim Mehmed ibn Hamza Güzelhisarlı, *see also* Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza *60-6*
Ayuba Suleiman Diallo 691, 692, 695, 703, 785
Azerbaijan *and* Azerbaijanis 292, 294, 311, 350, 460
Azeri Turkish language 245, 456, 459-60, 461-2
ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I, Sultan of Sulu, *see also* Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu 586, 589, *591-5*, 596, 598, 602, 603

Baghdad 305, 334-5, 435, 438, 528, 551, 684
Bagrat Muxranbatoni 320, 321
Baḥīrā, *see* Bkhira 433
Bäkaffa, King of Ethiopia 789-90, 791-2
Banda 482, 485, 575, 578, 579, 609, 625, 626
Bantam (Banten) 482, 605-6, 623, 625-6, 627, 634
Barbados 701
Barbary 47, 703-4, 705, 708, 721-2, 821, 826, 843, 845, 849, 853
Barbot, Jean *753-7*

Barhebraeus, Gregory 144, 145
Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg *505-18*
Basra 214-5, 216, 304-6, 309, 334
Batavia, *see also* Jakarta 482, 486-8, 493-4, 575, 577, 578-9, 605-6, 609-12, 621 622-3, 630, 634, 626, 628, 630-1, 634
al-Bayḍāwī, *see also* ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī 126, 616, 826
Beijing 641, 654, 668
Beirut 21, 25, 48, 150, 195, 235, 238, 715
Belgrade 95, 130, 154, 223, 256
Benedict XIV, pope 13, 478
Bengal 472, 482, 544, 549, 556, 662, 698
Benjamin Colman 716
Benjamin Franklin 719-20, 723
Benjamin Schultze *519-24*
Benoît de Maillet 763-4, 769
Berber 88, 708, 750
Bergmann, Liborius von 683
Berlin 17, 223, 224-5, 370, 505, 508, 519, 812
Besarion Gabashvili, *see also* Besiki *453-8*
Besarion Orbelishvili 5, *354-62*, 405-6
Besiki *453-8*
Biżina Chʻoloqashvili, Duke in Kaxetʻi 357, 359, 419-20
Bkhira (the monk Baḥīrā) 433
Boston 703, 709, 711-12, 716, 821-2, 827, 830, 850, 853
Le Brasseur, Joseph Alexandre *803-6*
Brazil 700, 702, 725, 727
Brian O'Beirne 694
British Orientalism 473
Bryan Edwards 702, *861-6*
Buddhism 478, 646, 661
Būlus Yūyāqīm *207-9*
Bundu 691, 692-3, 785, 787
Bursa 30, 32, 35, 37, 334
Buṭrus al-Lādhiqī *183-4*
Buṭrus al-Tulāwī 101, 135, 140-1
Buṭrus Ḍūmīṭ Makhlūf *47-55*
Bwana Mwengo bin Athman *777-82*
Byzantium and Byzantines 150-1, 152, 153, 202, 431, 432, 436, 778-9

Caesarea 270, 429, 441
Cain, brother of Abel 376
Cairo 19, 32, 33, 35, 49, 84, 109, 173-4, 175-6, 208, 221, 235, 763-5, 769, 775
Calcutta 381, 539, 553, 560, 571, 675-6
Calvinists and Calvinism 154, 485, 486, 578, 609, 758, 830, 835, 855
Cape Colony 698-9, 811-13, 815
Cape Town 482, 811-13, 815-16
Cape Verde 747, 755
Cape Verde Islands 726
Capuchins, religious order 249, 266, 283, 286, 311, 763, 765, 774-5
Caracas 586
Carl Peter Thunberg *811-18*
Carmelites 285, 292, 295, 303-5, 306, 311
Cartagena de Indias 702, 730-1, 871
Casa de Contratación, *see also* House of Trade 731, 867, 868, 871
Catherine II, the Great, Empress of Russia 5, 310, 411
Catholicos Anton I, *see also* Tʻeimuraz Bagrationi 320, 406, *417-22*, 453
Catholicos Besarion, *see also* Besarion Orbelishvili 5, *354-62*, 405-6
Caucasus 285-6, 293, 317-8, 373, 380, 381, 386, 391, 448, 451
Cayor 748, 750-1, 755, 804
Celebes 578, 605, 626-7
Ceylon, *see also* Sri Lanka 482-3, 578-9, 581, 698, 813
Chadighe, *see also* Khadīja 675
Charles François-Xavier de Brèvedent 763-4
Charles Hamilton *553-9*, 567
Charles V, King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor 727, 868, 870
Charles-Jacques Poncet 86, *763-71*
China 469, 476-9, 482, 578, 641, 644-5, 646, 650-1, 653-4, 666, 668-72, 675-81, 683-5, 838
Chinese Rites Controversy 478
Ch'ing dynasty 476-7
Christ, *see also* Jesus Christ 16, 18, 50, 52, 53-4, 81, 104-5, 106, 108, 109, 112-13, 114, 126-7, 138, 145, 148-9, 157-8, 163, 166-7, 178, 188, 192, 193, 211-12, 218, 219, 247-8, 254, 262, 264, 272, 276, 315, 317, 321-2, 328, 350, 351-2, 358-9, 376, 399-400, 401, 402-4, 406, 419-20, 423, 425, 427, 430, 437, 439, 441-2, 451, 460, 473, 486, 498, 511-15, 522, 530-1, 537, 546-7, 550-1, 610, 631-2, 635, 642, 643, 646, 647-8, 679, 706, 710-12, 713, 714-15, 716, 718, 779, 807, 824-5, 826, 831, 832, 834, 835, 836-8, 840, 847, 853-4, 855, 857-8
Christoph Meiners 683
Chronicler of Iyasu II *789-94*
Church Council of the (Dutch) Reformed Church of Batavia *see also* De Kerckenraeds van Gereformeerde Kerk te Batavia *621-4*
Church Missionary Society (CMS) 472
Church of St James (Surb Yakob) 441

Church of St Karapet of Mush 437
Church of the Nativity 108
Cibot, Pierre-Martial 666, 668
Cilicia and Cilicians 427, 429, 431-2, 436-40, 443-4
Circassians 405, 451
City Council of Batavia 609
Clement XI, pope 331, 340, 478, 768
Clive, Robert 538, 544
Compagnie de Guyane 799
Compagnie de la Guinée 746
Compagnie Royale du Sénégal et le Coste d'Afrique 745-6, 747, 749-50, 761
Confucius, Confucians and Confucianism 476-7, 641, 642-3, 644-5, 646, 654-5, 658, 664
Constantinople, *see also* Istanbul 4, 8-9, 12-13, 19, 101-2, 150, 151-2, 153, 191, 299, 340-1, 405, 408-9, 414, 423, 825, 827, 850
Conversion and converts to Christianity 23, 84, 86, 132-3, 151, 304, 305, 331, 340, 437, 441, 470, 484-5, 512, 522, 579, 586, 589, 591, 594-5, 596, 600, 602-3, 610, 626-7, 692, 702, 714, 716, 722, 725, 726, 728, 730, 734, 750, 761, 798, 801, 802, 809, 834, 847, 858, 867-8, 870, 871
Conversion and converts to Islam 4-5, 8, 78, 80, 116, 145, 154, 157, 158, 178-9, 194, 196, 227, 229, 230, 236-7, 256-7, 258-9, 266, 271, 272, 279, 282, 286, 287, 298, 300-1, 315, 325, 327, 329, 333, 336, 339, 341, 344, 346, 351, 358-9, 367, 369, 382, 388, 409, 414, 436, 439, 440, 441, 452, 460, 475, 479, 481, 484-5, 504, 512, 606, 626, 627, 633, 635, 670, 698, 704, 709, 743, 779, 796, 815, 827, 853
conversos 727-9
Cook, Captain James 812, 814
Copts and the Coptic Church 14, 70, 221, 222, 774
Cornelis de Houtman 625
Cornelis van der Murter 493-4, 499-500
Coromandel Coast 493, 503, 505
Coromandel Muslims 610, 622
Cossacks 352, 448
Cotton Mather 709-10, *821-9*, 853-4
Council of the Indies *see also* Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies 699, 734, 867
Courbe, Michel Jajolet de la *745-52*
Creole 700, 749
Cristóbal de la Cruz 733-4
Crucifixion of Christ 18, 53, 167, 376, 401, 473, 531
Crusade and Crusaders 69-70, 95, 427, 432, 436, 718
Cyprus 47, 67, 163, 185, 232, 433

Dagestan 154, 391, 409, 448, 451
Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar 235, 238-9
Damad Ibrahim Paşa 8, 91
al-Damanhūrī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim *173-7*
Damascus 24, 32-3, 38, 52, 108, 128, 143, 153, 190-1, 210, 234, 236-8, 418, 433, 435, 439
Daniel, biblical prophet 150, 299-301, 825
Daniel Defoe 707-8, 711
Daniel Havart *493-505*
Danish-Halle Mission 519, 522
Daoists and Daoism 644-5, 646
Datu Lagasan, Sultan of Sulu, *see also* Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu 586, 589, *591-5*, 596, 598, 602, 603
David, King of Israel and prophet 166, 248, 450, 512, 514
David I, King of Kaxetʿi 344, 347
Davitʿ Guramishvili 320, *448-52*
Dawitʿ Bēk 364, 365-8, 369-70
Dāwud, neo-martyr 178
Declaratory Act, *see also* Act of Settlement 567
Demanet, Jean-Baptiste, *see also* Abbé Demanet *798-802*
Derviş Ali Nakşibendî *80-3*
Devil 88, 317, 322, 439, 512, 719, 827, 853, 869
dhimmīs 41, 62-4, 65, 76, 79, 99, 120, 141, 282, 627, 630
al-Dirʿiyya 215, 219
Discalced Carmelites, religious order 295, 303
Diyarbakir 364, 423, 424, 433
Dominicans, religious order 296, 311, 470, 477, 586
Dongola 764-6, 768
Dordrecht 575-6, 578
Dow, Alexander *538-43*
Druzes 69, 70-1, 191, 194
Dutch East India Company, *see also* VOC 474, 481, 482-3, 484-6, 493-4, 500, 502-4, 579, 604, 605-6, 609-11, 612, 621, 622, 623-4, 625-7, 634-5, 698, 812
Dutch East Indies 474, 575, 617, 623
Dutch Reformed Church 609-10, 621
Duwayhī, patriarch, *see also* Isṭifān al-Duwayhī 47, *67-73*

East Africa 696-7, 778, 781
East Java 575, 630
Easter 57, 77-9, 376
Ebû Muhammed Osman ibn Muhammed el-Vahdetî, *see also* Vahdetî *74-9*
Echmiadzin 4, 380, 381-2, 411, 413, 427, 440-1
Edwards, Bryan 702, *861-6*
Edwards, Jonathan 710, 712, 713, 715, 825, *830-42*, 852, 853, 855, 856, 858
Egypt 12-14, 108, 166, 173-4, 175-6, 210, 221, 234-6, 239, 355, 433, 435, 438-9, 739, 763-4, 765, 772, 773-5, 792
Eli Smith 106
Elijah, biblical prophet 25, 376
Elizabeth Hamilton 554
Elizabeth, Empress of Russia 374, 418
Elizbar and Shalva Erist'avis of K'sani 357, 359, 419-20
Enlightenment 110, 370, 391, 699, 704, 824-5, 828, 830, 836, 839, 855
Erekle I (Heraclius), King of Kaxet'i and K'art'li 373, 375, 417
Erekle II, King of K'art'li and Kaxet'i 5, 373, 418, 453, 456, 459-60, 462
Eric Tobias Björck 713
Ersa (Jesus in Chinese) 648
Es'ad Efendi 91, 92
Ethiopia *and* Ethiopians 739-40, 742-3, 763-5, 767-9, 772, 773-5, 792, 793, 807, 808, 810
Eusèbe Renaudot *649-52*, 767
Eve, first woman 376
Evliya Çelebi 31-3
Ezra, biblical prophet 531, 537

Fall of man 522, 835
Farḥāt, Jirmānūs *135-42*, 169, 190
Fasilides (Fasilädäs), Emperor of Ethiopia 743, 773-4
Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, district governor 366-7, 369
Fatḥ 'Alī Khān Dāghistānī, Grand Vizier of Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn 279, 283
Ferdinand II, King of Aragon 725-6, 728, 868
Ferdinand Verbiest 669, 681
Fernando I, King of Jolo, *see also* Muḥammad 'Aẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu 586, 589, *591-5*, 596, 598, 602, 603
Forster, Georg *811-18*
France 4, 7, 12-13, 236, 284, 331, 340, 440, 544, 546, 649, 668, 695, 701, 717, 723, 726, 745-6, 751, 753, 755, 758, 763, 798-9, 800, 802, 803, 804, 843, 845, 862
Francis Gladwin 553, 558
Francis Moore *782-8*
Franciscans, religious order 84, 89, 154, 249, 470, 477, 583, 600, 668, 758, 764
Francke, August Herman 505, 519, 772
François Valentijn (Valenteyn) *575-82*
'Fṛangs', *see also* Crusaders 436, 437, 440, 441
Franklin, Benjamin 719-20, 723
Fṛankstan 440
Frederick de Houtman 481-3, 485
Freetown 696
French Revolution 7, 13, 236, 701, 812
Fulanis 691, 692-4, 784-5, 787
Fulbe 748
Fulcher of Chartres 70
Funj sultanate 84, 88, 697, 768, 769
Futa Jallon (Djallon) kingdom 693-5, 751, 796
Futa Toro (Tooro) 692-3, 751
futuwwa 36-7, 39

Gabriel, angel 126-7, 513, 531, 536, 779
Gabriel de Chinon, Gabriel 'Francie' 247-9, 253
Gabriēl Step'anosean, *see also* Łukas Sebastac'i *363-72*
Gaby, Jean-Baptiste *758-62*
Galilee 235, 550
The Gambia 747, 754, 759, 783, 798
Gambia River 691, 693, 745, 747, 749, 751, 782, 783-5, 787
Gə'əz language 739, 790, 808
Georg Forster *811-18*
George III, King of England 544, 546, 720
George Fox 718, 851
George Henri Bousquet 488, 612
George Sale 704, 721, 839
George Washington 723
Germanos Farḥāt, *see also* Jirmānūs Farḥāt *135-42*, 169, 190
al-Ghassānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb *56-9*
Ghrighūriyūs Abū l-Faraj, *see also* Barhebraeus 144, 145
Giorgi XI, King of K'art'li 320, 330
Giovanni Battista Sidotti 658, 660-2, 664-5
Giovanni d'Arutiun, *see also* Hovhannēs Mrk'uz J̌ułayec'i *260-5*, 275, 311, 534
Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi *223-6*

Gladwin, Francis 553, 558
Goa 472, 662
Gog and Magog 713
Golconda, Sultanate of 493-4, 499, 501, 503-4
Goldsmith, Oliver 784
Gondar 84, 764, 768-9, 789-90, 792, 807
Gordon Laing 694
Gorée Island, Senegal 745, 747, 755, 798, 799-800, 803-4
Gottlieb Stuck 89
Granada 583, 586, 726, 728-9, 734, 869
Great Awakening 714-15, 722, 831, 834, 852
Greek Orthodox Christians 12, 24, 33, 143, 179, 187, 190, 234-5
Gregorian Christians 282, 284, 285, 287, 460
Gregório Pereira Fidalgo 283, 285
Grigol Orbeliani 463
Grigol Vakhvakhishvili-Dodorkeli *343-5*
Grigor III, Pahlawuni, Armenian catholicos 426, 429-32, 436
Grigor, Loys *324-9*
Grigor Magistros 431
Grigor Tatʻewatsʻi 434
Grotius, Hugo 774-5, 824
Guadeloupe 702
Guadagnoli, Filippo 49-50, 270, 283
Guinea Bissau 747, 749, 804

Habakkuk, biblical prophet 262, 299, 300, 834
Habsburgs 3, 223, 699
Hacı Emirzâde Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza el-Aydınî, *see also* Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza *60-6*
Hadith 60, 74, 98, 99, 100, 170, 201, 214-15, 216, 218, 270, 272, 525, 526-8, 530, 556, 616, 619
Hāfiz 560, 569, 571
Hagarians, *see also* Muslims 438
Haiti, *see also* Saint Domingue 701, 803
Halle 505-6, 509, 519-20, 521-2, 524, 772, 827
Hāmì, north-west China 668-9
Hamilton, Charles *553-9*, 567
Han kitab 642, 644-5
Ḥanafī school of law 63-4, 75, 76, 175, 176, 210, 212, 228, 292, 435, 555-6, 558, 565
Ḥanāniyā al-Muṣawwir 18, 25
Ḥanāniyā l-Munayyir 234, 236
Ḥanbalī school of law 52, 214, 292
Hánguó Yīng, *see also* Pierre-Martial Cibot 666, 668
Hannah More 717
van Haren, Onno Zwier *604-8*
Ḥasan Qulī Beg, *see also* Manuel de Santa Maria 266
Hastings, Warren 539, 549, 556, 566
Havart, Daniel *493-505*
Hayrapet Vardapet 427
Ḥazīn, *see also* Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī 245, 260, *534-7*
Hazrat Syed Shahul Hameed 510
Heathenism 509, 664, 834
Hebrew Bible 253-4, 298, 299, 300, 511-12, 532, 772, 854
Hebrew language 299, 300, 519, 526, 739, 772
Heinrich Friedrich von Diez 223, 225
Heinrich Plütschau 505
Henry Martyn 301, 472
Henry VIII, King of England 471, 551
Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium 777-9
Herbert de Jager 494
Herbert George Chick 305-6
Hermann Witsius 826
Hernando Beltrán 732
Hetʻum Koṛikostsʻi Patmichʻ 427, 433, 438, 439, 443
Ḥijāz 11, 108, 200-2, 348, 528
Hinckelmann, Abraham 522
Hindustan 501, 520, 521-2
Hiob Ludolf *739-44*, 772, 773, 774
Hoei-tsee 672
Houng-mao-hoei-tsee 667, 672
House of Trade 731, 867, 868, 871
Hovhannēs Mrkʻuz Jułayecʻi *260-5*, 275, 311, 534
Hugo Grotius 774-5, 824
Humphrey Prideaux 708-9, 849
Hurgronje, Christiaan Snouck 616
Hyderabad 493-4, 499-501, 557

Iakob Shemokʻmedili *319-23*
Ibn ʿAbbās 63, 64, 616
Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad 10, *214-20*, 619
Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʻānī *198-206*
Ibn ʿArabī 108, 111, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 125, 614, 645
Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī 616
Ibn Ḥazm 212
Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 52, 54, 139, 214
Ibn Sabʿīn 111
Ibn Taymiyya 166, 214, 216
Ibn Ṭufayl 854

Ibn al-Zākhir, *see also* ʿAbd Allāh Zākhir *101-7*
Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl *178-82*, 196
Ibrāhīm al-Ṣabbāgh 235, 239
Ibrāhīm ibn Dīmitrī ibn Yaʿqūb, *see also* Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl *178-82*, 196
İbrahim Müteferrika 8, 9, 91, 92, 96, *154-62*
Île de Gorée 803
Incarnation of Christ 103-4, 106, 139-40, 165, 188, 212, 262, 643, 647
İncilî, *see also* Derviş Ali Nakşibendî *80-3*
Increase Mather 712, 821, 854
Independence, American War of 696, 703, 707
Innocent XII, pope 86, 284-5
Inquisition 231-2, 586, 728, 730-3, 847
Ioane Batonishvili 320
Ioane Sabanisże 420-1
Iona Gedevanishvili 341
ʿĪsā, *see also* Jesus Christ 53, 167, 216, 648
ʿĪsā ibn Buṭrus 16
ʿĪsā ibn Maryam, *see also* Jesus Christ 216
Isaac Barrow 569
Isaac La Peyrère 824
Isaac, son of Abraham 16, 24, 109, 277, 376, 825
Isabel of Castile 725-6, 728
Isaiah, biblical prophet 167, 262, 299, 300, 536-7, 714, 832
Ise Cilkneli 355, 357
Ishmael, son of Abraham 277, 433, 826
Iskandar ibn Aḥmad, *see also* İskender ibn Ahmed Feylesof et-Trabzonî *147-9*
İskender ibn Ahmed Feylesof et-Trabzonî *147-9*
Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī *298-302*
Ismayēlites 435, 440
Israelites 376, 791
Istanbul 6, 12-13, 19, 30, 32-5, 37-8, 40, 108-9, 130, 131, 155, 161, 223, 232, 236, 238, 256, 335, 340, 380, 382, 389, 427, 440, 598, 763, 850
Isṭifān al-Duwayhī 47, *67-73*
Isṭifān Ward *163-8*
Isṭifānūs Akīllī *185-9*
Itiknâme (Ottoman manumission letter) 228-30
Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn *544-8*
Iyasu I, King of Ethiopia 763-4, 790
Iyasu II, King of Ethiopia 789-90, 791-3
Iyasu Tənnšu, *see also* Iyasu II, King of Ethiopia 792
ʿJabr' (referring to two caliphs) 435
Jacob, patriarch 109, 167, 376
Jacobites 67, 102, 551
Jacques de Vitry 70
Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, sixth Shīʿī Imām 126, 292
Jakarta, *see also* Batavia 482, 486-8, 493-4, 575, 577, 578-9, 605-6, 609-12, 621, 622-3, 626, 628, 630-1, 634
Jakatra, *see also* Jakarta, Batavia 609
Jamaica 696, 701-2, 861-2, 863
James Anderson 554
James Bruce 768-9
James Watt 694
Jan Pays 579
Jan Pieterszoon Coen, Governor General of the Dutch East Indies 485, 579, 609, 621, 634
Japan *and* the Japanese 467, 476, 482, 578, 658, 660-2, 664, 674, 811, 812-13, 816
Java *and* the Javanese 482, 484, 487-8, 493, 575, 578-80, 605-6, 609, 618-19, 622, 625, 629-35, 662, 676, 813, 816
Jawi script 597
Jean Barbot *753-7*
Jean Joseph Marie Amiot 666-7, 668, 670-6, 679-80, 682, 683
Jean Mrkʿuz Nor Julayeci, *see also* Hovhannēs Mrkʿuz J̌ułayecʿi *260-5*, 275, 311, 534
Jean Puget de la Serre 500
Jean-Baptiste Gaby *758-62*
Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat 684
Jefferson Thomas 704-5, 720-2, 723, 856
Jerome Xavier 49, 270, 271, 546
Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goñi, *see also* Jerome Xavier 49, 270, 271, 546
Jerusalem 6, 15, 18, 27, 30, 33, 95, 105, 108-9, 120, 135, 143-4, 203, 210, 276, 319-20, 376, 380, 401, 405-6, 408, 437, 506, 550
Jesuits, religious order 47, 49, 101-2, 185, 270, 283-6, 293, 311, 443, 470, 472-3, 477-9, 546, 589, 594, 596, 598, 644, 648, 649, 654-5, 658, 660, 666, 668-9, 681, 700, 702, 742, 763-5, 767, 769, 774-5
de Jesus, António, ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām *266-73*, 277, 283, 287
Jesus Christ, *see also* Christ 16, 18, 50, 52, 53-4, 81, 104-5, 106, 108, 109, 112-13, 114, 126-7, 138, 145, 148-9, 157-8, 163, 166-7, 178, 188, 192, 193, 211-12, 218, 219, 247-8, 254, 262, 264, 272, 276, 315, 317, 321-2, 328, 350, 351-2, 358-9, 376, 399-400, 401, 402-4, 406, 419-20, 423, 425, 427, 430, 437, 439, 441-2, 451, 460, 473, 486, 498, 511-15, 522,

530-1, 537, 546-7, 550-1, 610, 631-2, 635, 642, 643, 646, 647-8, 679, 706, 710-12, 713, 714-15, 716, 718, 779, 807, 824-5, 826, 831, 832, 834, 835, 836-8, 840, 847, 853-4, 855, 857-8
Jews 9, 31-6, 38, 49, 53, 54, 75, 81-2, 102, 105, 115-18, 127, 154, 166, 187, 199, 200-5, 217, 237-8, 248, 270, 277, 279, 282, 293, 295, 298, 299-301, 327, 335, 461, 498, 527-8, 530-1, 534, 537, 544, 550-1, 632, 645-8, 651, 676, 709, 715, 719, 721, 726, 728, 780, 824, 834-5, 847, 854, 856, 867-9, 871
Jibrāʾīl ibn Farḥāt ibn Miṭr al-Ḥalabī al-Mārūnī, *see also* Jirmānūs Farḥāt *135-42*, 169, 190
jihad 215, 217, 484, 614, 616-17, 618-19, 630, 693-4, 702, 743, 755, 796, 863
al-Jīlī, ʿAbd al-Karīm 121, 123
Jirmānūs Farḥāt *135-42*, 169, 190
jizya 99, 116-18, 120, 279, 282, 389
Joaquim le Grand 765, 769
Job, biblical prophet 376, 825
Job ben Solomon, *see also* Ayuba Suleiman Diallo 691, 692, 695, 703, 785
Job Ludolph, *see also* Hiob Ludolf *739-44*, 772, 773, 774
Johann Adam Schall von Bell 669
Johann Friedrich Stapfer 839
Johann Heinrich Callenberg 521-2, 524
Johann Heinrich Michaelis *772-6*
Johann Michael Wansleben 739, 773-5
John the Baptist 167, 248, 331, 398, 779
John Adams 720, 722
John Barrow 815
John Calvin 835
John Cotton 821, 825, 832, 850, 852, 853, 858
John of Damascus 23, 24, 153
John Downame 712
John Foss 721
John Ovington 471
Johnson, Samuel 784
Johor 481, 483
Jolo 584, 589, 591, 594, 596, 602, 760
Jonathan Dickinson 855, 856
Jonathan Edwards 710, 712, 713, 715, 825, *830-42*, 852, 853, 855, 856, 858
Jonathan Scott 549, 550
Jones, William 473, 544, 553-4, 558, *560-72*
José Torrubia *583-5*
Joseph, son of Jacob 167, 376
Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur *803-6*
Joseph Toussaint Reinaud 683
Joshua Gee 821
Josias Houterkens 501
Juan de Arechederra y Tovar *586-90*
Juansher 357
Judaism 208, 267, 298, 509, 536, 579, 646, 727-8, 730, 838, 867, 870
Judas Thaddeus Krusinski 283-4
Julfa 441
Julfan Armenians 279, 282, 328
J̌ułayecʿi, Hovhannēs Mrkʿuz *260-5*, 275, 311, 534

Kaʿba 237, 334, 557
Kadizadelis 114
Kafayecʿi, Stepʿanos *350-3*
Kai-hoang, *see also* Wén, Emperor of China 674
Kaikaikyō *and* Kaikyō 662, 664
Kajor, *see also* Cayor 748, 750-1, 755, 804
Kamani Mustafa Agha 389
Kangxi Emperor of China 641, 653
Kapan (Lapʿan) 366-8, 369-70
Karl Peter von Thunberg, *see also* Carl Peter Thunberg *811-18*
Karlowitz, Treaty of 3, 93, 130, 132, 825
Kʿartʿli 5, 315, 320, 346, 354, 357-8, 359, 373, 391, 393, 405-6, 417-18, 453
Kaxetʿi 315, 317, 319, 343, 344-5, 347, 359, 373, 375-6, 393, 405, 417-18, 451
Kənfä Mikael, *see also* Chronicler of Iyasu II *789-94*
De Kerckenraeds van Gereformeerde Kerk te Batavia *621-4*
Kʿetʿevan, Queen of Kaxetʿi, *see also* St Kʿetʿevan 317, 343, 344-5, 394, 419-20
Khadīja, wife of Muḥammad 675
Khātūnābādī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī 296
Khātūnābādī, Mīr Maʿsūm 296
Khātūnābādī, Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir *250-5*, 278, 283, 296
King Luarsab 357-8, 419-20
King Vakhtʿang VI 330, 331, 335, 339, *346-9*, 354-5, 448-9, 453
Kirakos Gantzaketsʿi 434, 443
Krump, Theodor *84-90*
Krusinski, Judas Thaddeus 283, 284

Lāhījī, Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn 245, 260, *534-7*
Laing, Gordon 694
Lapʿan, *see also* Kapan 366-8, 369-70
Last Supper 16, 17, 376
al-Lāt, pagan goddess 138, 779
Leijdecker, Melchior 575
Leo Africanus 86, 783

Leonhard Wilke 89
Leonti Mroveli 357-8
Li Xian 661
Liborius von Bergmann 683
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm von 740
Lima 730-1, 869, 871
Liu Zhi *644-8*
Louis XIV, King of France 284, 331, 340, 649, 764, 767, 803
Louis Moreau Chambonneau 694, 745, 761
Lowman, Moses 839
Loys Grigor *324-9*
Luarsab, King of K'art'li 357-60, 419-20
Ludolf, Hiob *739-44*, 772, 773, 774
Ludovico Marracci 522
Luis del Mármol Carvajal 86, 754
Łukas Sebastac'i *363-72*
Lutherans *and* Lutheranism 88, 133, 470, 505-6, 508-9, 511, 772, 774, 775, 869

Ma Zhu *641-3*
Madagascar 697-8
Madras 411, 506, 520, 521
Māgometan religion (Islam) 661, 662, 664
Mahmēt, *see also* Muḥammad 433-5, 439, 444, 846
Mahmud I, Ottoman sultan 3, 5, 12, 161, 596
Mahomed, *see also* Muḥammad 563
Mahomet, *see also* Muḥammad 709, 713, 716-20, 801, 838, 847, 849, 856, 858
Mahometans, Machomethans (Muslims) 487, 611, 667, 671-2, 691, 712, 714, 715, 717, 719, 721, 754-5, 834-5, 847, 854, 855, 857, 863
Mahométanism, Mahométisme (Islam) 667, 671, 800, 837-8, 852
Mahommed, *see also* Muḥammad 540-1
Mahommedanism (Islam) 540
Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir 270, 278, 282
al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd 70
Makirdīj al-Kassīḥ *169-72*
Malacca, Malakka 578, 626, 627, 662, 676
Malay language 475, 575, 580, 597, 614, 616
Malay peninsula and archipelago 174, 474, 481, 483, 609, 614
Malta 8, 106, 232, 340, 763, 774
Mamlūks 13, 236, 438-40
Manchu dynasty 476-8, 653, 670, 684
Manding, Mandingo, Mandingos 702, 747-9, 751, 796, 863-4
Manila 583, 586, 589, 591, 594, 596-7, 600, 602, 627
Manoel de Almeida 743
Manuel de Santa Maria 266
Marco Polo 651, 669
al-Marghīnānī, 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr 555-6
María Ruiz 733-4
Markoe, Peter 720, *843-8*
Maronites 24, 47, 67-8, 69-72, 135, 137-8, 163, 167, 183, 185-6, 186-7, 191
Marracci, Ludovico 522
Martin Luther 441, 505, 730, 835
Martini, Raymond 825
martyr (Christian) 18, 88, 178-81, 196, 317, 324, 328, 351-2, 355, 357-8, 360, 370, 394, 397, 398, 401, 402-4, 419, 424-5, 441
martyrdom 153, 181, 188, 324, 326, 328-9, 344, 351-2, 355, 357-9, 397, 399-401, 408, 419, 421, 424, 551, 616, 718
Mary, Virgin 16, 21, 24, 109, 126, 127, 139, 165, 166, 193, 248, 321, 398, 401, 420, 437, 551, 632, 731, 775, 779, 838
Mather, Cotton 709-10, *821-9*, 853-4
Mathew Carey 704
Matteo Ricci 660, 664
Matthaios Kigalas 19, 152
Maximos the Peloponnesian 101
Mecca 11, 144, 174, 198, 214, 276, 348, 511, 525, 553, 605, 611, 618-19, 631, 675-6, 754, 765, 768, 809, 856
Medina 11, 109, 121, 214, 220, 525, 550, 674, 676, 754, 778
Meiners, Christoph 683
Melkites 14, 15, 28, 24-6, 27, 67, 69-70, 101, 150, 178, 181, 191, 195, 207, 245, 551
Mercedarians, religious order 231
Messiah 254, 276, 299-300, 527, 715, 838, 840, 853-4
Mexico *and* Mexico City 586, 700, 730-1, 733, 869, 871
Michaelis, Johann Heinrich *772-6*
Michel Jajolet de la Courbe *745-52*
Miguel de Castanhoso 743
Mik'ayēl C'amč'ean 364, 370, 443
Ming dynasty 641, 669, 675
Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī *250-5*, 278, 283, 296
miracles 50, 127, 145, 188, 207, 276, 322, 376, 551, 634, 716, 761, 824, 837, 855
Mīrkhwānd 300
Mīrzā Mahdī Khan Astarābādi 296
Mīrzā Ẓahīrā Tafrishī *245-9*, 253
Mkhit'ar Anets'i 435, 443
Mkhit'arist Congregation, religious order 364, 365, 370, 386, 397, 399, 423, 443
Mohamed Taher 360

Mohammedans, Mahometans, 'Turks' (Muslims) 561, 566, 567, 611, 650-1, 667, 671-2, 715, 721, 754-5, 835, 857, 863
Monophysites *and* Monophysitism 187, 406, 418
Moore, Francis *782-8*
Moriscos 58, 603, 702, 725, 727-34, 867-71
Morocco 7, 228, 708, 722, 804, 845, 853
Moros 602-3
Moscow 315, 331, 391-2, 393, 405, 448, 462
Moses, prophet 112, 157, 166-7, 300, 434, 514, 634, 646, 648
Mūlay Ismāʿīl ibn Sharīf, Sultan of Morocco 56, 853
Mount Lebanon 47, 51, 67, 69, 71, 101, 102, 135, 163, 185, 236
Msr (Egypt) 438-40
Muʿallim Buṭrus, *see also* Peter Heyling 772, 773-5
mudejars 728
Müftüzâde Âlim Mehmed Efendi Güzelhisârî Âlim, *see* Âlim Muhammed ibn Hamza *60-6*
Muḥammad, the Prophet, *see also* Mahmēt, Mahomed, Mahomet, Mahommed 49-50, 53, 54, 69-70, 80, 81, 82, 88, 105, 111-13, 116-18, 123, 126-8, 144-5, 149, 157, 166, 167, 170, 188, 192, 217-18, 225, 270, 294, 299, 317, 321-2, 335, 340, 358, 433, 434, 435, 439, 443, 444, 451, 457, 462, 475, 498, 509, 511-14, 521-2, 526, 530-1, 536-7, 540-547, 550, 553, 557, 563, 566, 619, 631-2, 635, 641, 645, 647, 674-8, 680, 684, 691, 694, 704, 708-13, 716, 717, 718, 719-20, 722, 729, 731, 733, 754, 761-2, 777, 778-9, 800, 801, 805, 825-7, 832, 834-6, 838, 840, 847, 849, 851, 852-3, 856, 858, 868
Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn Lāhījī 245, 260, *534-7*
Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu 586, 589, *591-5*, 596, 598, 602, 603
Muhammad Hanafiyya 629
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 10, *214-20*, 619
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī *56-9*
Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī, *see* Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī *198-206*
Muḥammad Khalīl Qāʾinī 264, *274-7*
Muḥammad Muʿizz al-Dīn Pangiran Bantilan 591, 594, *596-9*
Muḥammad Qāsim Astarābādī Firishta 538, 540, 541
Muḥammad Shāh, Mughal emperor 6, 534, 548
Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī 301
'Mullā Ḥusayn', *see also* Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shah of Persia 4, 245, 250-1, 252, 260, 266, 270, *278-91*, 292, 326, 327
Mullā Khalīl, *see also* Muḥammad Khalīl Qāʾinī 264, *274-7*
Mully Ishmael, *see also* Mūlay Ismāʿīl ibn Sharīf 853
al-Muqannaʿ 145
Murtaḍā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī *549-52*
Mustafa II, Ottoman sultan 3, 4, 152
Mustafa III, Ottoman sultan 3, 6, 25, 414

al-Nābulusī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī *108-29*
Nādir Shah, Shah of Persia 4, *292-7*, 373, 380, 381, 387, 417, 534, 560
Napoleon Bonaparte 13, 236, 239
Naqshbandis, Sufi order 80, 475, 525
al-Nawawī, Muḥyī l-Dīn 64, 616
Nazar Ali Khan, *see also* Erekle I (Heraclius), King of Kaxetʿi and Kʿartʿli 373, 375, 417
Naẓar Khān, Shah, *see also* King Archʿil 5, 245, 248, *315-18*, 377, 450
Neo-martyrs 178, 181
Nestorian stele 651, 679
Nestorius *and* Nestorians 187, 439, 477, 551, 856
Netherlands 481, 493-4, 496, 575-6, 618, 621, 695, 812
'New Christians' 727-9, 871
New Julfa 260, 279, 283-5, 293, 295, 304, 311, 324-5, 326-7, 382, 441, 534
New England 710, 821, 826-7, 830, 832, 849, 850, 852, 853-4, 857-8
'New World' 474, 550, 707, 725, 750
Nicholas Owen *794-7*
Nicolás de Oliva 731
Niger *and* the River Niger 693, 746, 755, 759, 760
Night of the ascension (*laylat al-miʿrāj*) 126-7
Niqūlā al-Ṣāʾigh, *see also* Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh 169, 180, *190-7*
Niqūlā al-Turk 234, 236, 239
Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh 169, 180, *190-7*
Noah 112, 157, 167, 826
Nugzar Shatiadze 341

Ockley, Simon 839
Old Georgian language 450, 451, 455, 457

Olfert Dapper 753, 755
Omar ibn Said 705
Onno Zwier van Haren *604-8*
Orbeliani, Grigol 360, 463
Orientalists *and* Orientalism 38, 51, 167, 223, 225, 473, 488, 522, 553-4, 557, 560, 566, 571, 649, 650, 708
Oromo 743, 809
Ottomans 3-6, 8, 10-11, 13, 23, 93-6, 151, 155, 158, 160-1, 162, 225, 236, 283, 287, 292-3, 303, 309, 315, 317-18, 326, 340-1, 352, 367-9, 380, 381-3, 386-8, 391, 393, 394, 405, 409, 415, 438, 440, 457, 591, 709, 743
Owen, Nicholas *794-7*

al-Palimbānī, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad 174, *614-20*
Paraclete 81, 105, 254, 258, 277
Paran 300
Paris, Treaty of 703, 798, 800
Passarowitz, Treaty of 93
Passion of Christ 165, 167, 264, 351, 376
Patriarch Yu'annis XVIII *221-2*
Paul, Apostle 158, 272, 351, 551
Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, *see also* Pedro Martínez de Arizala 591, *600-3*
Pedro Martínez de Arizala 591, *600-3*
Pedro Páez 743
Pe-mao-hoei-tsee 672
People of the Book, see also *Ahl al-kitāb* 109, 116, 118, 200, 202-3, 217, 646
Persians 4, 359, 373, 382-3, 388, 393-4, 415, 421, 432, 451, 460, 496, 498, 500, 636, 672, 825
Peru 700, 728
Peter I, Tsar of Russia 5, 315, 331, 346, 391
Peter Heyling 772, 773-5
Peter Markoe 720, *843-8*
Peter Middleton 716-17
Peter, Apostle 192, 409, 551
Petrus Domitius, *see also* Buṭrus Ḍūmīṭ Makhlūf *47-55*
Philadelphia 409, 703, 717, 843, 844-5
Philip II, King of Spain 475, 727, 729, 869-70
Philip V, King of Spain 589, 593-4, 596, 602, 699-700
Philippines 474-6, 583, 584-5, 586, 588-9, 591, 594, 596-7, 598, 600, 601-3
Pierre Allix 825
Pierre-Martial Cibot 666, 668
Pococke, Edward 562, 826
Polytheists *and* polytheism 139-40, 215, 512, 515, 527, 779
Poncet, Charles-Jacques 86, *763-71*
Portugal *and* Portuguese 266, 268, 282-5, 303-6, 470, 472, 474, 482, 505, 547-8, 609, 695, 696, 700, 725-6, 727, 742-3, 749, 751, 780-1, 863
Prester John 668
Prideaux, Humphrey 708-9, 849
Principles of Confucian orthodoxy, *see also* Sacred Edict 476, 653, 653-4
Psalms of David 49, 80, 81, 167, 248, 262, 295, 304, 315, 346, 450, 536-7
Puritans 712, 821, 830, 832, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853-4, 857-8

Qasīm al-Bākirjī 98
Qian Deming, *see also* Jean Joseph Marie Amiot 666-7, 668, 670-6, 679-80, 682, 683
Qianlong Emperor 645, 655, 667, 670-1
Quakers *and* Quakerism 718, 815
Qur'an 9, 16, 20, 49-51, 53-4, 81-2, 88, 98, 99-100, 108, 113, 125-6, 138-41, 144, 148-9, 157-8, 166-7, 171, 173, 176, 188, 193, 194, 203, 214-15, 216, 218, 222, 245, 278, 293, 295, 322, 334, 441, 444, 473, 485-6, 487, 509, 511-15, 522, 525, 526-8, 530-1, 536, 540, 550, 556-7, 564, 566, 616, 619, 623, 625, 644, 647-8, 672, 675, 702, 704-5, 710, 721, 749, 754, 779, 805, 826, 827, 836, 839, 849, 856, 863

Racine, Jean 607
Raffi 370
Ralph Waldo Emerson 571
Raphaël du Mans 266, 283
Raymond Martini 825
Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias, *see also* Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies 699, 734, 867
Recollects, religious order 799
Reformation 471, 550, 552, 721, 728, 731, 825, 828
Renaudot, Eusèbe *649-52*, 767
Richard Knolles 826
Rizqallāh Bāsīl 170, 171, 184, 207, 208
Roger Williams 718-19, 720, 723, 850-1, 852
Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies 699, 734, 867
Royall Tyler 704
Rūfāʾīl Karāma al-Ḥimṣī 196, 234, 235-6

Rustaveli, *see* Shotʻa Rustʻaveli 317, 346, 374, 376, 452

Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide 50, 67, 163, 178-80, 185, 283, 303, 305, 765, 774
Sacred Edict 476, 653-4
Saʿdī 394, 495-6, 498-9, 501
Ṣādiq Iṣfahānī 550
Safavids 4-5, 49, 249, 252, 255, 258, 260, 273-4, 277, 278-9, 281, 282-5, 287, 292-3, 294, 295, 303-6, 310, 315, 317-18, 324, 327, 364, 366, 368, 380, 415, 534, 537
Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī 144
Saint Domingue, *see also* Haiti 701, 803
Saint Lucia 803
Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) 436-7
Sale, George 704, 721, 839
Ṣāliḥ ibn Mahdī al-Maqbalī 198, 201-2
Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī 137
Samawʾal al-Maghribī 537
Samat from Palembang, *see also* ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī 618
Samuēl Anetsʻi *426-47*
Samuel Buell 713, 714
Samuel Langdon 858
al-Ṣanʿānī, Ibn al-Amīr *198-206*
Sanskrit 509, 544
Sansovino, Francesco 19
Saracens 88, 433, 579, 712, 720, 726, 825, 856, 857-8
Sarah, wife of Abraham 433, 856
Satan 352, 713, 834-5, 852
Shavtʻeli 320
Sayatnova 456, *459-64*
Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Sir 547
Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī, *see also* Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī *250-5*, 278, 283, 296
Schultze, Benjamin *519-24*
Seal of the Prophets 269, 276, 277, 536
Sebastacʻi, Łukas *363-72*
Sēfērołli Tʻokatʻcʻi *396-8*
Sekh Mohamat, *see also* ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī 174, *614-20*
Selim III, Ottoman sultan 3, 7, 223
Seljuqs 432, 436, 438
Senegal *and* the Senegal River 693, 702, 745-6, 747-9, 750, 758, 759, 761, 800-1, 804
Senegambia 691, 692, 749-51, 753, 754, 782, 784, 785, 802, 868
Seven Sleepers 150
Seven Years War 703, 800
Shāfiʿī school of law 63-4, 176, 292, 435
Shah ʿAlām, Mughal emperor 469
Shāh ʿĀlam II, Mughal emperor 544, 546, 549
Shah Nazar Khan, *see also* King Archʻil 5, 245, 248, *315-18*, 357-8, 377, 450
Shāh Qāsim 494, 495, 499-500
Shāh Walī Allāh 471, *525-33*
Shahnavāz, *see also* Vakhtʻang V of Kʻartʻli 315, 359
Shizong, *see also* the Yongzheng Emperor *653-7*
Shotʻa Rustʻaveli 317, 346, 374, 376, 452
Sierra Leone 695, 746, 755, 794, 795, 796, 799
Sieur de la Courbe, *see also* Michel Jajolet de la Courbe *745-52*
Simeon of Yerevan, *or* Simeon Erevantsi *411-16*
Simon de Larges 575
Sinnār or Sennar, kingdom of 84, 86, 88, 697, 763-4, 766, 767-9, 770, 792
Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Sajāwandī 565
Siwnikʻ 365, 366, 371, 427, 437
Smart, Christopher 784
Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) 506, 520
Solomon Stoddard 710, 830
Solomon, King of Israel 167, 262, 512, 569, 791
Sòng Jūnróng, *see also* Antoine Gaubil 676
South Africa 486, 578, 581, 811
Spanish Succession, War of the 699
Sri Lanka, *see also* Ceylon 482-3, 578-9, 581, 698, 813
St Elian of Homs, icon of 25
St George 16, 24, 27, 336, 553
St Hṙipsimē 400
St Jerome 271, 277
St John of Damascus 23, 24, 153
St Kʻetʻevan, Queen of Kaxetʻi, *see also* Kʻetʻevan, Queen of Kaxetʻi 317, 343, 344-5, 394, 419-20
St Louis 745, 747-8, 750, 758, 761, 800
St Petersburg 331, 374, 462
Stepʻan Shahumean 364-5, 365-6, 369
Stepʻanos Kafayecʻi *350-3*
Stepʻanos Ōrbelean, Archbishop of Siwnikʻ 427, 437-8, 443
Stéphane Ward, *see also* Isṭifān Ward *163-8*
Stephanus Achilles, *see also* Isṭifānūs Akīllī *185-9*

Stephanus Edenensis, *see also* Isṭifān al-Duwayhī 47, *67-73*
Stephanus Roselli, *see also* Isṭifān Ward *163-8*
Sudan *and* the Sudanese 84, 88-9, 739, 765, 767, 769, 792
Sulaymān, Arab merchant 650
Sulaymān, Shah of Persia 245, 247, 256, 278, 287, 327, 414
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani 5, *330-42*, 347-8
Sultan Alimudín of Sulu, see also Muḥammad ʿAẓīm al-Dīn I of Sulu 586, 589, *591-5*, 596, 598, 602, 603
Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shah of Persia 4, 245, 250-1, 252, 260, 266, 270, *278-91*, 292, 326, 327
Sulu *and* Sulu archipelago 476, 586, 589, 591, 593-4, 596, 597-9, 600, 602
Sunna of Muḥammad 122, 170, 171, 214-15, 528, 557
Surapati, rebellion of 487, 631, 635
Surat 471, 482, 528, 578, 765
Susənyos, King of Ethiopia 774, 789
Swahili language 696-7, 777, 778-9, 780-1
Syriac language 47, 48, 70, 112-13, 135, 153, 185, 519, 739

Tabaski (ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā) 748, 759, 805
Tafrishī, Mīrzā Ẓahīrā *245-9*, 253
Tahmāspqulī Khān, *see also* Nādir Shah, Shah of Persia 4, *292-7*, 373, 380, 381, 387, 417, 534, 560
Taḥmāsp II, Shah of Persia 292, 368, 388, 534
Takla Giyorgis I, King of Ethiopia 807, 808, 810
Tʿamaz Khan, *see also* Nādir Shah, Shah of Persia 4, *292-7*, 373, 380, 381, 387, 417, 534, 560
Tamerlane 421, 440
Tamil language 505-6, 508-11, 513-16, 520
Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq 71
Tatars 321, 335, 341, 352, 438, 457
Tbilisi 285, 286, 296, 367, 382, 391, 417-18, 419-21, 451, 453, 459-60, 461-2
Tchan-teou-hoei-tsee 672
Tehran 245, 252, 258, 389, 765
Tʿeimuraz I, King of Kaxetʿi 344-5, 375
Tʿeimuraz II, King of Kʿartʿli 5, *373-9*
Tʿeimuraz Bagrationi, *see* Catholicos Anton I 320, 406, *417-22*, 453
Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa *130-4*
Tēr Awetis 364, 365-6
Ternate 482, 578, 580, 627, 815
Theodor Krump *84-90*
Thomas, Apostle 376, 470, 651
Thomas Bluett 691-2, 785
Thomas Brightman 712, 824-5
Thomas Goodwin 712
Thomas Jefferson 704-5, 720-2, 723, 856
Thomas Paine 719-20
Thunberg, Carl Peter *811-18*
Tibet *and* the Tibetans 677-9
Tidor 578, 626
Tien-fang, *see also* Mecca 675
Timote Gabashvili 5, 341, *405-10*
Tirones 589, 596, 598
Tʿokʿatʿ 363-4, 396, 397
Torah 49, 80, 81, 112, 140, 165-6, 188, 528, 536-7
Tordesillas, Treaty of 726
Torrubia, José *583-5*
Trabzon, *see also* Trebizond 147, 408
Tranquebar 505-6, 508-11, 513-15, 519, 522
Tranquebar Mission 519
Treaty of Karlowitz 3, 93, 130, 132, 825
Treaty of Paris 717, 798, 800
Treaty of Tordesillas 726
Trebizond, *see also* Trabzon 319
Tripoli (Lebanon) 16, 25, 27, 108, 109, 210, 238
Tripoli (North Africa) 7, 47, 708, 722
Trinity 53, 57, 103-6, 128, 138-40, 158, 187, 212, 248, 262, 273, 276, 512, 514-16, 522, 531, 551, 647, 691, 731, 761-2
Tunis *and* Tunisia 7, 708, 722, 845
Turkestan 558, 667
Turkey 11, 91, 232, 331, 373, 406, 417, 421, 453, 546, 662, 664, 858
Turkmens 367, 437, 440
Tʿuxman 423-4
Tyre 70, 163

Ukraine 229, 449, 453
ʿUmar II, caliph 435
ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Rightly-Guided Caliph 63, 201, 435, 528, 716
ʿUmar, Pact of 203, 239
al-ʿUmarī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn *210-13*
Unitarianism 154, 157
Uppsala 812-13, 814-15
Urdu language 471, 525
ʿUthmān, Rightly-Guided Caliph 435, 549
Uthman dan Fodio 693
Utrecht 493-4, 503, 575, 699
al-ʿUzza, pagan goddess 138, 779

Vahdetî *74-9*
Vaiz Kashifi 347
Vakhtʻang V, King of Kʻartʻli 315, 327, 330, 331, 359
Vakhtʻang VI Bagration-Mukhraneli, King of Kʻartʻli 330, 331, 335, 339, *346-9*, 354-5, 448-9, 453
Vakhushti Bagrationi 5, *391-5*
Valentijn, François *575-82*
Vardan Arewelts'i 439, 443
Vasco da Gama 743
Vazha-Pʻshavela 360, 452
Venice 256, 258, 282, 285, 364, 365, 386
Vienna 93, 131, 131-2, 154, 162, 232, 397, 399, 423, 434, 709, 711
VOC – Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, *see also* Dutch East India Company 474, 481, 482-3, 484-6, 493-4, 500, 502-4, 579, 604, 605-6, 609-11, 612, 621, 622, 623-4, 625-7, 634-5, 698, 812
Voltaire 541, 711, 715-16

Wahhābīs *and* Wahhābism 10, 198, 214
Wan An 661
War of Independence, *see also* American War of Independence 703
War of the Spanish Succession 699
Warren Hastings 539, 549, 556, 566
Washington, George 723
Wazīr al-Ghassānī, *see also* Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī *56-9*
Wén, Chinese emperor 674-5
West Indies 701-2, 704, 748, 861, 863, 864
Westphalia, Peace of 509
Willem Carel Hartsinck 493-4, 496
William Jones 473, 544, 553-4, 558, *560-72*
William of Rubruck 669
William of Tyre 70
William Wilberforce 695
Wolof 748-9, 751, 786, 804-5, 808
Word of God, *see also* Jesus Christ 81, 263, 420

Xanum Vkayuhi 400-1, 402-4
Xavier, Jerome 49, 270, 271, 546

Yaʻaqob ben Ḥayyim Ṣemaḥ 299
Yaḥyā, son of Zachariah, *see also* John the Baptist 167, 248
Yakob Melikʻ-Yakobean, *see also* Raffi 370
Yamamura Saisuke 660
Yesu, *see also* Jesus Christ 648, 679
Yinzhen, *see also* the Yongzheng Emperor 653
Yōhannēs, Christian martyr 396-8
The Yongzheng Emperor *653-7*
Yosef Dubal, *see also* Charles François-Xavier de Brèvedent 763-4
Yu'annis XVIII, Patriarch *221-2*
Yu-see, *see also* Jesus Christ 679
Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir 18, 19-20, 21, 26
Yūsuf, neo-martyr 178

Zachariah, father of John the Baptist 248, 376
Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tafrishī, *see also* Mīrzā Ẓahīrā Tafrishī *245-9*, 253
Zamboanga 585, 594, 596, 598
Zhèng Hé 675
Ziegenbalg, Bartholomäus *505-18*
Zoroastrians *and* Zoroastrian beliefs 77, 194, 217, 279, 534

Index of Titles

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

Abdulmesiani 320
Abhandlungen sinesischer Jesuiten 683
Āb-i naysān u qamar dar ʿAqrab 251
The abrogating and the abrogated in the Qur'an, see *Al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī l-Qur'ān* *170-2*, 532
An account of Nigritia, see *Relation de la Nigritie* 758, *759-62*
Accounts of the West, see *Seiyō kibun* 658, 660, *663-5*
Advice for Muslims and an admonition for believers on the virtue of jihad in the way of God and honouring those who wage jihad in the way of God, see *Nasīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-muʾminīn faḍāʾil al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh wa-karāmat al-mujāhidīn fī sabīl Allāh* *615-18*
Against the Christians, see *Radd-i Naṣārā* *275-7*
Aġcera samepʻosa Sakʻartʻvelosa *393-5*
Agon, Sultan of Bantam. Tragedy in five acts, see *Agon, sulthan van Bantam. Treurspel in vyf bedryven* 604, *605-8*
Agon, sulthan van Bantam. Treurspel in vyf bedryven 604, *605-8*
Aḥādīth al-ḥadīth *170-2*
ʿAhdnāma-yi Mālik-i Ashtar 251
Aʾina-yi ḥaqq-numā 270
Airom musilam 513
Al-ajwiba al-muḥarrara fī l-bayḍa l-khabītha l-munkara, see *Risāla fī ʿadam jawāz taʿẓīm aʿyād al-Naṣārā* *77-9*
ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Nādirī 381
Alexandriani 315
The Algerine captive 704, 721, 847
The Algerine spy in Pennsylvania 720, 843, *844-8*
ʿAlī-Murād Khān's farmān on freedom of residence and practice for Christians, see *Farmān-i ʿAlī-Murād Khān* *311-12*
American tears upon the ruines of the Greek churches 826
Amplified instructions on the Sacred Edict, see *Shengyu guangxun* *653-7*
Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ 298, *299-302*
Anbantʻkʻeba 374
Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine *650-2*
Ancient account of India and China, see *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine* *650-2*
An ancient account of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century, see *A collection of ancient Greek and Oriental liturgies* 649
Angel of Bethesda 821, 827
Annales Regum Iyasu II et Iyoʾas, see *Chronicle of Iyasu II* 789-90, *791-4*
Anvari Sohailīsa, see *Kʻilila da Damana* 331, 346, *347-9*
Anwar-e-Sohaili 347
Aparato para la historia natural española 583
Apologetic answer to Shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī, see *Ḍaḥḍ al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī* *136-42*
An apologetic response to questions by a Muslim shaykh *222*
An apology for the true Christian divinity 718
Apologia pro Christiana religione 49, 270, 283
Al-ʿArab aʿdāʾ kull madanīyya *207-8*
The Arabs, enemies of all civilisation, see *Al-ʿArab aʿdāʾ kull madanīyya* *207-8*
Arāʾis al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ 632
Archʻil mepʻis cameba *357-62*
Archival chamber, see *Jambr* 411, *413-16*
Ashxarhagrutʻiwn Hayastani ew ashxarhagrakan baṙaran 363
Asiatick Researches 553, 570
Aspinžisatʻvis 456, 457
Avānūs khalīfa-yi masīḥī, Kitāb-i 260, *261-3*
Avrupa'ya mensûb olan mîzân-ı umûr-ı hâriciyye 93

Babad Surapati 631
Babad tanah Jawi 629-31, 634-5

Babad Majapahit, Babad Pajang, Babad Mataram, Babad Kartasura, see *Babad tanah Jawi* 629-31, 634-5
Al-badīʿiyya *192-4*
Al-balad al-amīn 251
Barlaam and Josaphat, Book of 336
Bashi-Achʻuki 360
The benefits of marriage, see *Fawāʾid-i izdiwāj* 267, 270, *271-2*, 273
Bhagavat' 569
Biblia Americana 821, *822-9*
Biblia Polyglotta 522
Bibliotheca Malabarica 506
Biḥār al-anwār 270
Bižinas, Shalvas, Elizbaris cameba *357-62*
The bloody tenent of persecution for cause of conscience 719
Bonifacius 821
Book of Barlaam and Josaphat 336
The book of Heraklios, see *Utendi wa Tambuka* *777-81*
The book of the Christian Hovhannēs khalīfa, see *Kitāb-i Avānūs khalīfa-yi masīḥī* 260, *261-3*
The book of the straight way, see *Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* *184*
Breve resumen y discurso *601-3*
A brief account of the rebellions and bloudshed occasioned by the anti-Christian practices of the Jesuits and other popish emissaries in the empire of Ethiopia 773
Brief summary and discourse, see *Breve resumen y discurso* *601-3*
Bughyat al-bāḥith ʿan jumal al-mawārīth 562
Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray al-Masīḥ, wa-humā sirr al-tathlīth wa-sirr al-tajassud al-ilāhī *103-7*
Būstān (*Saʿdī*) 494, 495-7, 499, 501

Calcutta Gazette 567
Carta que envía el Sultán Mahomad-Maydiodín que gobierna el reino de Joló *597-9*
Carta que envía el Sultán Muhamad Alimudín al Rey de España Felipe V en lengua arábiga *593-5*
Cedulario Indiano recopilado por Diego de Encinas 727, 868-70
Chambr, see *Jambṛ* 411, *413-16*
Charity and its fruits 831
Christian Hovhannēs khalīfa, The book of the, see *Kitāb-i Avānūs khalīfa-yi masīḥī* 260, *261-3*
The Christian philosopher 821, 854
The chronicle of Abraham of Crete, see *Patmutʻiwn* of *Katʻoghikos Abraham Kretatsʻi* *381-5*
Chronicle of Iyasu II 789-90, *791-4*
Chronicle of Samuēl Anetsʻi and continuators, see *Samuēl Anetsʻi ew sharunakoghner – Zhamanakagrutʻiwn Adamitsʻ minchʻew 1776* 426, 427, *429-47*
Chronicle of Takla Giyorgis I *808-10*
A chronicle of the Carmelites and the papal mission in Persia 267, *303-8*
Chronicon 429, 430
Chronique d'Egypte 236
Chuo cha Herkal, see *Utendi wa Tambuka* *777-81*
Cigni Eprem asurisa 355
Cigni Martirika, Cigni da istoria Kʻristestʻvis vnebultʻa mocametʻa kʻartʻueltʻa da sxuatʻa 360, *419-22*
Civavākkiyam 515
Cmida Abo Tpʻilelis martviloba 420, 421
Cmida Timotʻe sakvirvelis 355
Cminda Konstanti Kaxis martviloba 420
Cminda Shushanikis martviloba 420
Cminda Svimeon sakvirvelis cʻxovrebani 355
Collected contracts of the Dutch Indian Administration, 1596-1799, see *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum* 612, *625-8*
Collected poems (Niqūlāwus al-Ṣāʾigh), see *Dīwān* 191, 192, 194, 199
A collection of ancient Greek and Oriental liturgies 649
Collection of strange things, see *Sairan igen* 658, *659-63*, 664, 665
Commentarius to the *Historia aethiopica* 740
Common sense (Thomas Paine) 719
Compass to Islam, see *Qingzhen Zhinan* *642-3*
Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice *521-4*
Compendium of decrees by the Government of the Dutch East Indies, see *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek* 466, 467, 468, *609-13*
Compendium of the most important Mahomedan laws and customs

concerning inheritance, marriage and divorce 486, 611
Compleat history of the Turks 840
The conclusive argument from God, see *Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha* *526-9*
Confession book, see *I'tirāf-nāma* 256, *258-9*
Continuación de los progresos y resultas de las expediciones contra Moros Tirones y Camucones en este año de 1748 589
Controversy on the veracity of the Christian religion, see *Jawāb ʿalā Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī* *52-5*
Copia dela bula dela concession q[ue] hizo el papa Alexandre sexto al Rey [y] ala Reyna nuestros señores: de las Indias, see *Inter caetera* 725-6
Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum 612, *625-8*
Correspondence with European states; Documents about Armenians and Catholics *282-91*
C'remlt'a mdinare 456
C'xovreba mep'isa T'eimuraz pirvelisa, see *Gabaaseba T'eimurazisa da Rust'velisa* *316-18*
C'xovrebay da mok'alak'obay cmidisa da netarisa mamisa ch'uenisa Grigol Hromt'a papisay 355
Cyobilsityvaoba 418

Da Ming yi tong ji 661
Dabestān-i mazāhib
Ḍaḥḍ al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī *136-42*
Davit'ni (Psalms of David) 450
Davit'iani 449, *450-2*
Dawit' Bēk kam patmut'iwn Łap'anc'woc' *365-72*
Dawit' Bēk or the history of the Lap'anc'ians, see *Dawit' Bēk kam patmut'iwn Łap'anc'woc'* *365-72*
De l'origine des nègres du Sénégal, coste d'Affrique, de leurs pays, relligions, coutumes et moeurs 761
Decree of toleration *294-5*
Dedop 'als Anazed 454
Den Persiaanschen Boogaard *495-9*
Descripción general de África 754
A description of the coast of north and south Guinea and of Ethiopia inferior, vulgarly Angola 753, *754-7*
Description of the Kingdom of Georgia, see *Aġcera samep'osa Sak'art'velosa* *393-5*
Description of the Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, in the Gospel, see *Na't al-Nabī Muḥammad ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-Injīl* 80, *81-3*
Detailed account of the expeditions against the Muslim Tirones, Maranaos and Camucones, see *Puntual relación de lo acaecido en las expediciones contra Moros Tirones, en Malanaos y Camucones* *588-90*
Détails historiques et politiques *803-6*
Dghesastsaulistvis 406
Dġisa da ġamis gabaaseba, see *Sarke t'k'mult'a* *375-9*
Dialogue between an Ottoman and a Christian, see *Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî* *91-7*
Dialogue between day and night, see *Sarke t'k'mult'a* *375-9*
Dialogue between T'eimuraz and Rust'veli, see *Gabaaseba T'eimurazisa da Rust'velisa* *316-18*
A dialogue between the infidel Muḥammad and the Christians, see *Uṣjulos moamadisa da k'ristianet' gabaaseba* *321-3*
Dialogues (Ziegenbalg) 506, 508, 516-17
Dictionarium sacrum seu religiosum: A dictionary of all religions, ancient and modern. Whether Jewish, Pagan, Christian, or Mahometan 708
Die Reise des pater Krump 86, 89
A digest of Mohummudan law, according to the tenets of the Twelve Imams, compiled, under the superintendence of the late Sir William Jones 566
Disertación histórico-política en que se trata de la extensión de el Mahometismo en las Islas Philipinas 583, *584-5*
Disputationum ... de controversis Christianæ fidei adversus huius temporis hæreticos 187
Divançe 74
A divine and supernatural light 831
Dīwān (Niqūlāwus al-Ṣā'igh) 191, 192, 194, 199
Le drogman Padery 284
Al-durr al-manẓūm 19-20, 21, 152
Al-durr al-marṣūf fī tārīkh al-Shūf 236

Egviptisa da a ġmosavlet'is monastert'a gangebay 355
Elegy for a Catholic monk who accepted death at the hands of the gentiles,

refusing to deny his sacred faith in the year 1749, see *Rithāʾ aḥad al-ābāʾ min al-ruhbān al-kāthūlīkiyyīn wa-qad irtaḍā bi-l-mawt min al-umam wa-lam yarḍa bi-jaḥd īmānih al-muqaddas sanat 1749* *195-7*
Encheiridion kata tou schismatos tōn Papistōn, see *Kitāb al-Silāḥ al-qāṭiʿ wa-l-sayf al-murhaf al-lāmiʿ* 101
The end for which God created the world 831
Enlightening the truth, see *Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq* 245, *247-9*, 253
The epic of the battle of Tabuk, see *Utendi wa Tambuka* *777-81*
An epistle in refutation of those who regard it as lawful to seize the properties of the dhimmīs, see *Risāla fī radd man istaḥalla amwāl ahl al-dhimma* *98-100*
Epistle refuting the Christian religion through the Gospel by means of the discipline of kalām, see *Risāla fī radd al-milla l-naṣrāniyya bi-l-Injīl min qibal ʿilm al-kalām* *147-9*
Essays on various subjects, principally designed for young ladies 717
The evident proof for the truth of the two mysteries of Christ, which are the mystery of the Trinity and the mystery of the divine Incarnation, see *Al-burhān al-ṣarīḥ fī ḥaqīqat sirray al-Masīḥ, wa-humā sirr al-tathlīth wa-sirr al-tajassud al-ilāhī* *103-7*
Expelling the People of the Book, see *Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb min al-Yaman* 198, *200-6*

A faithful narrative of the remarkable revival of religion 713
A faithful narrative of the surprising work of God 831
Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète 711
Farmān-i ʿAli-Murād Khān *311-12*
Al-Farāyez al-sorājīyeh 565
Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī 525, 556
Fatḥ al-ʿayn wa-kashf al-ghayn ʿan al-farq bayna l-basmalatayn wa-ʾḍāḥ maʿnā l-tasmiyatayn *125-8*
Fath-name-ye Iravan 389
Fawāʾid-i izdiwāj 267, 270, *271-2*, 273
Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr 528, *529-33*
The felicity of the times 718
Fenqith 47
Fī mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān al-mutafarriqa fī l-sharq al-khārija ʿan dīn al-Masīḥ *143-6*
First journey of Sieur de la Courbe made to the coast of Africa in 1685, see *Premier voyage de Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685* *747-52*
Al-fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-niḥal 212
Flashes of light in refuting the wicked Christians, see *Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār* 210, *211-13*
Flora capensis 813
Flora Japonica 813
For holidays, see *Dghesastsaulistvis* 406
Four world religions 508, 509
Freedom of the will 831
Al-futūḥāt al-Makkiyya 116

Gabaaseba Rustʻvelʻan 374
Gabaaseba Tʻeimurazisa da Rustʻvelisa *316-18*
Gaios arkʻimandrits 457
Gardamotsemuli 406
Garden of the zones, see *Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm* *550-2*
Genealogy of Malabarian / South Indian gods 506
Geographical description of Georgia 392
Géographie d'Aboulféda 683
George Fox digg'd out of his burrowes 781, 851
La Gigantologia spagnola vendicata dal M.R.P. Giuseppe Torrubia 583
Gita Govinda 570
The glory of goodness. The goodness of God 709, 827, 853
Ġmtʻivsulieri tʻxrobani 354
God glorified in the work of redemption 831
Gospel translation of Nādir-Shāh, see *Tarjuma-yi Injīl-i Nādir-Shāhī* *295-7*
Gottlieb Heinrich Stuck's ... Verzeichnis von aeltern und neuern Land- und Reisebeschreibungen 89
Grammar of the Persian language 544
Grammatica arabica 739
Grammatica Damulica 506
Grammatica linguae amharicae 740, 742
Grdemli 355, 406
The great success in principles of interpretation, see *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr* 528, *529-33*
Guidance for those who are led (or who lead) astray and strengthening for the

believers, see *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) *wa-taqwiyat al-mūʾminīn* 267, *268-9*, 270, 283
Guide to Islam, see *Qingzhen Zhinan* *642-3*
Gulistān 498, 499
Gulshān-i Ibrāhīmī/Tārīkh 538, 540
Ġvtʻismetyveleba 418

Ḥadīqat al-aqālīm *550-2*
Haft iqlīm 550
Halle reports 508, 516
Hamarʻōt patmutʻiwn tʻagaworacʻn Hayocʻ 363
Al-ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz 109
Ḥawādith Lubnān wa-Sūriya 235
Hazar erku hariwr tʻvakan *423-5*
Heavens alarm to the world 712
The Hedàya 553, 554, *555-9*, 567
Heraklios, The book of, see *Utendi wa Tambuka* *777-81*
Hidāya (al-Marghīnānī) 555, 556
Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn (or *al-muḍillīn*) *wa-taqwiyat al-mūʾminīn* 267, *268-9*, 270, 283
High and fruitful palm-tree of the Holy Gospel, see *Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum deß Heiligen Evangelij* 84, *85-90*
Hikayat Prang Sabi 617
Hikayat tanah Hitu 484, 580
Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute la dinastie des Mongous ses successeurs 684
Histoire de la Grande Isle Madagascar 697
Historia aethiopica 740, *742-4*, 772, 773
Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de'Turchi 19
Historical and political details, see *Détails historiques et politiques* *803-6*
Historical survey of the French colony in the island of St Domingo 862
History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies 702, 862, *862-6*
History of British India 541
History of Ethiopia, see *Historia aethiopica* 740, *742-4*, 772, 773
The history of Hindostan from the death of Akbar to the complete settlement of the Empire under Aurungzebe 538, *539-43*
History of the Muslims, see *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* *69-73*
History of the Saracens 839
Historie of the turkes 826
History of the wars 1721-36, see *Patmutʻiwn paterazmatsn 1721-1736 tʻ.tʻ* *386-90*
A history of the work of redemption 831, 835, 853, 858
Hoher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum deß Heiligen Evangelij 84, *85-90*
How the imperial city was conquered, see *Kayfa futiḥat al-madīna l-mutamallika* *150-3*
Ḥujjat Allāh al-bāligha *526-9*
An humble attempt 713, 714, *834-5*
A humble discourse of the incomprehensibleness of God 716

Icones plantarum japonicarum 813
Iḥyā ʿulūm al-dīn, see also *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā ʿibādat Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn* 614
Ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb, see *Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb min al-Yaman* 198, *200-6*
Imperio de la China 661
Incredible biography of Mr Peter Heyling, see *Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings* 772, *773-6*
India Christiana 827
Institutes of Hindu law, or, The ordinances of Manu 563
Institutiones Theologicae Polemicae Universae 839
Inter caetera 725-6
Iqāmat al-ḥujja l-bāhira ʿalā hadm kanāʾis Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira 173, *175-7*
Islam and Muslims in the works of Christian Arab historians of the 18th and early 19th centuries *234-41*
Ithbāt al-nubuwwa 267
Iʻtirāf-nāma 256, *258-9*

Jahān-gushā-yi Nādirī 381
Jambṛ 411, *413-16*
Jawāb ʿalā Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī *52-5*
Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ 166
Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb min al-Yaman 198, *200-6*
Jawāb suʾāl warada min ṭaraf Batrak al-Naṣārā *124-5*
Jidāl fī ṣiḥḥat al-dīn al-masīḥī, see *Jawāb ʿalā Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī* *52-5*
Journal of a slave-dealer 794, *795-7*
The journey of the minister to ransom the captive, see *Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* 8, *57-9*
A journey to Ethiopia, made in the years 1698, 1699, and 1700, see *Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie, 1698-1701* 765, *767-71*

Journey to Europe, see *Mogzauroba evropashi* 331, *339-42*
Judaism, Christianity and Islam, see *Al-Yahūdiyya wa-l-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām* 207, *208-9*

Al-kalima l-waḥīda fī ḥukm al-firaq al-mulāḥida 210
Al-kashf wa-l-bayān ʿan asrār al-adyān fī Kitāb al-insān al-kāmil wa-kāmil al-insān 119, *121-4*
Kalīla wa-Dimna, see *Kʻilila da Damana* 331, 346, *347-9*
Kartʻlis chiri 450, 451
Kʻartʻuli Ġramatika 418
Kayfa futiḥat al-madīna l-mutamallika *150-3*
Kʻeba Solomon mepʻisa 456, 457
The key of the church, see *Miftāḥ al-bīʿa* *48-51*
Kidurceriloba 374
Al-kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya 74
Kʻilila da Damana 331, 346, *347-9*
Kitāb al-Silāḥ al-qāṭiʿ wa-l-sayf al-murhaf al-lāmiʿ 101
Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm *184*
Kitāb al-tawḥīd 215, 217, 218
Kitab Usulbiya 631, 635
Kitāb-i Avānūs khalīfa-yi masīḥī 260, *261-3*
The knight in the panther skin, see also *Vepʻxistqaosani* 346, 374, 376
Kometographia 712
Kunyu Wanguo Quantu 660, 664

The ladder 355
The lamp of enlightenment for him who desires to be enlightened, see *Al-miṣbāḥ al-muḍī li-man yashāʾ an yastaḍī* 185, *186-9*
Lavsaikon 355
The lay of Tʻeimuraz, see *Gabaaseba Tʻeimurazisa da Rustʻvelisa* *316-18*
Layla and Majnun 376, 569
Legislation restricting Muslim presence in Colonial Spanish America 699, 729, *867-73*
Lekʻsikoni Kʻartʻuli 331
Letter sent by Sultan Mahomad-Maydiodin, who rules the kingdom of Sulu, see *Carta que envía el Sultán Mahomad-Maydiodín que gobierna el reino de Joló* *597-9*
Letter sent by Sultan Muhamad Alimudín to the King of Spain Philip V in Arabic, see *Carta que envía el Sultán Muhamad Alimudín al Rey de España Felipe V en lengua arábiga* *593-5*
La lettre de lʼÉvêque Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt, see *Ḍaḥḍ al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī* *136-42*
Lexicon aethiopico-latinum 739
Life of Maximus the Confessor 358
Life of Shaykh Muhammad Ali Hazin 534
Life of St Symeon the Miracle Worker, see *Cminda Svimeon sakvirvelis cʻxovrebani* 355
Life of St Timothy the Miracle Worker, see *Cmida Timotʻe sakvirvelis* 355
The Life of Tʻeimuraz I, see *Gabaaseba Tʻeimurazisa da Rustʻvelisa* *316-18*
Listening to other languages, see *Sairan igen* 658, *659-63*, 664, 665
A little olive leaf put in the mouth of that (so called) Noah's dove 713
The Lord's tunic 355
Luarsab mepʻis cameba *357-62*

Magnalia Christi Americana 821, 827, 853
Maḥḍar al-shuhūd fī radd al-Yahūd 298
Majmaʿ al-anhur 75
Majmaʿ al-bayān; Ādāb-i duʿā' 251
Majma-ul-bahrain 570
Makārim al-akhlāq 251
Malabarian correspondence or Tamil letters 506
Malabarisches Heidenthum 508, 510
Malatʻacʻi nor nahatakin vray Tʻxatʻcʻi Sēfērōtlovēn Kʻearami *396-8*
Manuductio ad ministerium 821
Al-maqāṣid al-saniyya fī ithbāt al-tathlīth wa-l-waḥdāniyya, see *Ḍaḥḍ al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr al-Kawtharānī* *136-42*
Martsukhi 406
Martyrdom of Bižina, Shalva and Elizbari, see *Bižinas, Shalvas, Elizbaris cameba* *357-62*
Martyrdom of David and Konstantine 358
Martyrdom of King Archʻil, see *Archʻil mepʻis cameba* *357-62*
Martyrdom of King Luarsab, see *Luarsab mepʻis cameba* *357-62*
The martyrdom of St Abo of Tbilisi, see *Cmida Abo Tpʻilelis martviloba* 420, 421
The martyrdom of St Konstanti Kaxi, see *Cminda Konstanti Kaxis martviloba* 420
The martyrdom of the most worshipful martyr Queen Kʻetʻevan, see *Tsamebay*

qovlad didebulisa motsamisa dedoplisa K'et'evanisa *344-5*
Martyrikon, book and history of Georgian and other martyrs martyred for Christ, see *Cigni Martirika, Cigni da istoria K'ristest'vis vnebult'a mocamet'a k'art'uelt'a da sxuat'a* 360, *419-22*
Martyrology of Christ's neomartyr St Sahak Brutnec'i, see *Nahatakut'iwn nor vkayin K'ristosi S. Sahakay Brutnec'woy* *350-3*
Martyrology of Loys Grigor *324-9*
Martyrology of the confessor [*and*] *martyr of Christ Grigor, widely known as 'Light Grigor' that occurred in the time of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in the year 1703*, see *Martyrology of Loys Grigor* *324-9*
Martyrology of T'uxman Manuk Tigranakertc'i in 1784, see *Hazar erku hariwr t'vakan* *423-5*
Martyrology of Xanum, see *Tał i veray srbuhwoy kusin or anun nora koč'i Xanum* *399-402*
Maw'iẓa fī ghaḍab Allāh 'alā l-khuṭāh, see also *Sinners in the hands of an angry God* 715, 831, 852
Al-mashkūl 251
Masnavi 569, 570
Maṭāli' u maghārib 246
Me mivxvdi magas shensa bralebsa 454
Meknut'iwn tumari zor arareal ē Samuēli k'ahanayi i khndroy Step'anosi imastasiri 426
Mémoire sur la nécessité d'un établissement aux Isles des idoles 804
Mémoires concernant les Chinois *666-86*
Memoirs concerning the history, sciences, arts, customs, usages, etc. of the Chinese, see *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* *666-86*
Memoirs of Osman Ağa of Timişoara, see *Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa'nin Hâtıraları* *131-4*
Miftāḥ al-bī'a *48-51*
Les mille et un jours 223
Les mille et une nuits 223
Mimoslva 406, *407-10*
Mir'āt al-quds 546, 550
Mirian batonishvils 457
The mirror of sayings, see *Sarke t'k'mult'a* *375-9*
Al-miṣbāḥ al-muḍī li-man yashā' an yastaḍī 185, *186-9*
Miscellanies (Jonathan Edwards) 836
Misqal-i ṣafā 49, 270
Mithridate 607
Mnat'obt'admi 456
Mogzauroba evropashi 331, *339-42*
The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates *562-5*, 566, 567
Mot'xroba sjult'a uġmrt'ot'a ismaitelt'a 320
Mot'xrobay sjult'a uġmrt'ot'a t'at'rist'a 321
Mubāhitha 245
Muhayyelât-ı ledünn-i ilâhî 223
Muhtadī l-anhur ilā Multaqā l-abḥur 74, *75-7*
Mukhtaṣar (Barhebraeus) 145
Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-asāqifa alladhīna raqqū martabat ri'āsat al-kahanūt al-jalīla fī madīnat Bayrūt (Ṭrād) 238
Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-duwal 144
Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-Duwayhī 71
Mukhtaṣar tārīkh jabal Lubnān 71
Multaqā l-abḥur 74, 75
Murūj al-dhahab 651
Mzametqveleba 418

Nahatakut`iwn Grigori xostovanoł vkayin K`ristosi, or hasarakapēs koč'i Loys Grigor, eŀeloy i žamanaks Šah Sult'an Hōsēyni, yami 1703, see *Martyrology of Loys Grigor* *324-9*
Nahatakut'iwn nor vkayin K'ristosi S. Sahakay Brutnec'woy *350-3*
A narrative of the late massacres, in Lancaster County 720
Nasb-nāma 544
Nasīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-mu'minīn faḍā'il al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh wa-karāmat al-mujāhidīn fī sabīl Allāh *615-18*
Al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī l-Qur'ān *170-2*, 532
Na't al-Nabī Muḥammad 'alayhi l-salām fī l-Injīl 80, *81-3*
Nawrūznāma, see *Āb-i naysān u qamar dar 'Aqrab* 251
The nature of true virtue 831
Naukeurige beschrijvinge van ... 753
Nea synopsis diaphorōn historiōn, see *Al-durr al-manẓūm* 19-20, 21, 152
Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 466, 467, 468, *609-13*
On the neomartyr from Malatya who became a martyr in T'ok'at' by Sēfēroŀli T'okat'c'i, son of K'earam, see *Malat'ac'i nor nahatakin vray T'xat'pr or martiros*

əław. T'xat'c'i Sēfērōtłovēn K'earami *396-8*
A new general collection of voyages and travels 784
New history of French Africa, see *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise* 798, *799-802*
New statutes of Batavia 611
Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique françoise 798, *799-802*
Nouvelles réflexions sur l'éntrée de la rivière de Cazamance 804
Nūṣrat al-ḥaqq, see *Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq* 245, *247-9*, 253
Nuzhat al-ʿābid 163

Observations on the importance of the American Revolution 719
Observations on the revelation of Jesus Christ to St John 858
Old and New East-Indies, see *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* *576-82*
On Aspinża, see *Aspinżisat'vis* 456, 457
'On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus' *569-72*
On the principles and roots of the religions scattered in the East which are different from the religion of Christ, see *Fī mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān al-mutafarriqa fī l-sharq al-khārija ʿan dīn al-Masīḥ* *143-6*
Opening the eye and removing the cloud on the difference between the two basmalas, and expounding the meaning of the two ways of naming God, see *Fatḥ al-ʿayn wa-kashf al-ghayn ʿan al-farq bayna l-basmalatayn wa-īḍāḥ maʿnā l-tasmiyatayn* *125-8*
Op- en ondergang van Cormandel 494, *502-4*
Op het Duitsch 494
Oratio de rebus admirabilibus in India 503
Ordnung des Heyls 516
Original sin 831
Osuri mot'xroba 360
Ottoman slave manumission documents *227-33*
Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien *576-82*

Panchatantra 347
Paraphrase and notes on the Revelation 839
The passion of St Shushanik, see *Cminda Shushanikis martviloba* 420
A pastoral letter to the English captives in Africa 827, 853, 854
Patmagrut'iwn Yovhannu Kat'oghikosi amenayn hayots 431
Patmut'iwn aghwanits' ashkharhi 431
Patmut'iwn Ananun Zruts'agri kartsets'eal Shapuh Bagratuni 431
Patmut'iwn Aristakeay Vardapeti Lastivertts'woy 431
Patmut'iwn Ghewontay – Arshawank' arabats' i hays 431
Patmut'iwn Łapantswots, see *Dawit' Bēk kam patmut'iwn Łap'anc'woc'* *365-72*
Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan 427
Patmut'iwn paterazmatsn 1721-1736 t'.t' *386-90*
Patmut'iwn Sebēosi Episkoposi i Herakln 431
Patmut'iwn tiezerakan 431
Patmut'iwn of *Kat'oghikos Abraham Kretats'i* *381-5*
Persian secretary, see *Persiaanse secretaris* 493, *499-502*
Persiaanse secretaris 493, *499-502*
The Persian orchard, see *Den Persiaanschen Boogaard* *495-9*
Pietje en Agnietje of de Doos van Pandora, toneelspel 604
A pillar of gratitude 827
Poem in praise of Christ and his disciples, see *Al-badīʿiyya* *192-4*
The polisher of purity, see *Misqal-i ṣafā* 49, 270
Political and historical dissertation on the expansion of Islam in the Philippines, see *Disertación histórico-política en que se trata de la extensión de el Mahometismo en las Islas Philipinas* 583, *584-5*
Poor Richard's almanack 719
The powring ovt of the seven vials 850
The probability of the second coming of Christ around AD 1843 706
Premier voyage de Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685 *747-52*
Presenting the incontrovertible argument on [*the obligation*] *of demolishing churches in the ancient capital* [*of al-Fusṭāṭ*] *and Cairo*, see *Iqāmat al-ḥujja l-bāhira ʿalā hadm kanā'is Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* 173, *175-7*
Principles of rule for the order of the nations, see *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem* 96, 155, *160-2*

The principles of the Christian faith and its practical aspects, see *Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān* 261, *263-5*
Problema theologicum 826
Prodromus plantarum 813
Proeve op de Levensbeschrijving der Nederlandsche Doorluchtige Mannen behelzende het leven van Johannes Kamphuis 604
Prusya sefâretnâmesi 223, *224-6*
Puntual relación de lo acaecido en las expediciones contra Moros Tirones, en Malanaos y Camucones *588-90*

Qabas al-anwār fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā l-ashrār 210, *211-13*
Qaramaniani 456
Al-qarīn al-ḥakīm 163, 164, 165
Qaṣīda fī naql Ibrāhīm al-shahīd ibn Dīmītrī ibn Yaʿqūb al-mukannā bi-l-Dallāl min millat al-Rūm bi-Ḥalab sanat 1742 masīḥiyya 178-82, 196
Al-qawl al-sadīd fī jawāz khulf al-waʿīd wa-l-radd ʿalā l-Rūmī l-ʿanīd *115-19*
Qingzhen Zhinan *642-3*

Racʿ müreca sopʿelman 456, 457
Radd ʿalā iʿtirāḍāt baʿḍ al-Muslimīn ʿalā l-dīn al-masīḥī, see *Jawāb ʿalā Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī* *52-5*
Al-radd ʿalā ʿulamāʾ al-Muslimīn *164-8*
Radd al-muftarī ʿan al-ṭaʿn fī l-Shushtarī *111-15*
Radd bar Yahūd 267
Radd-i ʿaqāʾid-i ṣūfiyān, see *Risāla dar radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān* 267, *272-3*
Radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān 267
Radd-i Naṣārā *275-7*
Al-rawḍ al-zāhir fī tārīkh Ḍāhir 235
Rawḍat ūlī albāb fī tawārīkh al-akābir wa-l-ansāb 551
Ražden the first martyr 335, 419
Reasonableness of Christianity 855
Recherches sur les langues tartares, ou Mémoires sur différens points de la grammaire et de la littérature des Mandchos, des Mongols, des Ouigours et des Tibétains 684
Recopilación de leyes de Indias 870-1
Refutation of a Muslim's objections to Christianity, see *Jawāb ʿalā Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī* *52-5*
Refutation of the beliefs of the Sufis, see *Risāla dar radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān* 267, *272-3*
Refutation of the slanderer concerning the defamation of al-Shushtarī, see *Radd al-muftarī ʿan al-ṭaʿn fī l-Shushtarī* *111-15*
Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Jacques Poncet, médecin françois, fit en Éthiopie en 1698, 1699 et 1700, see *Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie, 1698-1701* 765, *767-71*
Relation de la Nigritie 758, *759-62*
Relation de mon voyage d'Éthiopie, 1698-1701 765, *767-71*
Relation historique d'Abissinie 765, 769
Religious affections 831, 839
Reply to Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī, see *Jawāb ʿalā Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī* *52-5*
Report of the embassy to Prussia, see *Prusya sefâretnâmesi* 223, *224-6*
Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, förrättad åren 813, *814-18*
Response to Muslim scholars, see *Al-radd ʿalā ʿulamāʾ al-Muslimīn* *164-8*
A response to the question on expelling the People of the Book from Yemen, see *Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan ijlāʾ ahl al-kitāb min al-Yaman* 198, *200-6*
Response to the question raised by the Patriarch of the Christians, see *Jawāb suʾāl warada min ṭaraf Batrak al-Naṣārā* *124-5*
Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr 8, *57-9*
The rivers guided to the confluence of the seas, see *Muhtadī l-anhur ilā multaqā l-abḥur* 74, *75-7*
Risāla dar bashārātī bar ẓuhūr-i ḥaḍrat-i khatam al-anbiyāʾ az kutub-i āsmānī *536-7*
Risāla dar radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān 267, *272-3*
Risāla fī ʿadam jawāz taʿẓīm aʿyād al-Naṣārā *77-9*
Risāla fī bayān hal yajūz aẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima, see *Risāla fī naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima* *62-6*
Risāla fī bayān naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima, see *Risāla fī naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima* *62-6*
Risāla fī bayān taḥrīf al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā, see *Naʿt al-Nabī Muḥammad ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-Injīl* 80, *81-3*

Risāla fī jawāb su'āl warada ʿalaynā min al-Quds al-sharīf fī mā yu'khadhu min ahl al-kufri min al-ʿawā'id min al-shamʿ wa-l-sukkar wa-l-jūkh wa-ghayrihi wa-bayān ḥukmihi *120-1*
Risāla fī l-jawāb ʿan su'āl li-baʿḍ ahl al-dhimma *128-9*
Risāla fī naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima *62-6*
Risāla fī radd al-milla l-naṣrāniyya bi-l-Injīl min qibal ʿilm al-kalām *147-9*
Risāla fī radd man istaḥalla amwāl ahl al-dhimma *98-100*
Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya 210, 212
Risâle-i islâmiye *157-60*
Risale-i tertîb-i zikr-i Nakşibendiyye 80
Rise and fall of Coromandel, see *Op- en ondergang van Cormandel* 494, *502-4*
The rise of the land of Java, see *Babad tanah Jawi* 629-31, 634-5
The rites and ritual of Islam, see *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 645, *646-8*
Rithāʾ aḥad al-ābāʾ min al-ruhbān al-kāthūlīkiyyīn wa-qad irtaḍā bi-l-mawt min al-umam wa-lam yarḍa bi-jaḥd īmānih al-muqaddas sanat 1749 *195-7*
The ritual norms of Islam, see *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 645, *646-8*
Ritual of Islam, see *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 645, *646-8*
Robinson Crusoe 707-8, 711
The rose and the nightingale, see also *Vardbulbuliani* 403, 456
Rudiments of taste 717
Ruxis brżola 456
Rvatʿa gulissitqvatʿatʿvis 355

Sad ġesascaulo 355
Sadǧegrżelo 360
Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim 218
Sairan igen 658, *659-63*, 664, 665
Sakʿartʿvelos zneobani 317
Sakʿartʿvelos mokle istoria 418
Samuēl Anetsʿi and continuators – Chronicle from Adam to 1776, see *Samuēl Anetsʿi ew sharunakoghner – Zhamanakagrutʿiwn Adamitsʿ minchʿew 1776* 426, 427, *429-47*
Samuēl Anetsʿi ew sharunakoghner – Zhamanakagrutʿiwn Adamitsʿ minchʿew 1776 426, 427, *429-47*
Samżimari 456, 457
Sarke tʿkʿultʿa *375-9*
Sayf al-mūʾminīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn 267, *269-71*, 272, 283
Sayr al-sālikīn ilā ʿibādat Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn, see also *Iḥyā ʿulūm al-dīn* 614
Scavlani 331
Schaubühne der Welt 740
Sciagraphia historiae aethiopicae 740
Le sécretaire à la mode 500
Seiyō kibun 658, 660, *663-5*
Selected explanations of the rites and ritual of Islam, see *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 645, *646-8*
Selected explanations of the ritual norms of Islam, see *Tianfang dianli zeyao jie* 645, *646-8*
Serat Anbiya 632, 635
Serat Baron Sakender 633, 634
Serat Surya Raja 632, 633, 635
Sethona: A tragedy 538
Sevdis bags shevel 454
Shamipʿ arvaniani 456
Shengyu guangxun *653-7*
Shigarf-nāma i wilāyat 544, *546-8*
A short account of Algiers 704
A short and easy method with the deists 716
A short refutation of the Qur'an in Hindustani, see *Compendiaria Alcorani refutatio indostanice* *521-4*
Sibrdzne sicʿruisa 330, 331, *333-9*
Ṣidq al-Injīl wa-kidhb al-Qur'ān *171-2*
Siku quanshu 645
al-Silāḥ al-qāṭiʿ wa-l-sayf al-murhaf al-lāmiʿ, Kitāb 101
Sinbād-nāma, see also *Tʿimsariani* 336, 374
Sinners in the hands of an angry God, see also *Mawʿiẓa fī ghaḍab Allāh ʿalā l-khuṭāh* 715, 831, 852
Al-Sirajiyyah: or the Mohamedan law of inheritance; with a commentary 563, *565-8*
al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm, Kitāb *184*
Solomon mepʿis epitapʿia 456, 457
Some memoirs of the life of Job, the son of Solomon, the high priest of Boonda in Africa 691, 785
Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings 772, *773-6*
A sound discourse concerning the possibility that God will not carry out his threats and a refutation of the stubborn Turk, see *Al-qawl al-sadīd fī jawāz khulf al-waʿīd wa-l-radd ʿalā l-Rūmī l-ʿanīd* *115-19*
Spekali 406, 418
Stimulum Cumpunctionis 22
The stories of the Hadith, see *Aḥādīth al-ḥadīth* *170-2*

the straight way, The book of, see *Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* *184*
Strange stories acquired, see *Sairan igen* 658, *659-63*, 664, 665
Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî *91-7*
Ṣubḥ ṣādiq 550
Subul al-salām 199, 201
Sultan Ahmed ibn Muhammed'e dair istihrâc risâlesi 80
Sūrat al-Naml 167
Sūrat al-Shuʿarāʾ 166
Sūrat Hūd 167
Sūrat Yūsuf 167
The sword of the faithful in the fight against the associators, see *Sayf al-mūʾminīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn* 267, *269-71*, 272, 283

Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq 245, *247-9*, 253
Tadhkirat al-aḥwāl 535
Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn 245, 535
Tafnīd al-Qurʾān 49
Tał i veray srbuhwoy kusin or anun nora kočʿi Xanum *399-402*
Tał i Vkayuhi surb Xanum Nahatak i Tʿoprakʿ Kʿalē *402-4*
Tał poem on the Holy Martyr Xanum at Toprakkaleʿ, see *Tał i Vkayuhi surb Xanum Nahatak i Tʿoprakʿ Kʿalē* *402-4*
Tał poem on the holy virgin whose name is called Xanum, see *Tał i veray srbuhwoy kusin or anun nora kočʿi Xanum* *399-402*
Tales translated from the Persian of Inatulla of Delhi 538
Al-taʿlīm al-Masīḥī 163
Taʿqībāt-i namāz; Kāʾināt al-jaww 251
Taqwīm al-buldān 683
Tārīkh al-Masīḥiyyīn 69, 71
Tārīkh al-Muslimīn *69-73*
Tārīkh al-Shām 235
Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa 251, *252-5*, 283
Tarjamat al-asmāʾ 253
Tarjuma-yi Injīl-i Nādir-Shāhī *295-7*
Taṭhīr al-iʿtiqād ʿan adrān al-ilḥād 199
al-tawḥīd, Kitāb 215, 217, 218
Tʿeimuraziani, see *Gabaaseba Tʿeimurazisa da Rustʿvelisa* *316-18*
Teisei zōyaku sairan igen, see also *Sairan igen* 660
Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa'nin Hâtıraları *131-4*
Thalāth rasāʾil. Kalimāt fī bayān al-shahāda 219
La Thébaïde 607
Theologia aethiopica 740
Things for a distress'd people to think upon 854
Things to be look'd for 826
Thirty four conferences 508
Thoughts on government 720
Tianfang dianli zeyao jie 645, *646-8*
Tianfang xingli 645, 646
Tianfang zhisheng shilu 645, 646
Tidings of the prophets, see *Anbāʾ al-anbiyāʾ* 298, *299-302*
Tidings of the West, see *Seiyō kibun* 658, 660, *663-5*
Timotiani 406
Tʿimsariani, see also *Sinbād-nāma* 336, 374
To-ing and fro-ing, see *Mimoslva* 406, *407-10*
Translation of the four Gospels, see *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa* 251, *252-5*, 283
Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia: Performed between the years 1770 and 1779, see *Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, förrättad åren* 813, *814-18*
Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima countries in Western Africa 694
Travels into the interior of South Africa 815
Travels to discover the source of the Nile 763, 768, 769, 793
Travels into the inland parts of Africa 692, 782, *783-8*
Treatise in explanation of scriptural alteration by the Jews and the Christians, see *Naʿt al-Nabī Muḥammad ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-Injīl* 80, *81-3*
Treatise in refutation of the community of Sufis, see *Risāla dar radd-i jamāʿat-i ṣūfiyān* 267, *272-3*
Treatise in response to the question of one of the dhimmīs, see *Risāla fī l-jawāb ʿan suʾāl li-baʿḍ ahl al-dhimma* *128-9*
Treatise in response to the question reaching us from Jerusalem the noble concerning the special tax revenues from non-Muslims on wax, sugar, broadcloth and other goods, and an explanation of its legal status, see *Risāla fī jawāb suʾāl warada ʿalaynā min al-Quds al-sharīf fī mā yuʾkhadhu min ahl al-kufri min al-ʿawāʾid min al-shamʿ wa-l-sukkar wa-l-jūkh wa-ghayrihi wa-bayān ḥukmihi* *120-1*
Treatise on a dhimmī woman's gazing at a Muslim woman, see *Risāla fī naẓar al-dhimmiyya ilā l-Muslima* *62-6*
Treatise on Islam, see *Risâle-i islâmiye* *157-60*

Treatise on the allusions to the appearance of the Seal of the Prophets in the heavenly books, see *Risāla dar bashārātī bar ẓuhūr-i ḥaḍrat-i khatam al-anbiyā' az kutub-i āsmānī* *536-7*
Treatise on the impermissibility of the glorification of Christian festivals, see *Risāla fī ʿadam jawāz taʿẓīm aʿyād al-Naṣārā* *77-9*
Treatises of the Chinese Jesuits, see *Abhandlungen sinesischer Jesuiten* 683
Triparadisus 821, 826
The true nature of imposture displayed in the life of Mahomet 708, 849
The truth-reflecting mirror, see *Aʾina-yi ḥaqq-numā* 270
Tsamebay qovlad didebulisa motsamisa dedoplisa K'et'evanisa *344-5*
The Turkish fast 709
Two poems on Christians killed by Muslims *195-7*

Uncovering and explaining the secrets of religions in the Book of the perfect human being and the perfection of the human being, see *Al-kashf wa-l-bayān ʿan asrār al-adyān fī Kitāb al-insān al-kāmil wa-kāmil al-insān* 119, *121-4*
Usjulos moamadisa da k'ristianet' gabaaseba *321-3*
Usulbiya, Kitab 631, 635
Uṣūl-i dīn-i ʿīsavī u furūʿ-i ān 261, *263-5*
Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-ümem 96, 155, *160-2*
Utendi wa Haudaji 780
Utendi wa Katirifu 780
Utendi wa Mikidadi na Mayasa 780
Utendi wa Tambuka *777-81*
Utenzi wa Katirifu 777
ʿUyūn al-ḥisāb 251

Vardbulbuliani 403, 456
Vâridat 223
Varying words observed, see *Sairan* 658, *659-63*, 664, 665
Vep'xistqaosani, see also *The knight in the panther skin* 346, 374, 376
The veracity of the Gospels and the falseness of the Qur'an, see *Ṣidq al-Injīl wa-kidhb al-Qur'ān* *171-2*
Victory of the truth, see *Tabṣirat al-ḥaqq* 245, *247-9*, 253
Visramiani, see also *Wīs and Rāmīn* 315, 392
VOC Treaties, see *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum* 612, *625-8*
Vorogayt parats 411
A voyage round the world. In His Britannic Majesty's sloop Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the years, 1772, 3, 4, and 5 812, *814-18*
A voyage to Georgia 782

Wakan sansei zue 661
The watchman's answer to the question, what of the night 712, 856
The well-arranged string of pearls on the history of the Byzantine kings, see *Al-durr al-manẓūm* 19-20, 21, 152
Western accounts, see *Seiyō kibun* 658, 660, *663-5*
Wīs and Rāmīn, see also *Visramiani* 315, 392
The wisdom of deception, see *Sibrdzne sicʿruisa* 330, 331, *333-9*
Wonder-book of the realm, see *Shigarf-nāma i wilāyat* 544, *546-8*
Wonders of the invisible world 821, 826
Works of Jonathan Edwards 832-42
Works of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb *216-20*
The works of Sir William Jones 570
The world displayed, or a curious collection of voyages and travels 784
Written answers about the evil and abominable egg, see *Risāla fī ʿadam jawāz taʿẓīm aʿyād al-Naṣārā* *77-9*

Xilt'a K'eba 374
Xincha shenglan 661

Al-Yahūdiyya wa-l-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām 207, *208-9*
The Yongzheng edicts, see *Shengyu guangxun* *653-7*
Yuán shi 684

Zhamanakagrut'iwn Samuēl Anets'i ew sharunakoghner, see *Samuēl Anets'i ew sharunakoghner – Zhamanakagrut'iwn Adamits' minch'ew 1776* 426, 427, *429-47*
Zingis: A tragedy 538
Zuhrat al-murīd fi bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd 174