The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe

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The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe

Edited by

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List of Abbreviations

ACDF	Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Rome
ACPF	Archivio della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome
ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*
AFSt/H	Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle
ANF	Archives Nationales de France, Paris
AUS	Archivo Universitario de Salamanca
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library, London
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BnF	Bibliotèque nationale de France, Paris
Bodl. Oxf.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BSB	Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EIC	East India Company
FBG	Forschungsbibliothek Gotha
GUL	Glasgow University Library
IOR	India Office Records
LUL	Leiden University Library
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
RSBZ	Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau
SP	State Papers
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
UUL	Uppsala University Library
ZBZ	Zentralbibliothek Zurich

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Ph.D. (Leiden, 1998), is the curator of Oriental manuscripts and rare books at Leiden University. He also publishes regularly on the Leiden collections and the history of Oriental scholarship in the Netherlands. Among his most recent publications are 'Scaliger and the Dutch Expansion in Asia: An Arabic Translation for an Early Voyage to the East Indies (1600)' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (2015) and, together with R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950* (Leiden, 2014).

Introduction

Jan Loop

The idea of this book goes back to a conference on the *The Learning and Teaching of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* held on 16 November 2013 at the National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, RMO), in Leiden. This conference celebrated the beginning of an international collaborative research project *Encounters with the Orient in Early Modern European Scholarship*, funded by the Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA) joint research program 'Cultural Encounters'. The conference also inaugurated an exhibition on *400 years of Arabic studies in the Netherlands* at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. The exhibition was organised by Dr Arnoud Vrolijk, who also co-authored a book on the same subject.[1] For this volume the papers we heard during the one-day event have been complemented by a number of additional contributions and we are very happy to be able to present a wide-ranging panorama of this significant episode in the history of scholarship.

The research project *Encounters with the Orient in Early Modern Europe* has grown out of the activities and ideas supported by the *Centre for the History of Arabic Studies in Europe*, at the Warburg Institute. The essays in this volume shed light on how, for what purposes, and to what extent the Arabic language was taught and studied by European scholars, theologians, merchants, diplomats and prisoners, covering a wide geographical area from the Levant to northern and southern Europe.

The essays are not entering uncharted waters. In recent times, the history of European interest in the Arab world has attracted an ever growing attention from students of the history of early modern scholarship. Since Johann Fück's pioneering and still useful survey of the history of Arabic studies in Europe of 1955[2] a number of monographs and shorter studies by Peter M. Holt, Robert Jones, Alastair Hamilton, Mordechai Feingold, Gerald J. Toomer and others have uncovered new details about the material and institutional conditions,

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1 A. Vrolijk and R. v. Leeuwen, *Voortreffelijk en Waardig: 400 jaar Arabische studies in Nederland*, Leiden, 2012. An English translation by A. Hamilton was published under the title *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, Leiden et al., 2014. For more information about the conference, the exhibition and these publications please visit the project website <http://www.kent.ac.uk/ewto/>.

2 J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1955.

the scholarly and ideological objectives, as well as the technical qualities of Arabic studies in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards.

One of the most valuable contributions of the essays collected in this book, however, is that they look beyond the institutional history of Arabic studies and consider the importance of alternative ways in which the study and teaching of Arabic was pursued. In his essay *Learning Arabic in Early Modern England* Mordechai Feingold makes a convincing case for the importance of 'mutual support groups', private instruction and solitary study for the acquisition of the language in England, even after the establishment of Arabic professorships in Oxford and Cambridge in the 1630s. His search for traces of Arabic teaching and learning on the margins of the academic world suggests that there was a far greater range of opportunities to learn this language than has previously been assumed. A point in case is the life of the famous itinerant scholar Solomon Negri from Damascus, who taught Arabic all over Europe to scholars such as Louis Picques, Frederick Rostgaard, Christian Benedikt Michaelis, and Johann Heinrich Callenberg. In his pioneering essay on the life and work of this fascinating figure John-Paul Ghobrial confirms the significance of the private and bespoke teaching of Arabic. By following Negri on his life journey from Damascus to Paris, Rome, London, Istanbul and Halle, Ghobrial also sounds out the many different modes and practices of teaching and learning Arabic that existed at different places and in different spaces of learning. Not only does the life and teaching of this native speaker highlight the tension between institutionalised and private teaching, but it also illustrates the discrepancy between 'classical' and vernacular Arabic. Often overlooked, the differences between the many written and spoken registers of the Arabic language and the ways these differences were ignored, misunderstood or incorporated into the teaching of Arabic in early modern Europe are treated in many essays in this collection.

Clearly, the use and ultimate purpose of language acquisition often determines the register that is taught. This is visible in one of the very earliest contributions to the study of Arabic in early modern Europe, Pedro de Alcalá's edition of an Arabic grammar and an Arabic-Spanish glossary, the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua Araviga* and the *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*, both published in 1505. Intended as tools for missionary work among the recently conquered Muslims of Granada, the two books aimed to teach the local Arabic dialect and not the classical literary Arabic. One of the central arguments of Aurélien Girard's contribution, *Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome: Shaping a Missionary Language*, is that the predominantly missionary purpose of Arabic teaching in Rome had consequences for the manner in which the language was taught there. As a result of the missionary

orientation of Arabic teaching in 17th-century Rome, we can observe an inter-
est in the vernacular forms of Arabic very similar to the situation in
sixteenth-century Spain. The Franciscan Domenico Germano published an
introduction to the 'lingua volgare arabica' in Italian, while, in 1649, another
Franciscan, Antonio dall'Aquila, composed a short diglossic grammar which,
he argued, would offer an easy way to teach the 'vernacular' but also provide
the means to understand and explain the written language. Remarkably, the
'vernacular Arabic' that these two authors conceived was not only spoken, but
also written, and was thus very similar to what is now known as 'Middle Arabic'.
Secondly, Girard also notes a clear preference among the Roman Arabists for
Christian Arabic texts rather than Islamic ones (such as the Qur'an). A similar
tendency to de-Islamize the Arabic language can be seen in early modern
Spain. Throughout the sixteenth century, in an attempt to purge the country of
all traces of its Islamic past, the crown, the local authorities and the Inquisition
confiscated Arabic books and enacted policies designed to erase Islamic cul-
ture. However, in their essay *Sacred History, Sacred Languages: The Question of
Arabic in Early Modern Spain*, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez
Mediano point out attempts to preserve the knowledge of the Arabic language
by way of its de-Islamization. Supported by the famous forgery known as the
Lead Books, scholars linked the Arabic of Andalusia with the early evangeliza-
tion of Granada. As such, Arabic was separated from its recent Islamic past and
conceived as a Christian language that could become a legitimate object of
study. And indeed, in her contribution on *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic
in Salamanca* Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz shows how different universi-
ties in the Iberian Peninsula tried to institutionalize the teaching of Arabic. At
Salamanca a trilingual chair was set up and Arabic was to be taught alongside
Hebrew and Greek. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, however, these efforts were
hampered by the lack of qualified teachers and of teaching material and text-
books. Tireless promoters of Arabic like Nicolas Clénard tried to remedy this
situation, but the attempt to print one of the most popular and concise Arabic
grammatical tracts, the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Ājurrūm of which Clénard pos-
sessed a manuscript, failed.

For lack of any functional European grammar of classical Arabic scholars
who wanted to unlock the grammatical mysteries of the Arabic language had
to approach it via the Arabic tradition. There can be no doubt that the first
generations of Arabists in early modern Europe owed most of their knowledge
of the language to Arabic grammars. The tradition became known in Europe
through a number of grammatical tracts. Apart from the *Ājurrūmiyya*, Clénard
had access to other Arabic grammars, possibly to the *Sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal* by
al-Zamakhsharī or to the *Kitāb al-jumal fī l-naḥw*, by the grammarian Abū
l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī.

Thanks to the printing activities of the Medici press in Rome, Arabic grammatical tracts became more easily available from 1592 on, when Giambattista Raimundi published the *Ājurrūmiyya*[3] together with another grammar, the *Kāfiya* by the twelfth-century Mālikī grammarian Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Hājib, and his own *Alphabetum Arabicum*.[4] While the *Alphabetum Arabicum* was only a guide to the reading of a vocalised text, Raimondi's publication of his edition and translation of al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-taṣrīf* provided an Arabic manual for conjugating verbs together with a linear and a free Latin translation and additional explanatory notes.[5] Although at least part of the books printed by the Medici press in Rome were destined for the Middle Eastern market, a number of these grammars found their way into the libraries of European scholars and were used and sometimes translated for private use. In 1610 Peter Kirsten edited the text of the *Ājurrūmiyya* together with a translation.[6] In 1617, the same year in which he published the *Sūrat Yūsuf* for teaching purposes, Thomas Erpenius also published an annotated edition and a translation of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and of of al-Jurjānī's *Miʾat al-ʿāmil*.[7]

The essays by Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz and by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano show clearly that the institutionalized teaching and learning of the Arabic language in Spain was driven and legitimized mainly by its proximity to Hebrew. In the work of the sixteenth-century scholar Diego de Guadix, for instance, Hebrew and Arabic are perceived as almost identical and their linguistic proximity is explained with a historical reconstruction that we will find again in the work of later Protestant champions of comparative Oriental studies such as Samuel Bochart, Edward Pococke and Albert Schultens. It was also the driving force in the work of the two Swedish Orientalists Gustav Peringer and Olaus Celsius, who are the object of Bernd Roling's study in this volume. Its intimate relatedness with the oldest language, Hebrew, and its

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3 *Grammatica Arabica in compendium redacta, quae vocatur Giarrumia*, Rome, 1592.

4 See R. Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe* (1505–1624), unpublished PhD thesis, London, SOAS, 1988, pp. 174–6, and G. Troupeau, 'Trois traductions latines de la *Muqaddima* d'lbn Aǧurrūm', in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 1, Paris, 1962, pp. 359–65 (359).

5 'The *Liber Tasriphi* was not only a well researched and produced grammar book; it was also, from the scholarly angle, the finest publication of the Medici Press and reveals how, in proper circumstances and with adequate support, Raimondi was capable of producing material of the highest standard and suitable for Europeans.' Jones, *Learning Arabic*, p. 177.

6 P. Kirsten, *Grammatices arabicae liber tertius*, Breslau, 1610. See Fr. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle, 1811, no. 45, pp. 24–5.

7 Jones, *Learning Arabic*, 210; another edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya* was published by Tommaso Obicini da Novara in 1631.

alleged exegetical and theological usefulness also aroused interest in the Arabic language in Sweden and was responsible for the spread of the teaching of Arabic at many other universities and schools all over the Protestant world.

The structural similarities between Semitic languages were noted very early on and early modern scholars could refer to a number of medieval Jewish Hebraists who had promoted a comparative approach to Hebrew. A first attempt to produce a comparative grammar of Semitic languages was made by Angelus Caninius (Angelo Canini) in his *Institutiones linguae Syriacae, Assyiracae atque Thalmudicae una cum Aethiopicae atque Arabicae collatione*, published in Paris in 1554. The obvious plan to proceed from the known to the unknown and to treat Arabic comparatively together with Hebrew and Aramaic was considered by a number of early modern Orientalists, but it never materialised in print. Not until 1647 do we encounter a first published attempt by Johann Ernst Gerhard, who supplemented Willem Schickard's *Institutiones linguae Hebraeae* with a 'harmonizing' grammar of Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic.[8] He was followed by Johann Heinrich Hottinger who, in 1659, handicapped by the lack of an Oriental printing press in Zurich, published his *Grammatica Harmonica* of the four languages – Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic – in Heidelberg.[9]

The breakthrough in European attempts to render Arabic grammar accessible to students who had been educated in the Latin tradition was the work of Thomas Erpenius. The *Grammatica Arabica*, first published in Leiden by the Raphelengius press in the summer of 1613, was Erpenius's true and lasting contribution to the teaching and learning of Arabic in Europe. The work represents a watershed in the history of the study of the Arabic grammatical tradition in Europe.

> It was more accurate and better presented than all previous attempts at describing the grammar of standard Arabic; it also became the single most influential European guide to the rudiments of Arabic down to the present. Certain contemporary publications, such as Raimondi's *Liber Tasriphi* or Erpenius's own edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya* cover certain topics in greater detail; but as an epitome of the whole of Arabic grammar – and this is how Erpenius styled his work – there is little else that could challenge the accuracy and concision of the *Grammatica Arabica*. No

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8   *Wilhelm Schickardi institutiones linguae Hebraeae, noviter recognitae et auctae. Accessit harmonia perpetua aliarum linguarum orientalium* […], Jena, 1647.

9   See J. Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2013), 61–8.

European publication on Arabic grammar saw so many reprints, translations, and adaptations. Only with the development of modern linguistics have Arabists broken away from the formulae established by Erpenius and looked at the language again. Such durability seems all the more remarkable when we realise that Erpenius had already completed his first draft of the work by October 1611, that is to say within three years of commencing his own, often solitary, study of Arabic.[10]

This astonishing success was due to Erpenius' great familiarity with the works of Arab grammarians and his singular ability to transform and present the grammatical rules in a manner accessible to European students schooled in Latin. To this end Erpenius reduced Arabic technical terminology to a minimum. He adopted European methods for certain grammatical rules and he often replaced some formal criteria by more practical demonstrations, giving examples and listing exceptions.[11]

Erpenius' work did not only provide the model for scholarly grammars until well into the nineteenth century. In his chapter on *Learning Arabic in the Overseas Factories*, Simon Mills shows that even the grammar produced for the instruction of East India Company merchants in the late eighteenth century was still structured after the model of Erpenius' grammar. And while the confessional division affected the teaching and learning of Arabic in significant ways, Erpenius' grammar transcended theological differences and was also appreciated in the Catholic world. Even Eusèbe Renaudot, who never shied away from a fight with Protestant Orientalists, recommended 'the small Erpenius' ('la petite d'Erpenius') as a simple and useful alternative to the more complicated and intricate grammars.[12]

Whereas Protestant successors of Erpenius were content to enhance the reading material provided in later editions of the grammar, however, we encounter a number of attempts by Catholic Arabists to improve aspects of Erpenius' work according to the rules in Arabic grammatical models. Aurélien Girard has discussed the 'extremely modern' method of Francesco Martellotto who, in his *Institutiones linguae Arabicae* of 1620, retained much of the Arabic technical terminology while adopting a structure and presentation that suited

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10   Jones, *Learning Arabic*, 197–8.

11   Ibid., p. 203 et passim.

12   A. Girard, 'Les manuels de langue arabe en usage en France à la fin de l'Ancien Régime,' in *Manuels d'Arabe d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, France et Maghreb, XIXᵉ–XXIᵉ siècle*, eds S. Larzul and A. Messaoudi, Paris, 2013, pp. 12–26 (11).

the needs of European students.[13] Martellotto's grammar was improved by his student Filippo Guadagnoli, who also followed the Arabic grammatical tradition by adding one of the earliest discussions of Arabic metrics ever to appear in Europe. It is discussed in my essay on *Arabic Poetry in Early Modern Grammars and Textbooks*.

From an early stage teachers of the Arabic language in Europe illustrated the grammatical rules with selections of texts for students to practice their newly acquired knowledge. The choice of texts and genres, as well as the methods of translation and grammatical annotations, reflect not only the progress of Arabic studies in Europe, but are also indicative of the purposes for which Arabic was learned and taught. In accordance with the aforesaid tendencies to 'Christianize' the Arabic language, seventeenth-century students in the Iberian Peninsula and Rome practised their Arabic mainly with Christian texts, such as the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms or the Apostles' Creed. Protestant textbooks, on the other hand, tended to follow the Arabic grammatical tradition which took as its linguistic criterion the Qur'an and archaic poetry, and we there frequently find examples from classical Arabic poetry and belles lettres, as well as from the Qur'an.

My own article examines the use of Arabic poetry in early modern textbooks and grammars, where we also find the first attempts to come to grips with the system of Arabic prosody. Remarkably, it is on the periphery of the Republic of Letters, in Rostock, that the German Johann Fabricius published a first sketchy account of the Arabic metrical system. The reconstruction of this achievement sheds further light on the early modern network of Oriental scholars and on the transfer of knowledge from centres like Leiden, where Fabricius studied with Jacobus Golius, to the periphery of the Protestant world. It also gives an indication of the various stages of the knowledge of Arabic and how they depended not only on the general development of the field but also on the institutional and material conditions in any one particular place.

That Arabic studies were more widespread in early modern Europe than is commonly assumed is also illustrated by Asaph Ben-Tov's contribution on *Johann Zechendorff (1580–1662) and Arabic Studies in Zwickau's Latin School*. Ben-Tov reminds us that occasional instructions in Arabic were offered at numerous Latin schools in the Holy Roman Empire during the seventeenth century. The dedication with which Zwickau's headmaster Johann Zechendorff

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13 Ibid., pp. 14–6 and A. Girard, 'Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientaliste au XVIIe siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des *Carracciolini*' in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini): religione e cultura in età postridentina*, special issue of *Studi medievali e moderni*, eds I. Fosi and G. Pizzorusso, 14–1, 2010, pp. 279–96.

promoted the language is exceptional, but it raised the same problems as similar endeavours on the periphery of the Republic of Letters. Not only was the teaching of Arabic completely dependent on the efforts of a single scholar and ceased with his departure, but it was hampered by the lack of an Arabic printing press and text material with which to practise the language. For Zechendorff, as for other Protestant scholars, the most important text for the purposes of practice was the Qur'an.[14] 'How are our teachers to teach the Arabic language, other than from Arabic books? No book is better suited to untrained students than the Qur'an' claims Bibliander in the preface to his Qur'an edition, and this view was widely shared.[15]

That excerpts from the Qur'an play an important role in teaching and practising Arabic is confirmed by Alastair Hamilton's essay in this collection. He presents a comprehensive panorama of the use of Qur'an excerpts in early modern chrestomathies, from Thomas Erpenius' edition of the *Sūrat Yūsuf* in 1617, to Filippo Guadagnoli's *Breves arabicae linguae institutiones* in which Qur'anic verses are used to illustrate certain Arabic metres, and to a number of German and Dutch grammars in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The surveys presented by Hamilton and myself not only show the various stages of technical understanding of the Qur'an and of poetry. The editions and presentations of Arabic poetry and Qur'anic excerpts in textbooks and chrestomathies also mirror the 'material' conditions of Arabic studies, for example the lack of a practicable dictionary until the appearance of Golius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* in 1653. Erpenius and others, consequently, gave interlinear word-by-word translations and often compiled indices of Latin words at the end of their textbooks which could be used as basic Latin-Arabic dictionaries. We also find this system in Jean-Baptiste Duval's *Dictionarium Latino-Arabicum Davidis Regis*, published in Paris in 1632. This 'dictionary' was in fact a 'pedagogical tool' for the student and presents a concordance of the Arabic Psalms. Referring to Savary de Brèves' bilingual Arabic-Latin edition of 1614, Duval lists all the Latin words of the Psalms in alphabetical order, together with the Psalm and the verse number in which the word occurs. The idea was to enable the student to write his own Arabic texts with the help of this

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14   Roberto Tottoli's recent discovery of Zechendorff's translation of the entire Qur'an is additional proof of the great interest which Zechendorff had in the Islamic revelation. See R. Tottoli, 'The Latin Translation of the Qur'ān by Johann Zechendorff (1580–1662), Discovered in Cairo Dār al-Kutub' in *Oriente Moderno* 95, 2015, pp. 5–31.

15   Th. Bibliander, *Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quae et Ismahelitarum lex et Alcoranum dicitur*, [Basel], 1543, sig. ßI^r.

concordance, as we see from the two fictitious Arabic letters between David and Bathsheba at the beginning of the book.[16]

Compared with grammars and textbooks the field of lexicography posed different, but no less considerable, difficulties to early modern European students of Arabic. The legendary abundance of the Arabic vocabulary, which stretched over vast fields of literature, probably posed the major challenge to the lexicographers of Arabic. The other difficulty lay in choosing a practicable ordering system of these countless entries. As with Arabic grammars, progress in the field of Arabic lexicography depended largely on the availability and use of sources from the East. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that European Arabists started exploiting such sources. Before that they relied on Arabic books and manuscripts and, again, on Pedro de Alcalá's pioneering work. Like his grammar, the lexicon covered the spoken Arabic of the region rather than classical Arabic. As Alastair Hamilton has shown in his article on Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Pedro's wordlist was used and exploited by Postel, Scaliger and, particularly, by Raphelengius, whose lexicon was edited over fifteen years after his death in 1613 and was the first Arabic-Latin lexicon to be printed in Europe.[17] Other scholars, among them Scaliger,[18] Isaac Casaubon,[19] Abraham Ecchellensis,[20] William Bedwell,[21] Solomon Negri[22] but also travellers, diplomats, and missionaries, compiled their own glossaries which were never printed. In Paris and Munich Sonja Brentjes has discovered a number of such dictionaries, ranging from an early Arabic-Latin wordlist from Andalusia to an anonymous French-Italian-Arabic dictionary and an extensive French-Latin-Arabic dictionary compiled by

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16   See G. Duverdier, 'L'apport des Libanais à l'étude des langues arabe et syriaque en Europe,' in *Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900*, ed. C. Aboussouan, Paris, 1982, pp. 197–206 (204–5) and Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, no. 65, pp. 41–2.

17   A. Hamilton, ' "Nam Tirones Sumus" Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden 1613)', in *De Gulden Passer* 66–67 (1988–1989), pp. 557–89 (570); see also the discussion of all the other sources used by Raphelengius in this article.

18   On Scaliger's *Thesaurus* see the entry by Jan Justus Witkam in *'All my Books in Foreign Tongues'. Scaliger's Oriental Legacy in Leiden, 1609–2009*, eds A. Vrolijk and K. van Ommen, Leiden, 2009, pp. 61–3.

19   See A. Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: "Video longum esse iter" in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 72, 2009, pp. 143–68.

20   A. Hamilton, 'Abraham Ecchellensis et son *Nomenclator arabico-latinus'* in, *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664)*, ed. B. Heyberger, Turnhout, 2010, pp. 89–98.

21   A. Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563–1632*, Leiden 1985, pp. 12, 53, 91–4.

22   See John-Paul Ghobrial's essay in this book.

François Pétis de la Croix at the end of the seventeenth century. The form of these compilations and the word selections they make can often give quite precise information about the purposes for which they were intended.

One of the outstanding features of Raphelengius' dictionary is that it catered for the needs not only of philologists but also of natural scientists and geographers as well as merchants and navigators. Jacobus Golius' lexicon on the other hand, was designed for the almost exclusive use as a dictionary of classical Arabic. For this purpose it was unmatched until the nineteenth century when Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag, and above all Edward Lane, improved on it.

Like Antonius Giggeius, whose *Thesaurus Linguae Arabicae* appeared in four volumes in 1632, Golius too had based himself on lexicographical models from the Arab world. However, in contrast with Giggeius, who aimed at comprehensiveness and relied mainly on *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* by Fīrūzābādī, Golius chose an older, more selective source text, the *Tāj al-lugha wa-ṣaḥāḥ al-ʿArabiyya* – known under its short form *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* – written by a scholar of Persian origin, Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī. He also had recourse to the *Qāmūs* and a number of other monolingual Arabic dictionaries, among them the *Mujmal al-lugha* by Ahmad b. Fāris and the *Aṣās al-balāgha* by Zamakhsharī, a lexicon often referred to as the first to arrange the roots in full alphabetical order. Golius used too Arabic-Persian and Arabic-Turkish dictionaries, as well as a number of historical, religious and geographical texts from his manuscript collections which provided instances of word use.[23] As a result of these choices Golius's dictionary was solely of classical Arabic, with no attempt to include current or dialectal forms. Invaluable for readers, particularly of poetry and early Islamic texts, it was of little use to merchants or travellers who needed to speak the language of the streets.

Nevertheless, the most ingenious aspect of Golius' work, and certainly the main reason for its enormous popularity and longevity, is its organisation. While the Arabic lexicographical tradition was a useful provider of word material, it was, Golius says, of not much use for ordering this material. So Golius devised his own system, which was later followed by all the succeeding European lexicons of Arabic including the one by Edward William Lane and the most commonly used modern Arabic-English and Arabic-German dictionaries by Hans Wehr. Golius arranged his lexicon alphabetically according to the root, with the perfect verb at the beginning of each entry, followed by the meanings of the different verb forms (if applicable) and with an alphabetically ordered list of all the derivate nouns and adjectives.

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23   The main sources are all listed in the preface to his *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*.

Jacobus Golius' lexicon is a masterpiece of Arabic scholarship and the art of Arabic printing and it confirmed, on all levels, the pre-eminence of the Leiden school of Arabic in the seventeenth century. Arnoud Vrolijk has documented the achievements of the many outstanding scholars this school has produced and the interest and knowledge they spread over the Low Countries and the rest of the continent in a number of contributions in recent years.[24] His essay in this collection is a critical consideration of the religious and political ideologies and non-academic motives that have constantly driven and shaped the teaching and learning of Arabic in the Netherlands over the last 400 years. Yet, it seems to be a commonly accepted observation that, at least in the 17th century, only little effort was put into instructing diplomats and merchants in the linguistic skills necessary to live and work in the Arabic-speaking world. Occasionally, conversation booklets tell us about attempts of travellers and European residents in the Near East to acquire the necessary language skills for communicating in the Arabic speaking world. Hiob Ludolf's archive in Frankfurt preserves a glossary of colloquial phrases for everyday use – for example 'Marcheba' for 'Bien venido' ('welcome'); 'Tekkallem bishuai bishuai!' for 'Loquere lente!' ('Speak slowly'); or 'Min ein enta' for 'Unde venis?' ('Where are you from?') – in a similar way to an average modern conversation guide for tourists.[25] However, Simon Mills convincingly argues in his essay that until the eighteenth century, when the East India Company actively promoted practical training in Arabic for its colonial and political administrators, English merchants and diplomats seemed to rely on interpreters or on Italian as the *lingua franca* of the Eastern Mediterranean. This does not of course mean that interest in Arabic and other Oriental languages was completely absent in trading factories and embassies in the Middle East. On the contrary, Edward Pococke, Jacobus Golius and other figures in the history of the academic study of Arabic improved their language skills and assembled their manuscript collections while residing at commercial and diplomatic establishments. This is also the case for figures such as the English chaplain Robert Frampton or the chaplain to the Dutch consul at Izmir, Johannes Heyman, who is the topic of Maurits van den Boogert's essay *Learning Oriental Languages in the Ottoman Empire:*

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24   Among the many relevant articles, essays and books I would just like to pick out his brilliant assessment of Thomas Erpenius's Arabic scholarship in 'The Prince of Arabists and His Many Errors. Thomas Erpenius's Image of Joseph Scaliger and the Edition of the Proverbia Arabica (1614)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 73 (2010), pp. 297–325.

25   University Library Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main, MS Ff. H. Ludolf II 34.

Johannes Heyman (1667–1737) between Izmir and Damascus. Heyman, like other European chaplains in the Levant, used his period in the diplomatic service to acquire the linguistic proficiency which his employers at the University of Leiden expected in order for him to take up the professorship of Oriental languages.

Leiden, the stellar centre of early modern Arabic Studies has been a worthy place to inaugurate our research project *Encounters with the Orient in Early Modern European Scholarship*. The National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, RMO) was a most appropriate venue of our conference and of the exhibition *400 years of Arabic studies in the Netherlands* and we are very grateful to its director, Dr Wim Weijland and his staff, for their support and hospitality. We would also like to thank the Warburg Institute, London, and its former director, Peter Mack, for hosting and supporting our research project and a number of conferences and workshops dedicated to the history of Oriental scholarship in Europe. A special thanks goes to Zac Powell for meticulously copy-editing the essays in this volume.

Arabic Studies in the Netherlands and the Prerequisite of Social Impact – a Survey

Arnoud Vrolijk

On 14 May 1613 Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) accepted his nomination as the first professor of Arabic at Leiden by pronouncing his inaugural address 'On the Excellence and Dignity of the Arabic Language'[1] (Figure 1.1). In 2013 the fourth centenary of Arabic studies was celebrated with a great variety of activities.[2] A tradition of 400 years in one single discipline is a long time by any standard, especially if one realizes that the University, founded in 1575, is not much older than that itself. Yet few people know that Arabic is the only language to have been taught almost continuously at Leiden apart from Latin, Greek and Biblical Hebrew. Dutch made its first appearance in the late eighteenth century; modern languages such as English, French and German only followed suit in the course of the nineteenth century. The Classics and Biblical Hebrew, however, were all extinct languages, even though Neo-Latin played an important role in scholarly communication. Moreover, Latin, Greek and Hebrew were traditionally regarded as the pillars of our own culture and religion. Arabic, on the other hand, was not only a living language, but also the vehicle of an alien culture which was very much alive, literally exotic and often

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1   T. Erpenius, *Oratio de lingvae Arabicae praestantia et dignitate, dicta in Illvstri Batavorvm Academia mense Maio M.D.CXIII. Cum ejus Linguae, et aliarum Orientalium Professionem auspicaretur*, printed Leiden, 1615 or later.

2   Between September 2013 and March 2014 an exhibition on 400 years of Arabic studies in the Netherlands was held at the National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, RMO), Leiden, mainly with materials from the special collections of Leiden University Libraries [<http://www.rmo.nl/english/exhibitions/archive/excellence-and-dignity>, accessed 21 Nov 2016]. Simultaneously, a book on the same subject was published: A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Voortreffelijk en Waardig: 400 jaar Arabische studies in Nederland*, Leiden 2012. An English translation by A. Hamilton was published under the title: A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: a Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, Leiden, 2014. Both the book and the publications were part of the HERA project 'Encounters with the Orient in Early Modern European Scholarship', coordinated by Professor Charles Burnett and Dr Jan Loop of the Warburg Institute, University of London. A supplementary grant was kindly awarded by Saudi Aramco, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Many other activities were undertaken by the Department of Middle East Studies of the University of Leiden.

THOMÆ ERPENII

ORATIO

DE

LINGVAE ARABICAE

PRAESTANTIA

& dignitate,

DICTA

IN ILLVSTRI BATAVORVM

ACADEMIA MENSE MAIO

M. D. CXIII.

Cum ejus Linguæ, & aliarum Orientalium
Professionem auspicaretur.

ASSVR GO PRESSA

LEIDAE,
In Typographia AVCTORIS.

FIGURE 1.1 *Oration of Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the 'Excellence and Dignity of the Arabic language', May 1613 (printed Leiden, 1615 or later), title page.* [LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1369 D 38]

hostile. And especially because of its longevity, the history of Arabic studies provides an enormous amount of information on how Dutch scholars observed and studied a culture that was, and still is, not their own. In spite of the impressive achievements of individual scholars, the results are not unequivocally positive.

Social Impact

The first observation to be made is that Dutch Arabists have generally followed the current of Western scholarship. In the age of Humanism they were humanists, during the Enlightenment they were enlightened, in the days of Auguste Comte they were positivists, and so on. Typically, their scholarly enquiries did not drastically change their outlook or methodology, or cause them to go against the flow. Of much greater importance is the fact that Arabic studies in the Netherlands have always had a strongly apologetic character, not only vis-à-vis the Arab world or Islam, but also with regard to the home front. Arabic always had to be accounted for, then as well as now. Whenever a student says that he reads Arabic the question will invariably be 'why?'. No one will ever say that to a student of English or French. Dutch academics have always been free to study the plays of Shakespeare, the essays of Montaigne or the novels of Tolstoy without jeopardizing their respectability, but the scholar who reads pre-Islamic poetry will usually be asked for a reason. Unwilling to spend public money on frivolous subjects, Dutch society has always attached a price to the study of Arabic which was called 'utilitas' in the seventeenth century and 'social impact' in modern times. In the Netherlands this is now mostly a financial calculation, where public expenditure on higher education is balanced against the short-term effects on the national economy. One will generally find the arguments enumerated in the inaugural addresses of the professors from the earliest period onwards – the importance of combating Islam with the force of arguments, or converting Muslims to Protestant Christianity. Of equal importance was the use of Arabic as an aid for learning Hebrew, which led to the nickname of Arabic as *ancilla theologiae*, 'the handmaiden of theology'. The demand for Arabic texts on the exact sciences, such as astronomy, medicine or mathematics, slackened after the seventeenth century, when the gap between the two scientific traditions had been bridged.

The 'utilitas' of Arabic studies has always been very much apparent in the diplomatic and economic relations between the Netherlands and the Islamic world. In 1612 Sultan Ahmed I of the Ottoman Empire concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the Dutch Republic, whereby the Dutch merchants

obtained the right to trade with the Ottoman Empire under very favour-
able conditions.[3] The interests at stake were large, amounting to millions of
guilders. They concerned the import of luxury goods, but first and foremost
textiles. David Le Leu de Wilhem (1588–1658), for example, was a Levant mer-
chant, statesman and patron of Oriental scholarship. He travelled to Egypt
as part of his Grand Tour and there acquired Egyptian antiquities, not only
smaller objects such as shabtis and canopes, but also a large mummy. After
his return he donated these objects to the cabinet of curiosities of Leiden
University, which was part of the anatomical theatre on the upper floor of the
former Faliede Bagijnkerk (Beguinage Church) on the Rapenburg canal. On an
engraving from 1712 the lid of the sarcophagus can clearly be seen, standing
on top of a display cabinet in the far right corner (Figure 1.2).[4] In 1821 most of
the Egyptian antiquities of De Wilhem were transferred to the newly founded
National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden; the sarcophagus followed in 1872.
De Wilhem embarked on a career in the Levant, where he was active in the
textile trade. In 1629 he returned to the Dutch Republic and rose to high posi-
tions in the bureaucracy in The Hague. He never went back to the Middle East,
but he never forgot his past career. He gave financial support to young schol-
ars who wanted to travel to the Levant, such as the German student Levinus
Warner (c. 1618–1665), who studied Oriental languages in Leiden under Jacobus
Golius. In December 1644 Warner left for Istanbul with a travel grant from De
Wilhem. He lived in Istanbul for twenty years, eventually obtaining the posi-
tion of 'resident' or envoy of the Dutch Republic to the Sublime Porte. In his
leisure time he assembled an important private collection of about a thousand
Oriental manuscripts. Warner never came back to Western Europe: he died in
Istanbul in 1665, leaving his manuscript collection to Leiden University, where
he had once been a student. Thus De Wilhem was instrumental in the acquisi-
tion of the early collections of both the University of Leiden and the Museum
of Antiquities.[5]

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3 On the Capitulations granted by Sultan Ahmed I see A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and
   the Dutch Republic: A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations*, Leiden-Istanbul, 1977.

4 *Les délices de Leide: Qui contiennent une description exacte de son antiquité, de ses divers ag-
   grandissemens, de son académie, de ses manufactures, de ses curiosités ..., le tout enrichi de
   tailles douces*, Leiden, 1712, ill. no. 8 facing p. 83.

5 On David de Wilhem and his Egyptian collection see *Leidse Universiteit 400. Stichting en eerste
   bloei, 1575–ca. 1650*, Amsterdam, 1975, pp. 113–15; A. Vrolijk, 'Voortreffelijk en Waardig. 400 jaar
   Arabische studies in Nederland', *RMO Magazine: Uitgave van de Vriendenvereniging van het
   Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, 14, 2013, no. 36, pp. 38–42. On Levinus Warner see W.M.C. Juynboll,
   Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland, Utrecht, 1931, pp. 222–34;
   A. Vrolijk, J. Schmidt and K. Scheper, *Turcksche Boucken: The Oriental Collection of Levinus*
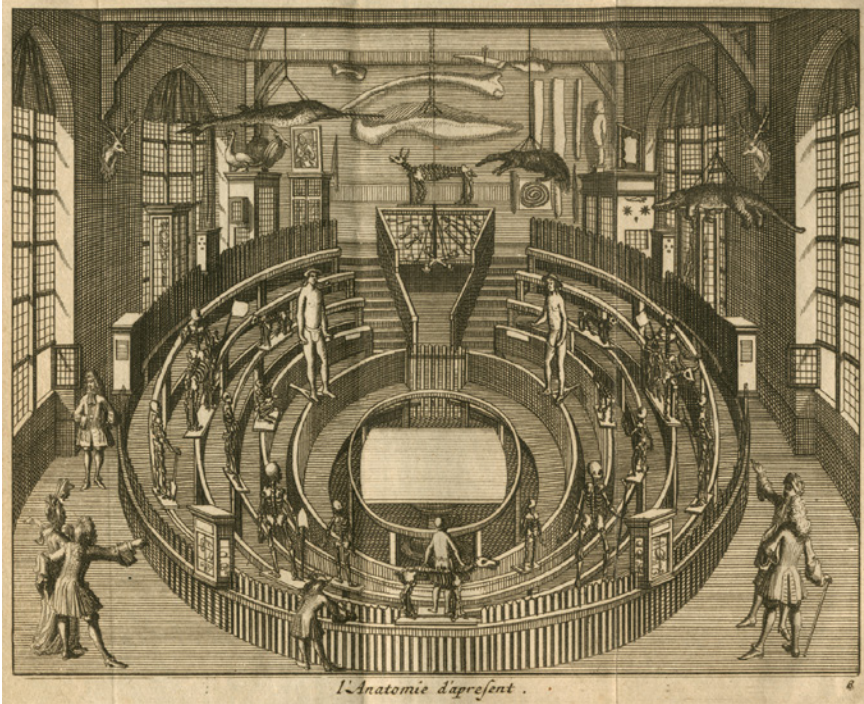
FIGURE 1.2 *The cabinet of curiosities of Leiden University, with in the far right corner an Egyptian mummy donated by David Le Leu de Wilhem (1588–1658).* Les delices de Leide ..., *Leiden, 1712, facing p. 83.* [LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 403 G 15]

In the last decade of the sixteenth century the Dutch also gained access to Muslim Southeast Asia, a rich source of spices, which were sold in Holland at an enormous profit. Understandably, the Dutch mercantile aristocracy was relatively uninterested in stressing the theological differences between believers and infidels.

The intellectual stronghold of the same merchant élite was the University of Leiden. In this light it is hardly surprising that at a very early stage efforts should have been undertaken to give Arabic a place on the curriculum with a keen eye on business interests. The governors of the young University, all without exception politicians and merchants, were well aware that Arabic served as the *lingua franca* of the Muslim world. In August 1599 they granted permission

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Warner, Dutch Diplomat in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul, Eindhoven, 2012; Vrolijk and van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies,* pp. 48–59.

to Philippus Ferdinandus, a Jewish convert from Poland,[6] to teach Arabic for a trial period with the explicit argument that it would be useful for the East Indian trade. In their deliberations the gentlemen of the Board assumed that 'the Arabic tongue is much used in those parts'.[7] Indeed, early Arabists such as Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597) and Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) performed translation services for the States General in The Hague, a tradition which would continue until the early nineteenth century.[8]

Later in the seventeenth century the symbiosis between economy, politics and Arabic studies fully emerged in the person of Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), the second professor of Arabic at Leiden from 1625 onwards. Golius, whose father was a high-ranking official of the Council of State (Raad van State) in The Hague, took advantage of the new diplomatic network of the Dutch Republic and travelled to Morocco on a diplomatic mission in the early 1620s. Not long afterwards, in 1625, he journeyed to the Ottoman Empire, where he worked at the Dutch consulate in Aleppo and the embassy in Istanbul and acquired Oriental manuscripts, both for the University and his private library.[9]

The eighteenth century was a period of relative economic and political decline for the Netherlands, and in this era the gain from Arabic was mainly immaterial or spiritual. The chief protagonist of Arabic studies at Leiden was Albert Schultens (1686–1750), who was professor of Oriental languages from 1729 to 1749.[10] Schultens's career was wholly dedicated to *philologia sacra*, the 'sacred philology' of the Bible. In order to explain the Hebrew of the Old Testament, Schultens had recourse to Arabic, which he came to regard as a 'twin sister of Hebrew' more perfectly preserved in the isolation of the desert.

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6   On Philippus Ferdinandus see A. Hamilton, 'Ferdinand, Philip (1556–1599)', *ODNB*, 2004, online edn [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9308>, accessed 21 Nov 2016].

7   'dat die Arabische spraecke […] aldaer veel gebruyct wort'. See P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit*, 7 vols, The Hague, 1913–1924, 1, pp. 120–22, 404*–06*; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 30.

8   H. de Leeuw, 'The First Dutch-Indonesian Treaty: A rediscovered Arabic Translation by Franciscus Raphelengius', *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 4, 1989, pp. 115–22; A. Vrolijk, 'Scaliger and the Dutch Expansion in Asia: An Arabic Translation for an Early Voyage to the East Indies (1600)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 78, 2015, pp. 277–309.

9   On Golius see Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, pp. 119–83; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 41–8.

10   On Albert Schultens see J. Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw*, Purmerend, 1929, pp. 37–63; J. Loop, 'Kontroverse Bemühungen um den Orient: Johann Jakob Reiske und die deutsche Orientalistik seiner Zeit', in *Johann Jakob Reiske: Leben und Wirkung: Ein Leipziger Byzantinist und Begründer der Orientalistik im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds H.G. Ebert and T. Hanstein, Leipzig, 2008, pp. 45–85; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 73–9.

As such, the role of Arabic as the 'handmaiden of theology' was very much a social one, since Arabic was instrumental in the exegesis of the Bible in a country where God's Word, as preached by the ministers of the Calvinist faith, controlled the minds and morals of Society to a very large extent. Until the 1870s it was perfectly normal for Protestant ministers to have a smattering of Arabic and the other 'dialects' of Biblical Hebrew, and many Dutch Arabists started out as students of theology, or were the sons of clergymen.

The Napoleonic wars and their aftermath inflicted heavy damage on the Dutch economy in the first half of the nineteenth century, but this changed for the better in the era of Imperialism. An example is the textual scholar Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909), mainly known as the driving force behind the edition of the *Annals* of al-Tabari, the largest Arabic text ever to have appeared in metal-type print in the western world and published by the Leiden firm of E.J. Brill.[11] But in 1866, eight years after the discovery of the sources of the Nile by John Hanning Speke, even a good-natured philologist such as De Goeje was infected by the spirit of Imperialism and the role which ancient Arabic geographical texts might play in the exploration and colonization of darkest Africa:

> Is it still necessary […] to illustrate what those books have to teach us? Or how useful the knowledge which the Arabs have gained about North Africa, the Sahara and the land of the Negroes, has been to European travellers, and still is? And how helpful the experience of the Arabs could be if Europe wanted to carry its civilizing influence deep into Asia and Africa?[12]

The social relevance of Arabic, however, found its culmination in the person of the controversial Arabist and Islam scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) who, after having travelled to Mecca in 1884–1885, became an adviser on indigenous and Muslim affairs in the Dutch East Indies and a key

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11   On Michael Jan de Goeje see Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 103–13.

12   M.J. de Goeje, *De belangrijkheid van de beoefening der Arabische taal en letterkunde: Redevoering ter aanvaarding van het hoogleeraarsambt aan de hoogeschool van Leiden, den 6den October 1866 uitgesproken*, 's Gravenhage, 1866, pp. 16–17: 'Zou het noodig zijn […] nog toe te lichten, wat voor ons uit die boeken te leeren is? Van hoeveel nut de kennis, die de Arabieren van Noord-Africa, van de Sahara en het land der Negers hadden, voor de Europeesche reizigers reeds geweest is, en nog is? Welken steun hunne ervaring zal kunnen geven, als Europa zijn beschavenden invloed tot diep in Azië en Africa zal willen doen doordringen?'; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 110.

player in Dutch colonial policy.[13] In 1906 he returned from Batavia to Leiden, where he was appointed professor of Arabic. According to Snouck Hurgronje, social impact was the *raison d'être* of Arabic studies. He reduced Arabic to the status of an ancillary science to Islamic studies, and Islamic studies to a tool for the ideological and political control of the Dutch East Indies. His inaugural address as professor of Arabic in 1907 explained this in no uncertain terms:

> The study of the Arabic language and of the spiritual life [*i.e.* Islam, A.V.] whose vehicle it has become is an important part of the study of human history. But on us, as Dutchmen, it has an even greater claim since thirty million of our fellow subjects of the Queen of the Netherlands take part, in their own way, in this spiritual life.[14]

At the end of his address he even expressed the hope that he should never forget that Arabic covered far more than Islam. It is probably a unique instance in the history of universities of a professor who, on the threshold of his assignment, hopes he will not forget to do his job – which is, incidentally, precisely what he did, for both his tuition and research remained strictly limited to colonial Islam.[15]

After the Second World War and Indonesian independence the winds changed. In an era of unprecedented economic prosperity and intellectual freedom in the Netherlands, scholars started to pay serious attention to Arabic language and culture. Suddenly, the question became relevant of whether the Arabs had written any good books, or composed beautiful music, or produced fine art? In addition to the traditional stronghold of Leiden, chairs of Arabic were founded at the universities of Amsterdam (UvA), Utrecht and Nijmegen. As protagonists in Leiden we have Jan Brugman, who studied modern Arabic literature in Egypt, and his successor Remke Kruk, who specialized in the transmission of Greek science to the Muslim world and thence to the West, popular epic, magic, medieval botany and zoology. Manfred Woidich and Kees

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13   Literature on Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje is too vast to be mentioned in any detail; for a general overview see Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 117–50.

14   C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabië en Oost-Indië: Rede bij de aanvaarding van het hoogleeraars-ambt aan de Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden, den 23sten Januari 1907*, Leiden, 1907, p. 5: 'De studie van de Arabische taal en van het geestelijk leven, welks voertuig zij geworden is, vormt een gewichtig onderdeel van de wetenschap der menschelijke geschiedenis. Zij heeft echter meer dan gewone aanspraak op de toewijding van ons, Nederlanders, daar dertig millioenen onzer mede-onderdanen van Nederlands Koningin op hunne wijze aan dat geestelijk leven deelnemen.'

15   Ibid., p. 25; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 134.

Versteegh, of the universities of Amsterdam and Nijmegen, were, respectively, eminent scholars of modern Egyptian dialects and Classical Arabic grammar.

Now, in 2015, all this has changed. The shifting priorities of public expenditure are deeply felt in an area of the humanities which has always been highly dependent on Government funding. Add to this the events of '9/11' and the political preoccupation with radical or extremist Islam and one will understand why most of these Arabic chairs have been discontinued or merged with Islamic studies. As a result, Arabic has been reduced to the role of the 'handmaiden of theology' once again. It is of course understandable that the Government should be reluctant to spend tax money on a professor who investigates modern Egyptian dialects while a large part of the Arab world is in turmoil, but the pressure of contemporary politics and the economic imperative will inevitably result in blurring our view of Arab culture. There will also be the risk of losing touch with scholarship in the Arab world, where there is still an avid interest in the tradition of poetry, art, manuscripts and the like, even in the present period of adversity.

Currently Leiden is the only remaining university in the Netherlands with a chair of Arabic language and culture. But even at Leiden University the 'islamization' of Arabic scholarship and the prerequisite of social impact cannot be avoided. On the *Dies natalis* (anniversary) of the University in February 2013, honorary doctorates were awarded on the occasion of the fourth centenary of Arabic studies to professors Patricia Crone and Michael Cook (Princeton), who are highly critical historians of early Islam rather than specialists in the fields of Arabic *belles lettres* or linguistics, let alone art, theatre, music, philosophy or even cookery. This choice of laureates is hardly surprising, given the present focus of the department of Middle Eastern Studies on the origins and early history of Islam, an interest they share with most *Salafī* Muslims, but for entirely different reasons.

The same conditions of social impact appear to apply to external funding. When preparing an exhibition and the accompanying books on the history of Arabic studies in the Netherlands, I quite naturally turned to a large grant-giving body with close ties to the University, whose name I am not at liberty to reveal. My application was rejected, however, with the argument that 'the Committee had given priority to proposals with social impact'.[16] This is ironic, because until recently the organization had its premises in the former home of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. For all practical purposes it would appear that

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16   Letter to the author dated 3 April 2013, name of sender withheld: '[De Commissie] heeft de voorkeur gegeven aan projecten met maatschappelijke relevantie.'

the ghost of Snouck, the champion of social impact in Arabic studies, is still haunting his rambling patrician mansion.

Popular Discourse and Islam

Yet it would hardly be fair to characterize the Dutch Arabists as mere pawns in a play of economics, politics and religion. Though remaining staunchly anti-Islamic, in any case until the mid-nineteenth century, their knowledge of Arabic enabled them, in their own limited way, to communicate with Muslims, if not by going to the Middle East themselves, then at least by reading the written sources. As a result, their knowledge has in many instances led to a certain amount of tolerance and understanding. This relative understanding becomes all the more apparent if one compares it with the dominant popular discourse on Arabs and Islam in the Netherlands. An example of the latter is an anonymous treatise which appeared in Amsterdam in 1627 under the title *Historie van den Oorspronck, Geslacht, Geboorte, Opvoedinge, en Leere des grooten valschen Propheets Mahomets* ('History of the Origin, Descent, Birth, Education and Teachings of the Great False Prophet Mahomet').[17] Not based on any serious research, it recycled the ancient accounts of Muhammad as a fraud and an epileptic which first appeared in their most rudimentary form in Byzantine sources from the mid-eighth century AD onwards.[18] Far more elaborate stories about the Prophet and his alleged medical condition, however, have circulated in the Latin West since the early twelfth century in the works of authors such as Embrico of Mainz and Gautier of Compiègne. In these accounts the Prophet

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17 [Anonymous], *Historie van den Oorspronck, Geslacht, Geboorte, Opvoedinge, en Leere des grooten valschen Propheets Mahomets, Alsmede / hoe hy sijn Secte onder de Menschen gestroyt, en van die aengenomen is / en wat eynde hy selfs genomen heeft ...*, Amsterdam, 1627 (2nd edn 1640).

18 The earliest surviving Byzantine source, *De Haeresibus Liber* of John of Damascus (d. ca. 750 AD), calls Muhammad only a 'pseudoprophet' and a fraud; the second source, the *Chronographia* of Theophanes Confessor (d. 818) is apparently the first to ascribe a mental disease to the Prophet by calling him an epileptic; the third source, *Opuscula Islamica* by Theodore Abū Qurra (d. between 820 and 825), calls him 'possessed by demons' and 'mad'. See D.J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: The 'Heresy of the Ishmaelites'*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 74–5 (see p. 75 n. 1 for a detailed list of Byzantine authors who wrote on the topic of Muhammad's presumed fraudulence and disease), 132–3; C. Mango and R. Scott, eds, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 464–5; *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra: Schriften zum Islam*, eds R. Glei and A.T. Khoury, Würzburg et al., 1995, pp. 98–9.

is invariably depicted as a lecher and an epileptic, who abused his fits to prove that he was receiving Divine revelations. In the same manner he allegedly fabricated 'miracles' in order to deceive the good people of Mecca. For instance, Muhammad was supposed to have trained a white dove to pick grains from his ears, pretending that the Holy Ghost had descended on him to whisper God's Word into his ear. In fact the people of Mecca could hardly have known what the Holy Ghost was, but in the eyes of European readers, who regarded Muhammad and his followers as Christian heretics rather than pagans, this made perfect sense. Muhammad also trained an ox to eat from his hand and run to him whenever it heard him speak. Between the horns of the ox Muhammad tied a copy of the Qur'an, and whenever he was preaching his travesty of Christianity the ox would push his way through the crowd with a Qur'an on its head: another miracle. Again, this is an elementary mistake, because both orthodox Muslims and western Orientalists agree that the Qur'an had not yet been codified in the days of the Prophet. Muhammad even managed to continue his 'tricks' after his death: he ordered a metal coffin for himself, and inside the 'church' where he was to be buried he concealed very strong magnets in the dome. After his death his body was taken to the church and the metal coffin rose to the ceiling, where it remained suspended in the air: yet another miracle and another proof of Islam (Figure 1.3).[19] According to this Dutch popular treatise, in which all 'miracles' are duly repeated, the credulity of the Meccans was caused by the Devil: God had evidently turned his back on them, for those who enjoy His mercy would immediately have recognized it as a fraud.[20] Remarkably, and perhaps uniquely, both editions of the book (1627, 1640) are enhanced by ten engraved illustrations of the Prophet, his life and his miracles, which are of course deeply offensive in Muslim eyes.[21]

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19   On the false miracles of Muhammad see R.W. Southerner, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, MA, 1962, pp. 28–33; J.V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York, 2002, pp. 137–47; id., *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville etc., 2008, pp. 1–34; id., 'European accounts of Muhammad's life', in *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, ed. J.E. Brockopp, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 226–50 (228–32).

20   [Anonymous], *Historie van den Oorspronck*, pp. 13–16, 21–32 [*recte* 23].

21   Apart from the frontispiece, which reproduces all the illustrations in reduced format, the 1627 edition of the Dutch treatise contains nine engravings of the life of the Prophet: [1] Muhammad as a child with his father and his Jewish mother (p. 2) – [2] The young Muhammad receiving instruction from a Jewish astronomer and the Christian monk Bahira/Sergius (p. 3) – [3] Evil omens announcing the birth of Muhammad (p. 6) – [4] The polygamist Muhammad in the company of three women (p. 8, this page lacking in the Leiden copy UBL 1144 A 46) – [5] Muhammad crowned King in Damascus (p. 11) – [6]

Des Turcksche Rijer,   32

en tot Pulver versmolten. Evenwel continueren noch hedensdaeghs de
hartneckighe Mahometisten / uyt d'upterste Contreyen des Werelts/
derwaerts te reysen / met sulcken moeyte en arbeyt dat het niet te ghe-
looven is.

Het XII. Capittel.

Van Othoman de tweede Coninck der Sa-racenen/ en Calyph d'eerste van die naem.

DE groote Pro**.... *** Mahomet ghestorven / en alsoo inder hoochten
opghetrocken zijnde**.....**ntbrack de Saracenen een Coninck/dies sy tot
dien staet een vrient Maho**.....**ts vercoosen / die genaemt was Othoman,
en wiert Calyph by haer ghe**.....**emt / dat is te segghen Naevolgher of
Erver/

FIGURE 1.3   *The coffin of the Prophet Muhammad miraculously floating in the air, in
             Anonymous,* Historie van den Oorspronck ... des grooten valschen Propheets
             Mahomets, *Leiden, 1627, p. 23.* [LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1144 A 46]

However, this was not to remain an exception. Between 1657 and 1734 numerous editions appeared of *Mahomets Alkoran*, a retranslation of André Du Ryer's *L'Alcoran de Mahomet* (1647), which was not made by an academic but by a professional translator, Jan Hendrik Glazemaker (1620–1682).[22] Glazemaker had no specific knowledge of Oriental languages or, for that matter, of Islam. All editions published from 1696 until 1734 contain six engravings by Casper Luyken (1672–1708). One illustration shows the Prophet as an epileptic, and another the Prophet with the dove and the bull.[23]

It is true that Dutch Arabists and Islam scholars have never been completely impervious to this approach of the Prophet and his Message. The legends of the white dove, the bull with the Qur'an between its horns and the floating coffin have never really struck root among Dutch academics, but the image of the Prophet Muhammad as a lecherous impostor and an epileptic has proved a tenacious survivor. In the mid-nineteenth century the Leiden professor Reinhart Dozy (1820–1883), an outspoken positivist and anti-clericalist, had recourse to modern medicine by describing the Prophet not as an epileptic but as an hysteric who was subject to frequent paroxysms. 'With these people', Dozy asserted, 'it is well nigh impossible to distinguish between self-delusion and fraud'.[24] Hysteria also served to explain the Prophet's presumed sensuality,

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Muhammad in his epileptic convulsions (p. 13) – [7] Muhammad pretending to receive Divine revelations from a dove (p. 15) – [8] The ignominious death of Muhammad (p. 22) – [9] Muhammad's coffin floating in the air (p. 32 [*recte* 23]). There is no illustration in the book of the bull carrying the Qur'an, only in the frontispiece in reduced size.

22 On J.H. Glazemaker and his translation work see C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker de zeventiende-eeuwse aartsvertaler' in id., *Uit de Republiek der Letteren: elf studiën op het gebied der ideeëngeschiedenis van de Gouden Eeuw*, The Hague, 1967, pp. 206–61.

23 I used the last edition of Glazemaker's retranslation: *Mahomets Alkoran, Door de Hr. Du Ryer uit d'Arabische in de Fransche Taal gestelt ... Alles van nieuws door J.H. Glasemaker vertaalt, en te zamen gebracht, Zynde den zevende en laatste Druk, met kopere Platen verciert*, Leiden, 1734. For the engraving of the Prophet in an epileptic fit see facing p. 491, for the Prophet, the bull and the dove see facing p. 496. See also A. Hamilton and F. Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France*, London etc., 2004, pp. 114–16; A. Hamilton, 'The Quran in early modern Europe', in *Oostersche weelde. De Oriënt in westerse kunst en cultuur ...*, eds J. Schaeps et al., Leiden, 2005, pp. 131–43 (136–9); Id., *The Forbidden Fruit: the Koran in Early Modern Europe*, London, 2008, pp. 6–10; N. Klaversma and K. Hannema, *Jan en Casper Luyken te boek gesteld: Catalogus van de boekencollectie Van Eeghen in het Amsterdams Historisch Museum*, Hilversum, 1999, pp. 371–2, nn. 1048–53.

24 R.P.A. Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, Haarlem, 1863, pp. 15–16: 'Men kan bij hen bijna nooit zelfbegoocheling van bedrog onderscheiden.'; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 97.

and Dozy did not fail to point out that God had conveniently sent down a rev-
elation which allowed him to marry Zaynab, the wife of his adopted son Zayd.[25]
In present-day public life a politician such as Geert Wilders, who is well known
for his hostility to Islam, uses the same imagery and an average Dutch-language
Google search with the terms 'Mohammed Wilders epilepsie' yields an aston-
ishing 750,000 hits.[26]

Dutch Arabists and the Dialogue with the Orient

A rather more tolerant and even-handed approach of the Prophet Muhammad
and his teachings, and of Arabic culture in general, can be detected in the
works of many other Dutch Arabists from the early seventeenth century
onwards. In 1611, for example, the young Thomas Erpenius was spending the
summer in Conflans, a village not far from Paris.[27] There he was working in
relative solitude on his grammar of the Arabic language, which would make
him famous throughout Europe. While in Conflans, an important Arab visitor
called on him, the Spanish Muslim (*morisco*) Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī.[28] He
had fled from Spain in 1599 and made for Morocco, where he became a secre-
tary and interpreter in the service of the sultan. In 1611 he travelled to Paris for
diplomatic negotiations with the king of France. This was a windfall for
Erpenius, who had never before met a native speaker of Arabic with a firm
command of the classical language, and who had to derive all his knowledge
from books. The Moorish scholar was sympathetic towards the young
Dutchman and most likely helped him with the fine points of Arabic grammar.
It was inevitable that they would come to discuss their respective religions.
Erpenius, who had read the Qur'an and knew about its commentaries, tried to

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25   Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, pp. 50–51.

26   A Google search carried out on 13 March 2015 with the Dutch terms 'Wilders Mohammed
      epilepsie' yielded c. 754,000 hits; a second search on the same day with the English terms
      'Muhammad epilepsy' produced c. 361,000 hits.

27   On Thomas Erpenius see Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, pp. 59–118; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen,
      Arabic Studies, pp. 31–40.

28   On al-Ḥajarī see J.R. Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe, 1505–1624*, PhD disser-
      tation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1988, pp. 98–120;
      G.A. Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Aḥmad b. Ḳâsim
      al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, Leiden, 1988, pp. 45–63; Aḥmad b.
      Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā al-qawm al-kāfirīn = The Supporter of Religion
      against the Infidels*, eds P.S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers, Madrid,
      1997; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 32–3, 38.

prove that Christians were right and Muslims wrong. To his surprise, al-Ḥajarī was not impressed and countered his arguments with great flair. Irritated, but with an undertone of respect, Erpenius wrote to Isaac Casaubon in London that 'the errors of the Muslims are not as easy to refute as many like to think'.[29]

In the summer of 1612 Erpenius returned to Leiden and a year later, in May 1613, he accepted his nomination as the first professor of Arabic in Leiden with his oration on the Excellence and Dignity of the Arabic Language. In June 1613, when he was preparing his Arabic grammar for the press, he suddenly received a letter from the same Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, who was in Amsterdam, waiting for a ship to take him home to Morocco. The Muslim scholar spent the whole summer in Leiden as a guest of Erpenius, and probably helped him again with his grammar. Their exchange of ideas must therefore have led to a certain degree of friendship, or at least mutual respect for their opinions.

In 1627, the year of the popular anti-Islamic treatise mentioned above, the Arabist Jacobus Golius was staying in Aleppo as a secretary of the local Dutch consul. As he had done before in Morocco, Golius got in touch with local scholars who could assist him in his quest for texts. If he could not get hold of the originals he had them copied by scholars or scribes. One of these was a certain Darwīsh Aḥmad b. Ḥusām al-Gulshanī, a 'dervish' or brother of the Gülşeniye order of Sufis. For Golius he copied the Arabic translation of the *Conica*, a text on conic sections by the Greek-speaking scholar Apollonius of Perga. The dervish could indeed write Arabic, but he was not able to tackle the mathematical drawings. Hence Golius added them himself in a somewhat unsteady hand. The manuscript is thus a silent witness of the cooperation between a Dutch Arabist and a Muslim.[30]

An example from the Early Enlightenment is the eighteenth-century Arabist and Islam scholar Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht.[31] In 1705 he published a book about Islam, *De religione Mohammedica*, in which he debunked the medieval myths about Islam and called for a rational approach. This was an entirely new phenomenon in a country where

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29   Thomas Erpenius to Isaac Casaubon, 4 Kal. Oct. = 28 September 1611: 'sed, crede mihi, non sunt quidam eorum errores tam faciles confutatu, ut multi sibi imaginantur', in I. Casaubon, *Epistolae, insertis ad easdem responsionibus, quotquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, secundum seriem temporum accurate digestae*, ed. T. Jansonius ab Almeloveen, 3rd edn, Rotterdam, 1709, Ep. 38, pp. 660–61.

30   On Golius's manuscript collections, public and private, see J.J. Witkam, *Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) en zijn handschriften*, Leiden, 1980; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 42–3.

31   On Adriaan Reland see Nat, *Studie*, pp. 11–21; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 65–72.

Glazemaker's Qur'an retranslation with its illustrations of an epileptic Prophet was still readily available. An enlarged edition appeared in 1717, which was translated into Dutch (1718) and French (1721) (Figure 1.4).[32] In his foreword to the second edition Reland expressed his desire to describe the 'Mohammedan Religion' as it really is, free of the many misconceptions which prevail in Europe. He realized that he was thus exposing himself to the criticism that he was too benevolent in his approach to the Muslims. Nevertheless, 'the truth, wherever it is, must be sought out'. In the case of a religion which is so wide-spread it is necessary 'to show [it to] anyone, not tarnished or covered with the fumes of calumny or errors, but as it is taught in the churches and schools of the Mohammedans'.[33] But Reland hastened to add that such a reliable descrip-tion was not intended as propaganda for Islam but to make men better equipped to combat Islam. According to Reland, the realization that Islam is an erroneous creed is no reason to regard the Muslims themselves as evil. Islam has retained many customs and principles which are comparable to Christian ones. This alone should help us reject the idea that in Islam 'nothing is clean and everything polluted.'[34] In Reland's eyes, a knowledge of Arabic was indis-pensable for a sound understanding of Islam. Some people think that the study of Arabic is valueless since Muslims are not prepared to discuss their religion and since 'it is hardly worthwhile (so many say) to endure the distress of look-ing into the vanities and fanaticism of a madman or someone possessed.' But, says Reland, 'Mohammedans are not as mad or possessed as we should like to think. Sound understanding is distributed equally among mankind.'[35] Hitherto

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32   A. Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, editio altera aucta, Utrecht, 1717; id., *Ver-handeling van de godsdienst der Mahometaanen, als mede van het krygs-regt by haar ten tyde van oorlog tegens de christenen gebruykelyk*, Utrecht, 1718; id., *La religion des Maho-métans, exposée par leurs propres docteurs* …, The Hague, 1721. For the present contribu-tion I have used the French translation.

33   Reland, *La religion*, p. cxiii: 'Non, il faut chercher la Verité par tout où elle est; ce sera toujours une entreprise louable de fermer la porte au Mensonge, de quel côté qu'il vienne, en éxposant aux yeux du Public une Religion d'une si vaste étenduë, non travestie, ou envelopée des nuages de la Médisance et de l'Erreur, mais telle qu'elle est enseignée, dans les Temples et dans les Ecoles des Mahométans.'

34   Ibid., p. cxxiii: 'comme si, en effet, il n'y avoit rien d'entier dans toute leur Doctrine; rien qui ne fût impur; rien qui ne fût plus sale que l'ordure meme.'

35   Ibid., pp. cxxiv–cxxv: 'C'est-à-dire, autant que je le puis conclurre, des discours qui m'en reviennent, que la chose n'en vaut pas la peine, qu'on n'a que faire de se donner tant de sueurs, ni de dévorer tant d'épines, pour apprendre des bagatelles, des niaiseries, les deli-res ridicules d'un Fanatique, qui avoit l'esprit en écharpe! […] Mais, en vérité, les Maho-métans n'extravaguent pas si fort que nous le prétendons: Le bon sens est de tous les Païs & de tous les Climats […].'

FIGURE 1.4 *'Les diverses postures des Turcs en priant', illustrating 'Turks' during prayer in Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), La religion des Mahometans ..., The Hague, 1721, facing p. 49.* [LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 409 F 5]

most polemicists 'did not combat the Mohammedan faith but their own illusions and shadows'.[36]

Yet in Reland's time there was still a long way to go from a rational acceptance of Arabs and their religion to an emotional one. In Academe this would only happen in the late eighteenth century, in the period of Early Romanticism. This was particularly late, for the general educated Dutch public had already embraced the image of the mysterious, exotic and erotic Orient in the early eighteenth century, when the first translation appeared of the *Arabian Nights*. Indeed, Antoine Galland's French translation only just preceded a pirate edition from The Hague. The first Dutch scholar who adopted the approach of the educated bourgeoisie was Hendrik Albert Schultens (1749–1793), the grandson

36   Ibid., p. clv: 'la plûpart de tous ces Ecrivains, qu'on éxalte si fort, ont moins combattu la Religion Mahométane, que leurs propres phantomes.'

of the redoubtable Albert Schultens.[37] In 1772–1773 he travelled to England, where he met not only David Garrick in his Theatre Royal, but also the British Orientalist William Jones (1746–1794). Jones was to have a deep and lasting influence on Schultens, which is reflected in his *Verhandeling over de dicht-kunde der Oosterlingen* ('Discourse on the Poetry of the Easterners'), a lecture which Schultens delivered in 1776 before the Amsterdam society 'Concordia et Libertate'. It must have been an appreciative audience, eager to be informed about all sorts of exotic matters. Schultens admired the easterners for their 'common sense, genius and good taste'.[38] It was above all the nomadic Arabs who had a great power of imagination and a great longing for freedom, the conditions for every good poet. According to Hendrik Albert Schultens this was because of the climatic extremities. 'Bare and burning deserts; hideous wildernesses; and arid sandy soil languishing with thirst'.[39] He rejected the charge that eastern poetry is characterized by 'an uneven style, fake ingenuity and overblown rhetoric'.[40] The westerner must first transfer himself into the natural condition of the easterner before pronouncing himself. The young Schultens quoted abundantly from an Arab love poem:

> […]
> In this courtyard my Maya came to me
> My Maya, whose brilliant sheen deadened that of the moon
> Maya came to me and we gave ourselves over to love
> I saw cheeks which put the softest roses to shame
> I saw a neck, as white as lilies, as smooth as the most polished stones
> Her jet black hair flowed over her shoulders
> Her plaits were like palm clusters which, hanging from the trees, delighted
>   our eyes
> Her breast – Her hands – Her feet
> The most modest of men can but be inflamed by the sight of such an
>   extraordinary beauty
> I plucked Maya by her enchanting plaits
> She came to me
> She threw herself on my bosom[41]

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37   On H.A. Schultens see Nat, *Studie*, pp. 88–99; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 83–9.

38   H.A. Schultens, 'Verhandeling over de dichtkunde der Oosterlingen', in *Drie redevoeringen van Hendrik Albert Schultens*, ed. C.J. Wenckebach, Leeuwarden, 1845, pp. 1–42 (2).

39   Ibid., pp. 5–9.

40   Ibid., p. 35.

41   Ibid., pp. 19–20: '[…] In dezen hof kwam mijne Maja bij mij / Mijne Maja, welker luister-rijke glans die der Maan verdooft / Maja kwam bij mij, en wij gaven ons geheel aan de

It is a very free translation and the name Maya does not appear in the Arabic text, but that can hardly have mattered to the audience. It is not only a romantic approach, but also a sentimental one, because Schultens never went to the Middle East. He was never exposed to the barren climate he so eloquently described and he never saw an Arab at close quarters.

Even the nineteenth-century philologist Michael Jan de Goeje, who believed that Arabic geographical texts could help colonize Africa, let himself be inspired by the Arabs and their culture. He placed Islam next to Christianity and Judaism as the 'three noblest religions'.[42] He was also genuinely moved by the beauty of Arabic poetry: 'The Arab people have produced masterpieces which are capable of bringing the strings which sounded in the poet's mind into movement in our own breasts too'.[43] He also believed in the future of the Arab world. Over sixty years before the foundation of Saudi Arabia he predicted that the Wahhabis in the Arabian Peninsula would found a kingdom on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. According to him North Africa would 'not remain for ever the prey of foreign rule'. Thus, without actually mentioning him by name, he was directly contradicting the influential French Orientalist Ernest Renan who, in his *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* of 1854, had maintained that the world of Islam had no future.[44]

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liefde over / Ik zag wangen, die de zachtste rozen beschamen / Ik zag eenen hals, blank als de leliën, glad als de meest gepolijste steenen / Hare gitzwarte haren golfden over hare schouders / Hare vlechten waren als de palmtrossen, die van de boomen neerhangende onze oogen bekoorden / Hare borst – Hare handen – Hare voeten / De ingetogenste mensch moest op 't gezigt van zulk een zeldzame schoonheid geheel ontvlammen / Ik tokkelde Maja bij die bekoorlijke vlechten / Zij kwam bij mij / Zij wierp zich op mijnen boezem [...].' Schultens quoted loosely from a poem in S.H. Manger's edition of Ibn 'Arabshāh's *Vitae et rerum gestarum Timuri ... historia*, Franeker, 1767, p. 426 and following; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 84.

42   De Goeje, *De belangrijkheid*, p. 4: 'De drie edelste godsdiensten'.

43   Ibid., p. 10: 'Daarin heeft het Arabische volk meesterstukken voortgebracht, die in staat zijn de snaren, welke in het gemoed des dichters trilden, ook in onze borst in beweging te brengen.'

44   Ibid., p. 22; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 110–11. For an assessment of Renan's views on the world of Islam see J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1955, p. 201; E. Said, *Orientalism*, repr. with a new afterword, Harmondsworth, 1995, pp. 130–48; R. Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies*, paperback edn, London, 2007, pp. 168–9.

Conclusion

With these examples I have tried to illustrate my point that many Dutch Arabists have opened their minds, and sometimes also their hearts, to the Arabs, their language, culture and religions. In this respect it would indeed appear that knowledge breeds understanding. But at the same time Dutch Arabists have never been able to escape from the constraints of their own scholarly culture or the material conditions imposed by their own society. As such, Arabic studies in the Netherlands have always been, and still are, more about the Netherlands than the Arab world.

Learning Arabic in Early Modern England*

Mordechai Feingold

On 24 March 1608 William Eyres, fellow of Emmanuel College and one of the translators of the King James Bible, wrote a long letter to James Ussher, in which he sketched the contours of a projected learned defence of the Masoretic version of Scriptures and the antiquity of Hebrew vowel points. In this attempt to vindicate 'the purity and integrity of the sources from the carelessness of copyists and conjectures of some critics', Eyres came to consider necessary the acquisition of Arabic. In the absence of teachers, however, Eyres followed a practice common among many contemporaries: he sought to learn the language by resorting to Agostino Giustiniani's polyglot Psalter, decrypting the Arabic by comparing it to parallel texts in Hebrew and Greek. Alas, Eyres grumbled, even with the assistance of Guillaume Postel's Arabic grammar – lent to him by Ussher – he failed to overcome the difficulties inherent in the Psalter. Nor did he deem additional labor worth the effort. Giustinani's Arabic version appeared to him to be based either on the Septuagint or the Vulgate translations, but not on 'Hebrew truth'.

A decade earlier, Eyres commiserated, there had existed an opportunity to institute the study of Arabic at Cambridge, but it had been dashed by the departure of the Jew [Philipus Ferdinandus], with whom he had intended to study. Not that he cared to become an 'Arabomaniac [ἀραβικομανὴς] (as Clenardus once was)', Eyres hastened to add; only to 'taste Arabic studies with the edge of [his] lips, so that [he] could judge more correctly on some other matters'. Hence his delight upon receiving from Ambrose Ussher, James's brother, a transcription of a few Qur'anic passages which, he hoped, would assist him in compiling a serviceable Arabic grammar. After describing his projected treatise, Eyres concluded despondently: 'I have not yet been able to do anything in Arabic which would be worthy of a work; perhaps if I could use our mutual master Christmann, or Bedwell in London, or rather your Ambrose in Dublin, as a teacher face to face. But I cannot'.[1]

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1   J. Ussher, *The Correspondence of James Ussher 1600–1656*, ed. E. Boran, 3 vols, Dublin, 2015, vol. 1, pp. 24, 34.

Eyres's letter encapsulates some of the most salient features of the pursuit of Arabic during the early modern period: its subservience to the interests of theology, made worse by the scarcity of teachers and books, thus rendering the difficulty of the language even more debilitating. Not that hardship *per se* was a deterrent. The pedagogical principles informing early modern humanist erudition actually glorified the symbiotic relationship between hard work and proficiency. As Richard Hooker stressed in the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, the 'search of knowledge is a thing painful and the painfulnes of knowledge is that which maketh the will so hardly inclinable thereunto'. Isaac Barrow concurred: 'if to get a competent knowledge about a few things, or to be reasonably skilful in any sort of learning, be difficult, how much industry doth it require to be well seen in many, or to have waded through the vast compass of learning'? Such a quest would exercise and strain all our faculties in painful study, and necessarily so. For knowledge is not innate and 'the gods sell all things, that is for pains; without which, the best wit and greatest capacity may not render a man learned'.[2]

Making virtue of necessity, therefore, commentators made the hardship inherent in the study of Arabic its selling point. Edward Kellet cited approvingly Daniel Heinsius's commendation of the Oriental languages which, he added, 'are of infinite worth, most necessarie to be studied, exacting as much labour and pains before they be gained, as they afford delight and profit spirituall when they are obtained'.[3] In fact, well-wishers constructed a mythology about those who had attained mastery *proprio marte* – by their own industry and without assistance – expressly to inspire younger scholars. Pride of place was given to Nicholas Clenardus, whose heroic efforts to master Arabic – in order to better understand Hebrew – were described in some detail in his *Peregrinationum, ac de rebus Machometicis Epistolae elegantissimae*. Or consider Thomas Erpenius's 1620 oration 'on the Value of the Arabic Language', wherein he enthused over Clenardus and Etienne Hubert, for both of whom it 'was not too much trouble […] to undertake lengthy, dangerous and costly journeys' for the sake of Arabic. Those 'whose circumstances did not permit them to make such long and dangerous journeys' – Joseph Scaliger and Isaac

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2 R. Hooker, *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker*, ed. W. Speed Hill, 7 vols in 8 vols, Cambridge, Mass.. and Binghampton, NY, 1977–1998, vol. 1, p. 81; I. Barrow, *Theological Works*, ed. Alexander Napier, 9 vols., Cambridge, 1859, vol. 3, pp. 433–4.

3 E. Kellet, *Miscellanies of Divinitie Divided into Three Books*, Cambridge, 1633, p. 48 (second pagination).

Casaubon, for example – nevertheless 'managed with great effort and application and by taking any opportunity that presented itself at home, to make progress as far as they were able in acquiring a most serviceable knowledge of Arabic'. How fortunate, therefore, were the Leiden students to have Erpenius as their teacher: 'You have an opportunity such as they never had [...] You need not undertake dangerous journeys to the Orient or torment yourselves night and day over one or two pieces of paper at home without a guide and – worst of all, according to [Clenardus] – with only yourselves as teachers. Thanks to the most noble governors of the university, you may make more progress every day than they did in a month'.[4]

Subsequent Arabists often availed themselves of Erpenius's rhetorical flourish. In 1626 Matthias Pasor waxed eloquent over the heroic efforts of Clenardus to satiate his desire to acquire Arabic, before assuring his auditors at Oxford that owing to his lectures they would have no need to follow his extreme measures. Two decades later, following the institution of Christian Ravius as lecturer in the Oriental Languages in London, Thomas Smith thanked Samuel Hartlib for enabling such a lectureship: 'we need no longer travaile with Clenard to Arabia, nor with others to other forreigne parts to learne the language'.[5] Even more revealing is the case of Thomas Cawton, Sr., who, in 1658, sent his son 'to learn the *Hebrew*, *Syriack*, and *Arabick* tongues' with Robert Sheringham in Rotterdam. To motivate his son, Cawton furnished him with a copy of Clenardus's *Epistolae* which, he hoped, would 'stir up [his] zeal towards the *Arabick* tongue' – presumably as much as it had his own some quarter of a century earlier, when he had perused the book upon the recommendation of Abraham Wheelock when embarking on the study of Arabic.[6]

Unfortunately, enthusiasm often failed to suffice. When in the early 1650s Isaac Barrow and Samuel Sprint approached Abraham Wheelock for instruction, the ailing and impoverished professor did his best to dissuade them. Hence, 'upon hearing how great Difficulties they were to encounter, and how few Books were in that Language, and the little Advantage that could be got by it, they laid aside their Designe'. Barrow's friend and biographer, Abraham Hill, commented on Barrow's zeal and diligence: how 'in all his studies his way was

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4   R. Jones, 'Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the Value of the Arabic Language', *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 1, 1986, pp. 15–25, p. 22.

5   M. Pasor, *Oratio Pro Linguae Arabicae*, Oxford, 1627, sig. B1ᵛ–B3; Sheffield, University Library, Hartlib Papers, 15/6/27.

6   T. Cawton, *The Life and Death Of ... Thomas Cawton*, London, 1662, pp. 67–8, 75; Hartlib Papers, 15/6/27A.

not to leave off his design till he brought it to effect' – except in Arabic, where 'he made an essay for a little while, and then deserted it.[7] Some who were thus frustrated, sought to exculpate their failure by blaming the difficulty of the language, as well as its irrelevance to the grand scheme of humanist learning. Case in point is John Hacket, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who conceded that 'he could never fix upon *Arabian* learning', finding it '*siticulosa regio, a dry and barren land where no water is*' – and having further been discouraged, as a young man, by such as had plodded most in it'. Small wonder, then, upon hearing his friend Claude Salmasius proclaim that 'he accounted no man solidly learned without skill in *Arabick*, and other *Eastern* Languages', Hacket retorted by lamenting the sight of many talented men who 'prosecuted the *Eastern* Languages so much as to neglect the *Western* learning' – and often their discretion as well![8]

Hacket was emboldened to belittle the value of Arabic after both John Selden and Robert Creighton had purportedly assured him 'that they should often read ten Pages [of Arabic] for one line of sense, and one word of moment', further averring that 'there was no learning like to what Scholars may find in *Greek* Authors, as *Plato*, *Plutarch*, etc'. Similar expressions abound. Several months before his death on 21 March 1656, James Ussher told John Evelyn: 'how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages, that excepting *Hebrew*, there was little fruite to be gatherd of exceeding labour; that besides some *Mathematical* bookes, the *Arabic* itselfe had little considerable'. Several years later, upon receiving a request to recommend texts for the study of Oriental languages, John Worthington lamented the paucity of such books, without which 'the pains and time spent upon grammar will not receive a due recompence'. His own pursuit of such languages, Worthington added, had been 'cooled by that very consideration'; that there existed no printed books, only manuscripts, and those 'are kept close, and are not for common use'. Nor did Worthington care to trouble himself further 'about the keys when there was no treasure of things to be come at'.[9] For his part, in 1691 Humphrey Prideaux turned down an offer to succeed Edward Pocock as Laudian Professor of Arabic, partly because he 'nauseate[d] that learning, and [had] resolved to

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7   E. Calamy, *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times*, 2nd edn, 2 vols, London, 1713, vol. 2, p. 340; Barrow, *Theological Works*, vol. 1, p. xlii.

8   J. Hacket, *A Century of Sermons Upon Several Remarkable Subjects*, ed. Thomas Plume, London, 1675, p. li.

9   J. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E.S. De Beer, 6 vols, Oxford, 1955, vol. 3, p. 156; J. Worthington, *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, eds J. Crossley and R.C. Christie, 2 vols in 3 vols, Manchester, 1847–1886, vol. 2/1, p. 26.

loose noe more time upon it'. As late as 1722 Prideaux reiterated Worthington's observation, insisting that the study of Arabic 'cannot, without long and sedulous application, be attained unto; and it adds to the difficulty, that most of the books, to be made use of in this matter, lie in manuscript, which cannot be easily come at, or easily read'.[10]

Such a mixture of enthusiasm and gloom was common among early modern commentators, reflecting the peculiar position of Arabic in the republic of English letters. Before the late sixteenth century, the study of Arabic lay outside the humanist conception of the encyclopaedia of learning that informed higher education. Only from the 1590s, owing primarily to the reputation of Joseph Scaliger, did it gather momentum, reaching its apogee by the mid-seventeenth century. Such a late entry into the universities necessarily relegated Arabic to an ancillary position. Not only did Arabic become the fourth learned language that students were now asked to acquire, but it shared nothing of the infrastructure that facilitated the acquisition of Latin and Greek, or even of Hebrew. Thus, by the early seventeenth century a growing number of students arrived at Oxford and Cambridge well versed in Latin and Greek, in addition to a certain competence in Hebrew. While there, they continued studying the three languages in tandem – under the supervision of tutors and in college lectures. In contrast, few English grammar schools offered instruction in Arabic. Nor were Arabic lectureships in colleges ever established or most university tutors capable of instructing their charges in Arabic.

Would-be Arabists, therefore, were at a considerable disadvantage compared with aspiring Grecians and Hebraists. Likewise, the absence of early-learning opportunities constrained significantly professors of Arabic at both Oxford and Cambridge. University professors, it should be remembered, were expected not to inculcate elementary instruction in their respective disciplines, but to offer more specialized lectures that went beyond college teachings and tutorials. Latham Waineright articulated just such a philosophy in 1815, while defending the Cambridge curriculum:

> It is sometimes asked, what useful purpose is promoted by the Professorships of Hebrew and Arabic established in both Universities, when no lectures are delivered on the subject? To this we reply, that though lectures are in fact occasionally read on these topics (as is at present the case with the Arabic professor at Cambridge), yet the design of these institutions is

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10   H. Prideaux, *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux ... To John Ellis*, ed. E.M. Thompson, Westminster, 1875, p. 150; H. Prideaux, *The Life of the Reverend Humphrey Prideaux*, London, 1748, pp. 277–8.

not regularly to teach the elements of the language in question, which is best effected by private tuition, but to afford encouragement to the pursuit of an object which presents but few attractions, and to the critical examination of those Oriental dialects which would otherwise, perhaps, be speedily neglected, if not utterly lost.[11]

Waineright may have been an apologist, but he expounded a commonplace. As John Postletwaite, High Master of St. Paul's School, noted in 1697 in regard to Hebrew, 'such Persons as have attain'd to any excellency in it, have been very little owing to any body but themselves, and to their Books in it'.[12] The principle held true in different contexts as well. Those who had contributed most to the advancement of the mathematical sciences, Thomas Hobbes wrote, 'attained their knowledge by other means than that of public lectures, where few auditors, and those of unequal proficiency, cannot make benefit by one and the same lesson'. Indeed, 'the true use of public professors, especially in the mathematics, being to resolve the doubts, and problems, as far as they can, of such as come unto them with desire to be informed'.[13] The statutes of the Laudian Professorship of Arabic confirm this. They enjoin the incumbent to lecture for an hour on some approved text, 'in which the proprieties of the language and the elegance of expression are remarkable'. And while the professor was expected to 'give a clear explanation of the words and grammatical meaning of the author, and point out all that has a reference to the grammar and peculiarities of the language', the language of the statute indicates an expectation of prior knowledge on the part of auditors. Even more important than the provision of a weekly lecture are two additional requirements: First, that the professor 'remain for a while in the school' after the lecture, in order to respond to 'any questions on points mentioned in the course of his lecture'. Second, that he shall return to the School for three hours in the afternoon, purposely to teach those 'who choose to attend him for the sake of instruction'. He must also 'at other times show himself easy of access in teaching those who ask his opinion at seasonable times'.[14]

   In practice, therefore, both before and after the institution of Arabic lectureships, private instruction and solitary study remained central for the

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11   L. Waineright, *The Literary and Scientific Pursuits Which Are Encouraged and Enforced in the University of Cambridge*, London, 1815, p. 76n.

12   Bodl. Oxf., MS Ballard 34, fol. 86.

13   T. Hobbes, *The English Works*, ed. W. Molesworth, 11 vols, London, 1839–1845, vol. 7, p. 346.

14   G.R.M. Ward, *Oxford University Statutes*, 2 vols, London, 1845, vol. 1, pp. 295–6.

acquisition of the language. In this regard, the example of John Bainbridge, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, is instructive. He had recently acquired an Arabic astronomical book, Bainbridge informed James Ussher on 3 October 1626. And while he could perfectly understand the tables in it, the appended rules explaining their use proved more difficult. Such difficulty did

> so much the more incite me to find out that particular meaning, which is not possible without knowledge in the Arabic; wherefore I have made entrance into the Rudiments thereof, and hope (*labore et constantia*), at length to be able to translate any Arabic Book of Mathematicks. It is a difficult thing which I undertake, but the great hopes I have in that happy *Arabia* to find most precious Stones for the adorning and enriching my συντάξις μαθηματική, do overcome all difficulties, besides the great Satisfaction to see with mine own Eyes... and not to be led hoodwinkt by others, who though they may be expert in that Tongue, yet without special skill in these particular Sciences, cannot truly translate the Arabick; besides that every one hath a special purpose in his study of that Language, taking no delight to follow another's course; *stultum est ducere invitos canes ad venandum.*

Bainbridge was not a person to proceed piecemeal. Having decided to undertake the study of Arabic, he demonstrated full appreciation of the best course to pursue: he entreated Ussher to supply him with a good copy of the Qur'an – 'the only Book whereby that Language is attained'.[15]

    The case of Bainbridge, I believe, illustrates the manner in which most English scholars pursued Arabic: independently – though in conjunction with other enthusiasts, and with the occasional recourse to native or visiting experts – and through extremely hard work. Thomas Cawton Sr., for example, 'took much delight in the *Chaldee*, *Syriack* and *Arabick*, and to gain more and more skill in them, got acquaintance with the famous *Wheelock*'. Notwithstanding such assistance, Cawton 'got the skill he had in languages most by his own industry, having little or no assistance or encouragement but his love to tongues'.[16] Glimpses of the sort of difficulties encountered by would-be Orientalists in contemporary literature abound. As late as 1698, for example, an educational projector, who proposed to simplify the acquisition of Latin, likened what he considered to be an obsolete method of teaching Latin to that informing the acquisition of Arabic: If one were to embark on the

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15   Ussher, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 374–5.

16   Cawton, *Life and Death*, pp. 6–7.

study of Arabic, he wrote, armed with 'an *earnest desire*, a *firm resolution*, and the *Terms* of *Art*', would he not become discouraged if his teacher instructed him to 'get *Erpenius's Grammar* perfectly without book, and afterwards fix in [his] *Memory* two or three thousand words out of an *Arabian Lexicon*'? Half a century earlier Thomas Fuller had singled out a key impediment to the acquisition of Hebrew, which applied equally, if not more so, to Arabic. 'More pains then quicknesse of wit is required to get it, and with daily exercise' to continue it. Worse still, he added, Apostacy herein is usuall, to fall totally from the language, by a little neglect'.[17]

With such a background in mind, we can attempt to reconstruct the formation of the English School of Arabic. It probably owed its genesis to Lancelot Andrewes, who entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1571, already in possession of some fluency in Hebrew, which he had acquired while studying under Richard Mulcaster at Merchant Taylor's School in London. According to his biographer, after he graduated BA in 1575, Andrewes spent a month in London every Easter vacation, during which time his father hired local teachers to improve him in arts and languages. One such teacher was John Hopkinson, whom a later student described as 'an obscure and simple man for worldly affayres, but expert in all the lefthand tongs' – and who 'had at that time [1588] great lerned men that consulted him in those languages, and especially' Lancelot Andrewes. We may safely assume that Andrewes had improved himself in the Oriental languages, including Arabic, by the time he graduated MA in 1578, for in June 1579 he subscribed his name to a petition urging Sir Francis Walsingham to permit Hopkinson's return to England, after he had 'been induced by papists and seminaries to go abroad without license'.[18]

Andrewes, therefore, may well have been the inspiration behind the determination of his senior colleague at Pembroke, Lancelot Browne, to learn Arabic as he embarked on a study of Avicenna. More importantly, Andrewes launched William Bedwell's career as an Arabist, serving first as his fellow traveler, and later as Bedwell's chief patron. Andrewes also handed over to Bedwell a massive project he had begun: a compilation of an Arabic lexicon. As Bedwell commented years later, the project's inherent difficulty, exacerbated by other

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17   R. Ainsworth, *The Most Natural and Easie Way of Institution Containing Proposals for Making a Domestic Education Less Chargeable to Parents and More Easie and Beneficial to Children*, London, 1698, p. 13; T. Fuller, *The Holy and Profane State*, ed. J. Nichols, London, 1841, p. 67.

18   H. Isaacson, *The Life and Death of Lancelot Andrewes*, ed. S. Isaacson, London, 1829, pp. 27–8; J. Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus*, ed. J. Bruce, London, 1858, p. 13; TNA, SP 12/131/34. I thank Glyn Parry for furnishing me with a copy of the petition. For Hopkinson, see M. Feingold, 'John Hopkinson of Grub Street: An Elizabethan Orientalist', *Notes and Queries*, 62, 2015, pp. 545–9.

employments, had prevented Andrewes from progressing far in the project, and it instead became Bedwell's life-long ambition. We need not presume, of course, that Andrewes's knowledge of Arabic was 'perfect and absolute, both for grammar and profound knowledge'. Regardless, his continued interest in Arabic, and unwavering support of Oriental learning, proved instrumental for the emergence of the English community of Arabists.[19]

Bedwell graduated MA from Trinity College in 1588, and though never a fellow, he spent considerable time at Cambridge in subsequent years. Thus, we may hazard to assume that already then Bedwell introduced certain of his colleagues to the study of Arabic. For example, the otherwise unknown John Titchbourne (MA 1592), who offered instruction in Arabic in the early 1590s to at least one of his students, Thomas Comber, who would become master of the College in 1631.[20] Trinity College would also remain central to the study of Arabic. Abraham Wheelock matriculated in 1611, and Herbert Thorndike followed two years later. Another group flourished at Emmanuel College. It included William Bedell (MA 1592), who 'attained also no mean skill in the Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew tongues', knowledge he 'bettered himself much after in his travels'.[21] Younger contemporaries included Samuel Crooke (MA 1596) – who, his biographer informs us, was skilled in both Hebrew and Arabic, languages 'which he sparingly made use of, only upon necessary occasions […] for the more full, and clear opening' of Scripture[22] – and the before mentioned William Eyres (MA 1599), who regretted his failure to improve his Arabic while Philip Ferdinand had resided at Cambridge. Many similar clusters of scholars proliferated at Cambridge and Oxford throughout the seventeenth century and beyond, and it was owing to these mutual 'support groups' that Arabic achieved not an insignificant footing in England during the early modern period.

As new research continues to expand our understanding of the scale of the community of Arabists, the extent of their commitment, and the degree of proficiency they attained remains a desideratum. Certainly, an assessment is in order, given the penchant for hyperbole on the part of their biographers. Consider the effusive praises bestowed on Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester.

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19   L. Andrewes, *Ninety–Six Sermons*, 5 vols, Oxford, 1848, vol. 5, p. 291; A. Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563–1632*, Leiden, 1985, pp. 9, 111.

20   D. Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths of Those ... That Suffered ... For the Protestant Religion*, London, 1668, p. 447.

21   W. Bedell, *Two Biographies of William Bedell Bishop of Kilmore*, ed. E.S. Shuckburgh, Cambridge, 1902, p. 5.

22   S. Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, London, 1662, p. 27.

According to the divine who preached his funeral sermon in 1624, Smith had been 'perfect in the Greeke, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, the Syriacke, and the Arabicke tongues'. Eight years later, the editor of Smith's sermons went further: 'so conversant he was and expert in the Chaldaie, Syriacke, and Arabicke, that he made them as familiar to him, almost as his owne native tongue'.[23] Now, Smith almost certainly began studying Arabic only in his late fifties, while living in London and putting the final touches to the King James Version of the Bible. As Josephus Abudacnus intimated to Thomas Erpenius in 1611, Smith had been among those who had approached him for instruction in Arabic. Smith appears to have made some progress, for already the previous year Abudacnus had informed Bedwell of his intention to send Smith 'something in Arabic'. Smith evidently continued to study Arabic until his death, judging by his acquisition of Raphelengius's Arabic lexicon and Erpenius's Arabic grammar – both published in 1613 – as well as Erpenius's editions of the Arabic New Testament and the Arabic Pentateuch published, respectively, in 1616 and 1622. Only a careful study of his annotations to these books will offer clues to Smith's proficiency, though preliminary results indicate, unsurprisingly, his exclusive concern with the contribution of Arabic to the elucidation of Scripture.[24]

The eagerness with which elderly scholars embarked on the study of Arabic when an expert could be found was relatively common. When Mathias Pasor settled in Oxford in 1626, for example, he was employed by the forty-eight-year old John Prideaux – Rector of Exeter College – and by the fifty-one-year old Thomas Clayton, Regius Professor of Medicine. One may also assume the presence of senior members of Oxford among the 'diverse constante hearers' who frequented Pasor's public lectures in early 1627.[25] Enthusiasm, however, invariably proved short-lived; partly owing to the inherent difficulties involved, partly to cost, and partly to the inadequacy of the lecturer. Within a few months, for example, Pasor found it prudent to substitute the teaching of Arabic with Hebrew and Chaldean – either because demand for Arabic waned, or because he had quickly exhausted his own limited knowledge of the language.[26]

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23   M. Smith, *Sermons*, London, 1632, p. 302, sig. ¶¶2. Wood copied the latter statement into his biography of Smith. Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses ... To Which Are Added the Fasti*, ed. P. Bliss, 4 vols, London, 1813–1820, vol. 2, p. 359.

24   Smith's books are in Hereford Cathedral Library; I owe my knowledge of them to information received from Tom Roebuck.

25   G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford, 1996, p. 98; Bodl. Oxf., MS Tanner 72, fol. 211.

26   For Pasor, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 98–9. Christian Ravius claimed that Pasor had 'no expertise at all in Oriental Studies'. Ussher, *Correspondence*, vol. 3, p. 890.

One may infer Pasor's experience at Oxford from Philip Ferdinand's lot as a Hebrew teacher at Cambridge a generation earlier. In 1597, while still an undergraduate at King's College, William Gough began frequenting the lectures of the converted Jew, along with 'many other' students who availed themselves of such an opportunity. Most 'grew soon weary', and Gough alone 'kept close to [Ferdinand] so long as he tarried. But when he was gone, those which before had lost the opportunity, now seeing their own folly, they came to Master *Gouge*, and entreated him to instruct them in the grounds of the said language'.[27] Cognizant of the limited appeal of a private teacher of Hebrew, Ferdinand left Cambridge after only one year. Whether he offered instruction in Arabic as well during that year is unclear. All we know is that William Eyres, as noted above, regretted his failure to take advantage of the opportunity.

If demand rarely sufficed to maintain a visiting Orientalist for an extended period, aspiring students found recourse to local talent. William Gough's willingness to impart to others the knowledge he had acquired from Ferdinand mirrored Lancelot Andrewes's readiness to assist colleagues in learning Arabic – a pattern that became a staple in the transmission of recondite learning. Thus, no sooner had Abraham Wheelocke acquired a reputation as a capable Arabist, than he became an oracle for those wishing to improve themselves. On 26 April 1625, for example, Robert Robinson, a former colleague from Trinity College, and now schoolmaster of King's Lynn, wrote Wheelocke a fulsome letter by way of requesting assistance: 'what course I must take to read ye Arabicke without theyre vowells [...] seeing my Evangells are such. secondly whether any Syriacke Grammar bee sufficient to teach to reade ye Syriack Testament for Myricaeus is not [...] & 3 onely at this time whether a chaldee grammar in a chaldee character bee to bee gotten or any meanes to read my chaldee psalter.[28] Four years later, another claimant on Wheelocke's time, the sixty-nine-year-old John Bois, appeared transported. He had 'fallen in love with Arabicke', a friend informed Wheelocke, 'and that which seemed before to him very difficult, now he thinketh to be easie: he can read most wordes with recourse to the Alphabette'.[29]

Our knowledge of how, where, and when, hopeful scholars acquired their grounding in Arabic, is extremely fragmentary. Did Ambrose Ussher, for example, learn the language during his sojourn in Cambridge – probably in the early years of the seventeenth century – or had he been one of William Bedwell's

27   S. Clarke, *The Lives of Thirty–Two English Divines*, London, 1677, p. 236.

28   CUL, MS Dd., 3.12. V. 11, cited in J.C.T Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A History from the Beginnings to the Copyright of Queen Anne*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 193.

29   CUL, MS Dd., III. 12 V. 5.

first London students? Certainly, Bedwell's dwellings became a Mecca for numerous would-be Arabists, including Thomas Erpenius, John Selden, John Greaves, Edward Pococke and, probably, Abraham Wheelocke. Such pilgrimages were common practice. John Gregory, for example, was reputed to have 'travelled through twelve Languages without any guide, except Mr. [John] *Dod* the Decalogist, whose Society and Directions for the *Hebrew* Tongue he enjoyed one Vacation near *Banbury*'.[30] Even if Gregory did not spend another vacation with Bedwell, he undoubtedly improved his Arabic through the assistance of those who did – Greaves and Pococke, for example. Crucially, however, the initial instruction received from Bedwell or from visiting scholars, was invariably followed by extended periods of solitary study, punctuated only by occasional consultation or collaboration with colleagues.

Seventeenth-century visitors to Oxford and Cambridge, who are known to have offered instruction in Arabic, included the above-mentioned Josephus Abudacnus, who taught intermittently at Oxford for three years (1610–1613). The identity of his students is unknown, but they may have included Richard Kilbye, regius professor of Hebrew, and Arthur Lake, Warden of New College. Such inference is based on the small collection of Arabic books that Lake gave to New College Library in 1617, and the Arabic dictionary that Kilbye bequeathed to Lincoln College three years later – probably Raphelengius's *Lexicon Arabicum*, which Isaac noted seeing in his study in 1613.[31] In the following decade, as noted above, Mathias Pasor offered some Arabic instruction in Oxford, and in 1649 it was Christian Ravius's turn to try his luck there, with no more success. According to Thomas Danson – a former student of Ravius – the latter left Oxford after only one year 'because he found few inclined to the study of the orientall Tongues'.[32]

In addition to such 'professional' lecturers, other visitors appear to have assisted the Arabic studies of Oxford men while in attendance. Sixtinus Amama, for example, who arrived in Oxford in 1614, after studying Arabic for several months with Erpenius, may have offered instruction in Arabic, in conjunction with his teaching of Hebrew at Exeter College.[33] Another former

30   Lloyd, *Memoires*, p. 89.

31   M. Feingold, 'Oriental Studies', in *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. 4: The Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1997, ed. N. Tyacke, p. 476; J. L Black and R. J Fehrenbach, 'Richard Kilby', *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, 7, Tempe, AZ, 2009, pp. 225–35 (234).

32   Bodl. Oxf., MS Top. Oxon c. 160, fol. 7; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1131. For Ravius's career at Oxford, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, pp. 196–7.

33   J. E Platt, 'Sixtinus Amama (1593–1629): Franeker Professor and Citizen of the Republic of Letters', in *Universiteit Te Franeker 1585–1811*, eds G. Th. Jensma et al., Leeuwarden, 1985, pp. 236–48.

student of Erpenius, Henry Jacob, became in 1629 praelector of philology at Merton College, where he remained until the Parliamentary Visitors of the University ejected him in 1648.[34] Twelve years later, Merton College became home to Thomas Cawton, Jr., who had studied Oriental languages in Rotterdam with Robert Sheringham, and who came to Oxford in order to study with Samuel Clarke. Cawton left in 1662, owing to his refusal to conform to the religious settlement of the Restoration, and established a dissenting congregation in London, where he died in 1677.[35]

The establishment of Arabic professorships at Oxford and Cambridge in the 1630s did not fundamentally alter the piecemeal manner through which Oxbridge dons acquired and maintained their knowledge of Arabic. For one thing, university professors could no more rely on a continuous and healthy supply of students than could itinerant lecturers. In 1639, for example, Abraham Wheelocke intimated to Thomas Greaves his disappointment at the paucity of auditors: 'I am ashamed to tell you few do Arabicari in this university; yet some doe yet ἄλις ἐις ἄλις οὐδείς. Soe that in the church there will be some that promote these studies'. In contrast, two years later he commented with some astonishment on the 'unusual number of auditors at his 8 a.m. lecture'.[36] For his part, Thomas Greaves expressed in a 1639 letter to Archbishop Laud his concern regarding the establishment of the Oxford professorship in Arabic on a voluntary basis: 'Neither are any bound to be Auditors, which freedome makes the company the lesse'. Nevertheless, he added, 'I can truly affirme, that there is now a greater frequency then heretofore. The most of them are Masters of Arts. Diverse have come unto me for private directions, of whose proficiency I can give good testimony'.[37] The Statutes of the Professorship ultimately enjoined all bachelors of art, as well as medical students, to attend the lectures in Arabic, but it is doubtful whether such a clause was ever enforced. During the heydays of Pococke's tenure as professor there existed at Oxford a small, but significant, community of Arabists, but by the end of the century, the well had nearly dried. When Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, requested Thomas Hyde to train a competent Arabist who could serve as translator for the Crown, the Oxford professor pointed out that without a 'promise of some

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34   Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, pp. 66–7.

35   Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1108; A. Hamilton, 'An Unlikely Friendship: Robert Sheringham and the Cawton Family', in *Living in Posterity: Essays in Honour of Bart Westerweel*, eds J.F. Van Dijkhuizen et al., Hilversum 2004, pp. 133–7.

36   J. Greaves, *Miscellaneous Works of Mr. John Greaves*, ed. T. Birch, 2 vols, London, 1737, vol. 1, p. lxix; BL, MS Harley 374, fol. 164, cited in Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, p. 88 n. 159.

37   Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, p. 112.

preferment from the government […] such a long and difficult task will not be readily undertaken'. He himself, Hyde expatiated, had studied 'the languages because [he] had a naturall love and inclination to them. But its hard to finde any who loves them so well, they being much neglected in these days, so that I have seldome any Auditors at my Lectures'.[38]

Scarcity of students was not owing to sloth entirely. As noted above, university professors were not expected to inculcate the rudiments of their respective disciplines– acquired previously in school or college – but to offer advanced instruction. Arabic professors alone could not assume prior knowledge and, consequently, they often found themselves in the position of glorified schoolmasters, obliged to spend their time in rehearsing the elements of grammar and diction. It may not be too far-fetched to extrapolate from Peter Goldman's account of his hardship, when studying Hebrew with Jacob Barnet at Oxford – what Arabic professors occasionally, at least, encountered. Writing to Patrick Young in 1611, Goldman recounted how he had embarked on studying Hebrew, but thus far made little progress in it. For just as 'boys need the help of a nurse when they learn to walk, so, when I totter, the Jew holds me up; when I fall, he lifts me; when I am running into the wall, he changes my course. To confess the whole truth, he is everything to me. Believe me, this language is harder than I suspected. Some parts of it are impenetrable, and many points require hard work, a fair number of them require intelligence, and a great many require the presence of a teacher'.[39]

We may safely assume, then, that Arabic professors begrudged, at least some of the time, the toil involved. Again, an inkling of such sentiments may be inferred from Isaac Barrow's expressed reason for resigning in 1663 the Regius professorship of Greek at Cambridge. He had accepted the position, Barrow stated, when it was 'desireable to none by reason of the small or even no Reward for the vast Labour attending it'. Now, when others were available, nothing stopped him from following his own inclinations: 'from changing a heavy Labour with a very light Gain, by withdrawing myself from the Drudgery of *Grammar* to the more desireable Exercise of *Mathematics*'.[40]

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38   BL, MS Add. 28927, fols 94–94ᵛ.

39   A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *"I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue". Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*, Cambridge, Mass., 2011, p. 258. For Casaubon, see A. Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: "Video longum esse iter"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72, 2009, pp. 143–68.

40   I. Barrow, *The Usefulness of Mathematical Learning Explained and Demonstrated*, London, 1734, p. xxii.

If Barrow considered the teaching of Greek poetry and prose to those endowed with more than a modicum in the language as 'drudgery', how much worse must have been the lot of the Arabic professors – Especially those who aspired to improve themselves and gain reputation through publications? Case in point, Abraham Wheelocke. When in 1631 he approached Thomas Adams for support, Wheelocke sought funding for an ambitious research agenda, not for teaching Arabic. It was Adams who insisted on establishing a lectureship 'on condition that it were frequented by a competent number of Auditors'. The benefactor made his mind clear in a letter to Wheelocke (3 March 1632), wherein he related a discussion with Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel College, in which he requested the latter's 'opinion of it and in particular touching the paucity of Auditors, whereat [he] formerly sticked'.[41] Small wonder, therefore, that Wheelocke discouraged such students who failed to exhibit proper resolve or talent – like Isaac Barrow and Samuel Sprint – or that the center of his scholarly interests soon shifted. Nevertheless, he obviously nurtured several promising youths, like Thomas Hyde, perhaps emulating Andrew Downes's manner of turning John Bois into a superb Grecian: by taking the youth into his home 'and [ply] him exceedingly'.[42]

Preaching Wheelocke's funeral sermon in 1653, William Sclater hinted at the precarious state of Arabic studies at Cambridge. On the one hand, he enthused, Wheelocke's memory cannot die, 'whilst so many hopefull plants of his setting, spring up after him, and daily grow famous in Cambridge'. On the other hand, he conceded the precariousness of such a legacy: Wheelocke had discharged both of his professorships 'with so compleat abilities as found acceptation of all, admiration of many, hopes of imitation but in a few'.[43] Isaac Barrow, too, eulogized the departed professor in an oration he delivered in 1654, with rhetoric suggestive of a desire for a brighter future: 'there are Arabic scholars among us', he declared, and therefore we must not 'despair that with your lively vitality, under the fertilizing influence of oriental heat, some new Professor of the Oriental Languages may spring up from the ashes of the Arabic Phoenix now dead, and may enable us to penetrate the land which is said to be rich, not only in gems and spices, but in wisdom and hidden learning'.[44]

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41 'The Life of Sir Thomas Adams, Lord Mayor of London', *The Universal Magazine*, vol. 64, 1779, pp. 324–25 (324); *Original Letters by Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. H. Hellis, Camden Society, 23, London, 1843, p. 148.

42 W. Allen, *Translating for King James*, Nashville, 1969, p. 133.

43 W. Sclater, *The Crowne of Righteousnes*, London, 1654, pp. 32, 30.

44 Barrow, *Theological Works*, vol. 9, pp. ii, 38.

Sclater mentioned by name only two of Wheelocke's students: Richard Hunt and Robert Austin. Both were educated at Eton and entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1645 and 1647, respectively. Significantly, Thomas Hyde, Wheelocke's last student, had also been an Etonian, and was admitted to King's College in 1652. Such instances may indicate that by the mid-1640s select students at Eton received some grounding in Arabic – comparable to the instruction initiated concurrently by Richard Busby at Westminster School[45] – developed under Wheelocke's guidance in Cambridge.[46] Noteworthy, too, is the appointment in 1652 of the Orientalist John Boncle as Head Master, a position he vacated the following year upon becoming Fellow of Eton.

St. Paul's School did not lag behind. Indeed, if anything, it probably enjoyed a more durable tradition during the seventeenth- and early eighteenth- centuries. The headmaster who instituted the teaching of Arabic at St. Paul's was Samuel Cromehome, who probably acquired his knowledge of Arabic under the tutelage of Thomas Greaves and Edward Pococke, while a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, between 1635–1642. In 1659 Edmund Castell named him as one of the three best 'Arabitans' in London – the other two being Adam Littleton, recently appointed second master of Westminster School, and one Mr. Wood – while Samuel Clarke consulted a manuscript copy of the Psalms in Arabic, owned by Cromeholme, during his work on a projected seventh volume of the London Polyglot. Cromeholme's students included William Wyatt – who entered Christ Church and probably studied with Pococke, gaining renown as an Orientalist – and Samuel Johnson, author of the notorious critique of passive obedience, *Julian the Apostate* (1682).[47]

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45   For the teaching of Arabic at Westminster School, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, pp. 265–8.

46   In 1651 Wheelocke related an anecdote regarding Austin, his amanuensis at the time: 'This young man, in the space of two months time, not knowing a letter in Arabic, or Persick, at the beginning, sent a letter to me in Norfolk of peculiar passages. So that, of his age, I never met with the like; and his indefatigable pains, and honesty, or ingenuity, exceed, if possible, his capacity'. L. Twells, 'The Life Of ... Edward Pocock', in *The Lives of Dr. Edward Pocock ... Zachary Pearce ... Thomas Newton ... And Philip Skelton*, London, 1816, vol. 1, p. 181. I interpret this letter to have been written while Austin was still at Eton, by way of introducing himself to Weelocke.

47   BL, MS Add. 22905, fol. 246; Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, pp. 264, 228; M.F.J. McDonnell, *A History of St. Paul's School*, London, 1909, pp. 230, 238; R.B. Gardiner, *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School, from 1748 to 1876*, London, 1884, p. 52. Latin speeches delivered by boys in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth- century make particular mention of Hebrew, and more oblique references to Arabic. *The Academy*, vol. 42, 1892, p. 30.

Thomas Gale, Cromeholme's successor, apparently continued the tradition. He had been educated under Richard Busby, and improved his knowledge while at Trinity College, Cambridge, upon which he bestowed in 1697 a considerable collection of Oriental manuscripts. John Postletwaite, who succeeded Gale, proved an even more avid patron of Oriental learning. He appears to have taught Arabic to at least one student – John Wallis, future Laudian Professor of Arabic – while headmaster of the grammar school that Archbishop Tenison founded at St. Martin's in the Fields. Indeed, it appears that it was owing to Postletwaite's urging, that Tenison obtained William III's permission to establish two Arabic studentships at Oxford – the Lord Almoner's Professorships, as they later came to be known – the first recipients of which were Wallis and Benjamin Marshall – Postletwaite's pupil at St. Paul's. A third student, who also enjoyed a stipend from the government, was Anthony Corbière, who entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1703, and within two years attempted to establish an epistolary exchange with the venerable London Orientalist, Thomas Smith. By 1709, before graduating MA, Corbière served as secretary to the British ambassador in Lisbon and, on account of his knowledge of Arabic, was sent as envoy to the Emperor of Morocco.[48] Noteworthy, too, is that Postletwaite hired Solomon Negri to teach Arabic and French at St. Paul's. School while in London – c. 1700–1701, and perhaps later, too.

Our knowledge of such teachers and students is fragmentary in the extreme. Few, if any, had distinguished themselves as scholars, but one must not discount their possible contribution to inspiring young scholars, or participation in literary efforts of other Orientalists. Consider the above-mentioned Richard Hunt. His nephew, William Hampton, described him as a 'perfect master' in Hebrew and Arabic, evidence for which seems not to have survived. Nevertheless, Hampton recalled how he 'had the happiness to be bred up under' Hunt, and how his uncle personally carried him in 1659 to Oxford, placing him under the care of the Oxford Orientalist Thomas Marshall, rector of Lincoln College – undoubtedly with the intention of further improving the youth.[49] College tutors with some knowledge of Arabic could also be expected to add instruction in the language to the diet of promising students, as did Edmund Matthews, fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. According to the autobiography of Thomas Comber (BA 1663), in addition to tuition in the common

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48   McDonnell, *History of St. Paul's School*, pp. 273–4; E. H Pearce, *Hartlebury Castle; with Some Notes on Bishops Who Lived in It and on Others Who Lived Elsewhere*, London, 1926, p. 197; A. Boyer, *The History of the Life & Reign of Queen Anne*, London, 1722, p. 355; Bodl. Oxf., MS Smith 46, fols 193–4; Bodl. Oxf., MS Smith 59, fol. 175.

49   J. Ward, *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, New York, [1740] 1967, p. 318.

course, Matthews had 'taught [him] privately ail kinds of sciences and ingenious Arts […] and besides made [him] understand all the Orientall Tongues'.[50]

Whether Comber persevered in such study is unclear. Nor is it possible with our present knowledge to assess the nature of studies of other students who left some suggestive evidence of pursuit of Arabic. Richard Duke, for example, studied under Busby at Westminster School, and proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1682, upon graduating MA, he donated to the College library a copy of the Qur'an, perhaps a symbolic gesture of his abandoning such study, as he began pursuing a literary career.[51] An exact contemporary was the child prodigy William Wotton, who entered – age eleven – St. Catharine Hall, Cambridge, in 1676, already fluent in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. By the time he graduated BA three years later, Wotton had acquired some proficiency in Arabic, Syriac, and Aramaic as well – proficiency which he exhibited before astonished audiences in London in early 6 July 1679.[52] Equally intriguing is the possibility that Thomas Bennet of St. John's College Cambridge (MA 1694) studied Arabic. We may infer this from a request made in 1698 by Abraham de la Pryme – a former student at St. John's – to know what proficiency Bennet had made in his study of Hebrew and Arabic. The latter responded with marked modesty: 'I am sensible I am master of nothing, and though I were as learned as I could wish myself, yet it does not become me to talk of my own abilities'.[53]

It should also be borne in mind that Oxbridge students were in the habit of seeking out the company of like-minded scholars, often forming mutual support groups. Thomas Smith, who studied under Wheelocke during the 1640s, commented in 1647 on his habit of sending letters in Arabic to Wheelocke as well as to 'other friends at Cambridge'. Presumably such 'friends' responded in kind. At Oxford, John Gregory's considerable knowledge of Oriental languages rendered him something of an 'oracle' to colleagues, so much so that a group of scholars met with him twice a week, during which meetings 'none communicated his notions more readily, none expressed himself more satisfactorily'

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50   T. Comber, *The Autobiographies and Letters of Thomas Comber*, ed. C.E. Whiting, 2 vols, Durham, 1946–1947, vol. 1, p. 3. Matthews graduated MA in 1640, and may have studied with Wheelocke. A younger contemporary at Sidney Sussex was John Luke (MA 1656), the future Adams professor of Arabic.

51   M.R. James, *Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols, Cambridge, 1900–1904, vol. 2, p. 245.

52   Evelyn, *Diary*. vol. 4 p. 172–3.

53   A. De La Pryme, *The Diary of Abraham De La Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary*, ed. C. Jackson, Surtees Society, 54, Durham, 1870, p. 186.

than Gregory did.[54] On occasion, a determined head of house attempted to institute a more solid infrastructure for Oriental studies, much as Richard Bentley attempted to do at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1712 Bentley boasted that, since his election as Master of Trinity in 1699, the College had 'grown like an University' and, along with other disciplines, 'Oriental learning was cultivated' to such an extent, that by their example 'the whole youth of the University took a new spring of industry'.[55] Toward that end, Bentley attempted to recruit Henry Sike – who arrived in Cambridge in 1704 to become regius professor of Hebrew – as well as to rely on his colleague at Trinity, Charles Wright, who was elected Adams Professor of Arabic in 1702.[56]

We are not much better informed of the attainments of more advanced students, who sought guidance from the Arabic professors. Humphrey Prideaux, who studied under Busby at Westminster School before matriculating at Christ Church in 1668, is a case in point. Several months after graduating MA in April 1675, Prideaux intimated to a friend his deep concern over Edward Pococke's deteriorating health which, he feared, would cut short his own scholarly ambitions. Pococke's death would not only 'deprive [him] of the best friend' he had at Christ Church, but 'utterly spoile me for a linguist; since the greatest encouragement I have to follow those studys is the more than ordinary helpe which I hope to receive from him. However, I have got all his comment transcribed, that they may not be lost with him'.[57] We do not know what projects Prideaux had in mind at this early stage in his career, and we know far less about a younger contemporary, Thomas Lane, who became fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1680, having received his undergraduate education at Cambridge. Shortly after graduating MA in 1682, Lane informed a friend of his labouring on a history of the Saracens, 'which I design and am advised to compose principally out of Arabian authors, which have so lately been known in these parts of the world that the relations concerning the great empire will be perfectly new'. Pococke and Obadiah Walker, Lane added, promised 'to be kindly severe and

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54   Hartlib Papers 15/6/27A; Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths of Those ... That Suffered ... For the Protestant Religion*, p. 88.

55   R. Bentley, *The Correspondence of Richard Bentley*, eds J. Wordsworth and C. Wordsworth, 2 vols, London, 1842, vol. 2, p. 449.

56   For Sike, see L. Forster, 'Henry Sike of Bremen (1669–1712) Regius Professor of Hebrew and Fellow of Trinity', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10, 1993, pp. 249–75. Bentley, *Correspondence*, passim. A. Hamilton, 'Henry Sike,' *ODNB*; id., 'Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht,' in *Leven na Descartes. Zeven opstellen over ideeëngeschiedenis in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, eds P. Hoftijzer and T. Verbeek, Hilversum, 2005, pp. 97–105.

57   Prideaux, *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux ... To John Ellis*, p. 43.

read it over before it goes to Press'. A year and a half later Lane was still plodding along, for, he admitted, 'it is a troublesome task that history was never composed by any European author before'.[58]

Lane probably never completed his work. He certainly never published it – yet another ambitious design by an early modern Orientalist to miscarry. Nevertheless, the evidence thus far garnered suffices to make clear that, while the received view regarding the scarcity of Arabists of the stature of Pococke or Selden in England is valid, the range of opportunities available for the study of Arabic – and the number of individuals to take advantage of such opportunities – is far greater than previously assumed.

To illustrate this point, and the value of casting a wide net in order to enrich our understanding of the manner in which Orientalists may have gained instruction in Arabic and assistance in their subsequent studies, we may consider the career of George Sale. Since he never attended university, scholars have been hitherto baffled by the manner in which he acquired his considerable knowledge of Arabic. A probe of Sale's background, however, presents some useful hints. Sale (born in 1696) is reputed to have studied in King's School in Canterbury. If correct, it is not unlikely that he received his grounding in Arabic from David Jones, headmaster between 1700–1713. Our knowledge of Jones is sketchy, but filled with tantalizing clues. He was born in St. Albans in 1674, and attended the local grammar school under the headmastership of Charles James. James himself had studied under Richard Busby at Westminster School, whence he proceeded in 1659 to Christ Church. If James studied Arabic at Westminster, as many upperclassmen did during the 1650s and 1660s, he may well have continued studying the language under Pococke in Oxford and, subsequently, have later imparted his knowledge to Jones. Certainly, within a month of matriculating from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, on 26 March 1691, Jones began compiling an Arabic dictionary – a manuscript he bestowed on Jesus College, Oxford, half a century later. Jones undoubtedly continued to engage in Arabic, for he also gave to Jesus College a manuscript copy of the Koran, which had been 'sent from Aleppo in […] 1710'.[59]

Sale never mentioned Jones, but in the preface to his translation of the Qur'an he acknowledged consulting a manuscript copy of the Gospel of Barnabas, lent to him by George Holme (MA Queen's College, Oxford 1702).

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58   *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, ed. R.A. Roberts, 3 vols, London, 1920–1923, vol. 2, pp. 116, 123.

59   J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 vols, Oxford, 1891–1892, vol. 2, p. 819; H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum Mss. Qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1842, vol. 2, pp. 40–41 (separately paginated).

Holme may have studied Arabic under Hyde and/or John Wallis. From a 1718 petition seeking to recover arrears from the government, we learn that 'by Order' of Queen Anne, Holme had been appointed in 1706 as chaplain to the 'British Consul and Factory residing in Algiers' – expressly for 'Support and Encouragement in the Study of the Arabick and Turkish Languages' – with an annual salary of £100. Holme remained in Algiers until 1718, and upon returning to England was engaged by the Secretary of State in translating various Arabic and Turkish documents.[60] In the same year he was installed as rector of Headley, Hampshire, where he lived until his death in 1765. We do not know when Sale may have met Holme, or the nature of their acquaintance. However, these two instances make clear that Sale was part of a broader circle of Arabists than the limited circle he has been traditionally associated with – namely, the Syrian Christians Solomon Negri and Carolus Dadichi, who resided in London during the 1720s.

Sale and Negri were involved in the publication, by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, of an Arabic Psalter and New Testament. It is worth mentioning that other Arabists had been involved with the Society. Anthony Horneck – preacher at the Savoy in London 1671–1696, who offered much of the inspiration to the formation of the Society, which he did not live to see – 'had addicted himself to the *Arabic* from his younger time; and retained it in good measure to the last'.[61] Postletwaite, too, was active in the affairs of the Society until his death in 1713. The London community of Arabists in the early eighteenth century also included Jezreel Jones, who spent much of the first decade of the eighteenth century in North Africa and, after returning to London, served as 'Interpreter to the Ambassadors from those Parts' until his death in 1731.[62]

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60   Henry Compton, Bishop of London, proved instrumental in securing the appointment and salary for Holme. *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, vol. 3, 1702–1707, pp. 437, 441; *Calendar of Treasury Books* vol. 21, 1706–1707, p. 186. Following the death of Robert Cole, the Consul in Algiers, in late 1712, Compton sought, unsuccessfully, to intrude Holme into the position. TNA, SP 34/20, fol. 74, cited in Sugiko Nishikawa, *English Attitudes toward Continental Protestants with Particular Reference to Church Briefs c. 1680–1740*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1998, p. 176. Holme chose to remain in Algiers, though perhaps no longer as a chaplain, with a reduced stipend of 30 guineas a year. TNA, Treasury Papers, 1/213, fols 230, 232. I thank Glyn Parry for furnishing me with a copy of the petition.

61   R. Kidder, *The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, Late Preacher at the Savoy*, London, 1698, p. 40.

62   *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 221. For Jones's activities, see *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1702–1707*, London, 1874, pp. 402–3; *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1720–1728*, London, 1889, pp. 260, 529; *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1729–1730*, London, 1897, pp. 78, 85, 93, 125, 155, 159, 447, 496; *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1731–1734*, London, 1898, pp. 44, 166, 528–9

I have enumerated in considerable detail discrete pieces of evidence regarding students of Arabic, about whom little else is known, partly to expand our understanding of the contours of the English community of Arabists during the early modern period, and partly to propose a course of action for future research. While we are unlikely to come across another Pococke, we may at least identify unrecognized ties and lines of influence between practitioners; unearth lecture notes; gather information about book ownership and marginalia; and assess attempts at composition – good, bad, and indifferent. The need to embark seriously on such a research agenda is particularly pressing for the eighteenth century. In his brief survey of Arabic studies at Oxford during the eighteenth century, based on a very limited range of sources, P.J. Marshall depicted a rather gloomy reality, according to which the professors – none of whom truly distinguished themselves – rarely taught, and few students frequented the lectures they did deliver. Nevertheless, Marshall recognized that these irregular and 'ill-attended lectures may not be a reliable indicator of the amount of instruction actually imparted'.[63] Further research, along the lines I have suggested in this essay, may very well confirm this coda.

Few examples should suffice. One must be careful not to generalize from the charming anecdote told about Edmund Castell who, in anticipation of an empty lecture hall, affixed upon the school-gate the following notice: 'Arabicae Linguae Praelector eras ibit in desertum' (Tomorrow the Professor of Arabic will go into the desert).[64] As noted above, fluctuation in the number of students was the norm, in the seventeenth as well as in the eighteenth centuries. Richard Browne, Laudian Professor of Arabic (1748–1780), for example, informed his patron in 1763 that he lectured 'constantly to considerable numbers in the University', but on another occasion, eight years later, only one student attended his Arabic lecture.[65]

Equally important, we should bear in mind the availability of professional teachers of Arabic, at both universities who, for a fee, carried out the lion's share of introductory instruction. One such person was Henry Wild, the self-taught 'Arabian Taylor', who lived in Oxford between 1715–1720. According to his biographer, and former student, Wild 'studied in the Bodleian while open, and when it was shut, he employed most of his leisure time in teaching the oriental languages to young gentlemen, at the moderate price of half a guinea,

63   P.J. Marshall, 'Oriental Studies', in *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. 5: The Eighteenth Century*, eds L.S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell, Oxford, 1986, pp. 551–63 (554).

64   Twells, 'The Life Of … Edward Pocock', vol. 1, p. 214n.

65   L.S. Sutherland, 'The Origin and Early History of the Lord Almoner's Professorship in Arabic at Oxford', *Bodleian Library Record*, 10/3, 1980, pp. 166–77 (175, 177).

except for the *Arabic*, for which […] he had a guinea'. Unfortunately for Wild, his biographer continued, 'the Rev. Mr. *Gagnier* […] skilled in the oriental tongues, was in possession of all the favours the university could bestow in this way, for he was recommended by the heads of houses to instruct young gentlemen, and employed by the professors of those languages to read publick lectures in their absence'.[66] Gagnier's own contribution to the teaching of Arabic at Oxford, both privately and as Lord Almoner's Lecturer (1724–1740), has received some, though by no means sufficient, attention. Far less attention was paid to the Oxford career of the Orientalist Joannes Uri. Invited in 1766 to catalogue the Oriental manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Uri remained in Oxford until his death some three decades later. According to Adam Clark, 'most members of this place, who have distinguished themselves in Oriental literature, owe their information to Dr. John Uri'.[67]

Independent study continued to be a crucial factor in the genesis of Arabists right through the eighteenth century and beyond. In July 1764, John Jebb, fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge (MA 1760), began studying Hebrew under the private teacher Israel Lyons, 'and, presently after, was his own master in the arabic language'. Jebb proceeded the following year to 'read through the pentateuch in hebrew, harmonized the gospels, read about five hundred verses in the Koran, and some other things in arabic'. Jebb's biographer attributed such assiduousness to Jebb's unsuccessful bid to succeed Leonard Chappelow as Adams professor of Arabic.[68] Across the Atlantic, four decades earlier, James Logan had embarked on an independent study of Arabic for more altruistic reasons:

> As the History of Man has of late years been a large part of my Entertainment and I would willingly know his Humours in all ages and Countries, I find I have been too difficent in inquiring into ye East tho' that appears to us to have been the first Seat and Nurse of Knowledge. I am willing therefore to be better acquainted with the Orientals especially the Arabians some of whose Writings I have, but neglected to

66   T. Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, eds C.E. Doble et al., 11 vols, Oxford, 1885–1921, vol. 5 pp. 57–8; Z. A., 'Extraordinary Life of Mr Henry Wild', *Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle*, 25, 1755, pp. 105–6.

67   J.B.B. Clarke, *An Account of the Religious and Literary Life of Adam Clarke*, 3 vols, New York, 1837, vol. 2, p. 443.

68   J. Jebb, *The Works Theological, Medical, Political, and Miscellaneous*, 3 vols, London, 1787, vol. 1, pp. 10, 18, 20.

purchase some others in London that then fell in my way, being dis-
pleased with some for the Price.

Logan's library includes quite a few texts in Arabic, attesting to his diligence. In
1737 such knowledge came in handy when the colorful Lebanese Christian,
Sheik Sidi visited Philadelphia. 'As he spoke nothing but Arabic and a little
Syriac', Logan reported, 'he put me on scouring up what I had formerly gotten
and forgotten of these, and we exchanged some little in writing'.[69]

    Just as the supply of private teachers become steadier in the course of the
eighteenth century, so did the availability of visiting native speakers of Arabic,
who offered instruction for fee or in return for hospitality. In 1727 James Logan
found himself 'agreeably surprised to hear' that Robert Hunter, successively
governor of New York, New Jersey, and Jamaica, embarked on the study of
Arabic during a stay in England, 'assisted by two Arabs who are come over to
England as Travellers to see the world'.[70] Further research might shed light on
the identity of the two Arabs – assuming they were not Solomon Negri and
Carolus Dadichi – and on whether they offered instruction to others as well.
Additional research is also required to discover more about a certain Mirza,
native of Aleppo, whom William Jones maintained in 1764 at Oxford, to assist
in the study of Arabic and Persian.[71] A decade earlier, another young Oxford
scholar, Edward Gibbon, entertained similar fantasies about making a reputa-
tion for himself as an Orientalist: 'Since the days of Pocock and Hyde,' he
recalled, 'Oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford, and I once
expressed an inclination to study Arabic'. To his chagrin, his tutor's 'prudence
discouraged this childish fancy; but he neglected the fair occasion of directing
the ardour of a curious mind'.[72] So the question begs answering: who else
shared such 'ardour' during the eighteenth century, and by what means did
they quench it?

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69   E. Wolf, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674–1751*, Philadelphia, 1974, p. 253;
      J.F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time*, ed. W.P. Hazard,
      3 vols, Philadelphia, 1881, vol. 1, p. 552.

70   Wolf, *The Library of James Logan*, p. 156.

71   G.H. Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern
      Linguistics*, New York, 1990, p. 9.

72   E. Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life*, ed. G.A. Bonnard, London, 1966, p. 55.

Johann Zechendorff (1580–1662) and Arabic Studies at Zwickau's Latin School[*]

Asaph Ben-Tov

Zwickau in Electoral Saxony was not a good place to be during the Thirty Years War. Throughout the hostilities the town's inhabitants were repeatedly subjected to the miseries of chronic warfare. Worse still were the accompanying inflictions: hunger and repeated outbreaks of the plague. Zwickau's Latin school was spared none of these miseries. As early as the summer of 1619 the town was forced to billet some three hundred Saxon soldiers, much to the burghers' disadvantage. To this inconvenience were added recurring acts of lawlessness by the soldiers, who were finally brought under control when three of the Saxon recruits were hanged in the market place.[1] Zwickau's wartime woes had just begun. The following year witnessed a severe crop failure,[2] with food shortage reaching a peak in 1623.[3] In light of the growing menace of the Thirty Years War the Latin school decided in 1625 to suspend the Lent school-comedies, to be renewed only in 1671. The following year the town was afflicted by yet another in a series of bubonic outbreaks which claimed the lives of 375 victims. This occasioned an order from the Saxon Elector for weekly penitential sermons and Catechism exams for adults as well as school-children.[4] One further wartime misery came in 1632 when the town was conquered and plundered by Wallenstein and its Latin school was temporarily used by the Imperial commissary of stores as his headquarters.[5]

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[*] I would like to thank Gerald Toomer for his instructive comments on an earlier version of this paper. My findings on Zechendorff were first presented at the colloquium of the research group "Religious Individualization in Historical Perspective" at the Max-Weber-Kolleg, University of Erfurt, where I had the good fortune of being a post-doctoral research fellow when researching this paper. My thanks to the discussants at this colloquium for their insightful comments. Finally, I would like to thank the staff at the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau for their untiring helpfulness. Needless to say, I am alone responsible for any errors and misconceptions.

[1] E. Herzog, *Chronik der Kreisstadt Zwickau. Bd. 2: Jahresgeschichte*, Zwickau, 1845, pp. 397–8.

[2] Ibid., p. 400.

[3] Ibid., pp. 405–6.

[4] Ibid., p. 409.

[5] Ibid., p. 422.

During one bubonic outbreak Johann Zechendorff (1580–1662), headmaster of Zwickau's Latin school, decided to take action.[6] God in his wrath was chastising the town with the scourge of war, hunger, and pestilence, he wrote in the introduction to a strange undated work extant only in manuscript. To assuage this divine displeasure he had decided temporarily to suspend the study of profane authors (Graeco-Roman literature) and instead to read and comment on the Seven Penitential Psalms.[7] These he read with his pupils in the classroom as well as privately in no less than thirty translations and paraphrases.[8] Since some of his pupils had begun learning Arabic, Zechendorff undertook the compilation of an Arabic paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms to acquaint them better with the Qur'an's vocabulary and phraseology. Muhammad, for Zechendorff the unquestionable author of the Qur'an, is dubbed the Arab Cicero (*Cicero arabicus*) – according to him a common epithet for the prophet among Muslims.[9] This resulted in a curious work, which Zechendorff never got printed, with the equally curious title *An Arabic paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms, i.e. in the style of and taken from the system of the Qur'an, which contains CXIII chapters,*[10] *or rather from the Arab Cicero and in the Ismaelitic and regal Solomonic language: in pure and unadulterated speech set down rhythmically, with an interlinear Latin translation for the benefit of German students of Arabic, to allow them an easier access to the Qur'an.*[11] In a lengthy German introduction to the work Zechendorff argued that there was more eloquence (*Reden v*[*nd*] *Wortt*) and substance (*Res oder Realia*) in the Psalter than in the 'monotonous droning' of the 'book of the deluded Muhammad', which

6   Possibly the bubonic outbreak of 1626 which occasioned the above-mentioned Electoral decree but one of the later outbreaks (e.g. 1633 or 1636) are also possible.

7   RSBZ, MS 18.4.29. fol. 224^{v-r}, J. Zechendorff, *Septem Psalmorum poenitentialium Para-Phrasis Arabica*. The codex was written by Zechendorff from right to left but paginated by a later librarian from left to right, hence the reverse pagination.

8   Ibid., fols 224^v–223^v.

9   Muhammad, needless to say, was not, to the best of my knowledge, ever referred to in Arab sources as an 'Arab Cicero', nor am I acquainted with any other of Zechendorff's European contemporaries using this (in itself charming) epithet.

10   This is a rare slip. As Zechendorff knew, the Qur'an has 114 chapters. In an undated letter to the Jena Orientalist Johann Ernst Gerhard the Elder (1621–1668) Zechendorff even offered an analysis of the short concluding sura. FBG, Chart. B. 451, fol. 132^r.

11   *Septem Psalmorum poenitentialium Para-Phrasis Arabica id est stylo, & ex Alcorani Systemate quod cxiii capita continet sive ex Cicerone Arabico & Ismaelitica atque Lingua Salomonis regia: puris, merisque Loquutionibus appronatis Rhythmice* [marg. add. *Cum versione interlineari Latina*] *In Usum Arabicantium Germanorum: ut ad Alcorani Lectionem Aditus facilior patescat. Diligenti Lectione ac Meditatione a Iohanne Zechendorff LL^{arum} Orientalium Cultore Conscrpita.*

stands in contrast to his following assurance that the paraphrase, using Qur'anic verses as mosaic stones '[…] is magnificently beautiful and ornate, set and recited in the regal Arabic tongue, as it [Arabic] is attributed to King Solomon, as its inventor, through the wisdom with which he was endowed by God. So, for the sake of this language, it is not to be contemned'.[12]

Each psalm verse appears at the bottom of the page in Luther's translation alongside several couplets of rhyming Arabic verses (or rather pseudo-Qur'anic verses) which approximate the content and tenor of each verse. To this is added an interlinear Latin translation. Thus, the opening verse of Psalm 6 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure.'[13] or in Luther's translation, which Zechendorff quotes at the bottom of the page, 'Ach Herr, straff mich nicht in deinem Zorn' is rendered by several Arabic 'Qur'anic' alternatives. The first of which reads:

<div dir="rtl">

اي الرحمن الرحيم

انت العزيز الحكيم

</div>

O, the Compassionate and Merciful One
You are the Great and Wise One.

The latter verse may have been taken from several Qur'anic verses, e.g. suras 2.129, 5.118, 40.8, or 60.5[14] and is mistranslated by Zechendorff as 'Thou art a mighty judge' (*Tu es fortis judex*). Although the margin of each page contains the sura numbers, to which the rhyming couplets do not correspond, and a page number in Zechendorff's copy of the Qur'an (*pagina mihi*)[15] from which they were ostensibly quoted (or paraphrased), the Arabic quotations do not, to the best of my knowledge, relate to these. Nonetheless this strange work offers a creative pseudo-Qur'anic paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms, and, although its mosaic stones are not genuine Qur'an verses, they are a creative attempt at composing Qur'an-style snippets, forged but true to the spirit of the original, and to show their correspondence with the pious sentiments of the Psalms recited in Zwickau at the time.

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12   Ibid., fol. 220ᵛ. 'Aber will es herlich schön, v. zierlich nach Arabischer königlicher Sprach / wie sie denn dem könig Salomoni, als dem Erfinder, nach seiner vom Gott verliehenen Weißheitt, zugeschrieben wirdt / gesetzet, v. geredetdt, so ist es der Sprachen halben, an ihr selbsten nicht zuverwerffen.'

13   All English quotes from the Bible follow the King James Version.

14   Sura 60.5. may have struck Zechendorff as appropriately penitential: 'Lord, do not expose us to the designs of the unbelievers. Forgive us, Lord; You are Mighty, the Wise One.' English quotes from the Qur'an are taken from N.J. Dawood's translation for Penguin Classics (originally 1956). I have used the 2nd bilingual edition of 2006.

15   I have not been able to trace Zechendorff's copy of the Qur'an.

The ostensible point of Zechendorff's exercise was a mixture of Lutheran piety in the face of adversity and an attempt to help his pupils better understand the difficult language of the Qur'an.[16] Although a detailed introduction and the careful layout of the manuscript suggest that it may have been meant for publication, the work was never printed, nor am I acquainted with any contemporary or later reference to it. As remarkable as the work itself is the fact that Arabic instruction was offered in Zwickau's Latin school in the 1630s and that its headmaster was eager to help Saxon schoolchildren better understand the Qur'an in Arabic. (Figure 3.1)

The most important source on Zechendorff's life is the sermon delivered on the occasion of its expiration.[17] On Sunday the 23 February 1662 the eighty-two year-old headmaster of the Latin school of Zwickau was laid to rest in the town's central church.[18] He had passed away a week earlier, survived by his second wife[19] but by none of his children, after serving as headmaster for forty-five years. The funeral sermon was delivered by the Zwickau superintendent Gottfried Siegmund Peißker[20] and includes a fairly detailed and apparently reliable[21] account of Zechendorff's life.[22] Opening with a funeral oration, it may be objected, lends this short study of the Zwickau pedagogue and Orientalist an unwarranted tone of morbidity. Zechendorff indeed lived through a particularly vicious period of early modern history, nor was his personal life sheltered – few lives were just then. At the same time the extant

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16   *Septem Psalmorum poenitentialium Para-Phrasis Arabica*, fol. 223ᵛ.

17   G.S. Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule / Welche Dem Wohl-Ehrenvesten / hoch-Achtbaren und Hochgelahrten Herrn Johann Zechendorffen / Weitberühmten Philologo, und der Stadt-Schulen allhier zu Zwickau ins 45tzigste Jahr mit Ruhm und Ehren gewesenen Rectori, Am Sonntage Reminiscere, war der 23. Febr. dieses lauffenden 1662. Jahres / Dessen geheiligter Leichnam / in der Obern Stadt-Kirche / mit Christlichen Ceremonien, ehrlich und rühmlich zur Ruhe bracht wurde / Aus Seinem täglichen Gebet Psalm CXLII. v. 6.7. Herr / zu dir schreye ich / und sage / du bist meine Zuversicht / etc. öffentlich auffgerichtet / Und nunmehr auff Begehren / zu des Sel. Mannes schuldigen Nachruhm / zum Druck befördert wurden / Durch Gottfried-Siegmund Peißkern / der Heiligen Schrifft Licentiatum, Pfarrern und Superintendenten zu Zwickau*, Zwickau, 1662.

18   Herzog, *Chronik der Kreisstadt Zwickau*, p. 106. Though referred to since 1935 as Zwickau's Cathedral, the imposing St Marien is not an episcopal seat.

19   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. A1ᵛ. Marien-Salome née Götsen.

20   Peißker was appointed to the post two years earlier. See *Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen*, Leipzig, 1713, p. 453.

21   On several points the accuracy of Peißker's biographical account is corroborated by external evidence.

22   Paul Stötzner's article on Zechendorff in the *ADB*, 1898, openly follows Peißker's funeral sermon as its main source.

FIGURE 3.1 *Zechendorff,* Septem Psalmorum poenitentialium Para-Phrasis Arabica*, RSBZ, MS 18.4.29 FOLS. 204V-205R.*

sources suggest that this inquisitive and productive mind enlivened an otherwise arduous existence. Opening an account of his life and scholarship with a funeral sermon is appropriate in so far as Zechendorff shares with many of his fellow early modern 'secondary thinkers' the fate of having the outlines of his biography best documented by a learned eulogist. Apart from his printed works, of which there are relatively few, two further sources are important for the present study: the collection of Zechendorff's manuscripts (both letters to him as well as works of his extant only in manuscript) kept in Zwickau's Ratsschulbibliothek, as well as some remnants of his correspondence with the Lutheran Orientalist Johann Ernst Gerhard the Elder (1621–1668), extant in the massive Gerhard *Nachlass* at the research library in Gotha,[23] and a series of

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23   Most of Zechendorff's letters preserved in this collection are to be found in FBG, Chart. A 138.

letters he wrote to the famous Zurich Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667).[24]

Zechendorff's life and career can be summarized as follows: He was born in the Saxon town of Lößnitz in the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountain region) on 8 August 1580. His father, Michael Zechendorff, was himself a school teacher, first in Lößnitz and later in Schneeberg, where he eventually became an archdeacon. His mother Anna Zechendorff, née Bergmeister, was the daughter of the burgomaster of the nearby town of Schwarzenberg.[25] Of his other relations we know of a paternal uncle in Ballerstedt in the Harz region[26] by the name of Zacharias Zechendorff, who like Zechendorff's father, was a teacher.[27] A brother (probably half-brother), a baker in Schneeberg also called Zacharias, is attested in Zechendorff's correspondence.[28] Unlike numerous seventeenth-century scholars of modest or middling origins, whose academic, pedagogical, or ecclesiastical careers facilitated a social upward mobility, Zechendorff, who eventually became a school-master in Schneeberg and later in Zwickau, exhibits a social stability. Born and raised in the Erzgebirge in a socially 'upper middling' milieu of modest means, he was, after a *peregrinatio academica*, to return to his original social, regional, and vocational setting.

According to Peißker, Zechendorff was tutored by his father. In 1599, at the remarkably late age of nineteen, he started his studies with his uncle in Ballerstedt, moving from there to the Latin schools in Aschersleben, Braunschweig, Eisleben, and then to the Latin school in Zerbst, the tuition being paid for by his uncle.[29] The headmaster of the Latin school in Zerbst was Gregor Bersman, a neo-Latin poet and former professor of rhetoric, Greek, and Latin in Leipzig. Bersman was dismissed from the university in 1581 following his refusal to subscribe to the *Formula Concordiae* and his criticism of Lutheran orthodoxy.[30] Zechendorff's father recalled his son from Zerbst insist-

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24   I am grateful to Jan Loop for bringing these letters to my attention and for kindly sending me a copy of them.

25   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fols. D2^{r-v}.

26   In modern-day Saxony-Anhalt.

27   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. D2^{v}.

28   RSBZ, MS 172.6., two letters from Zacharias Zechendorff to his brother, 28 December 1629 and 1 January 1630, informing him of the fatal illness and death of his mother – Zacharias refers to her as 'my mother' rather than 'our mother'. The letter of January is signed 'Der L Bruder / williger / Zacharias Zechendorff / Bürger vndt Becker / Daselbst [Schneeberg].'

29   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. D2^{r}.

30   See Friedrich August Eckstein's article on Bersman in ADB.

ing he return home, to avoid the 'venom of Calvinist teaching'.[31] It seems that it was in Schneeberg's Latin school that Zechendorff made his first significant acquaintance with Oriental languages, studying Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac, as well as Greek, logic, and astronomy. As we shall see, the driving force behind his Oriental studies in later years was a fascination with Arabic, with which he became acquainted considerably later. In 1604, at the late age of twenty four, Zechendorff matriculated at the university of Leipzig, paying for his upkeep by serving as a *famulus* before receiving an Electoral stipend and later earning some money as a private tutor, graduating from the philosophical faculty as *magister artium* in 1608.[32] The fact that both his short-lived studies in Zerbst as well as those in Leipzig were paid for by others suggests that his father had modest means at his disposal. As was to become painfully clear to Zechendorff himself in later years, there was a discrepancy between the standing learned pedagogues enjoyed in their community (in Zechendorff's case in a much broader learned milieu) and their economic precariousness. In 1610 he was appointed deputy headmaster of the Latin school in Schneeberg, becoming headmaster in 1614.[33] This was followed by an invitation to head Zwickau's Latin school in the spring of 1617.[34] Zechendorff remained headmaster in Zwickau for the rest of his long life.

In 1612, while serving as deputy headmaster in Schneeberg, Zechendorff married his first wife, Catharine, daughter of a Lößnitz dignitary. After her death in 1637 he married Marien-Salome née Götsen. Neither marriage, Peißker informs us, produced any successors (*Leibes-Erben*).[35] This does not mean the two marriages were without issue, but rather that none of these offspring were still alive at the time of his funeral. An undated Latin address to Zechendorff consisting of elegiac couplets (a common school drill), composed by Johann Zechendorff Jr. is extant.[36] A slim collection of threnodic poems, published shortly after Zechendorff's death, includes a Hebrew poem by a certain Georg Zechendorff, though the content suggests he was not his son but a revering young relative.[37]

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31   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. D3ʳ. 'Damit er aber von dem Veneno Calvinistischer Lehre nicht angestecket werden möchte / ist er von seinem Herrn Vater bald wieder abg-efordet worden.'

32   Ibid., fols D2ᵛ–D3ᵛ.

33   Ibid.

34   Ibid.; RSBZ, MS 18.5.13, letter from the town council of Schneeberg signed on Easter Tuesday 1617, releasing Zechendorff from his obligations there.

35   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. E1ʳ.

36   RSBZ, MS 18.5.13.

37   *Lacrumae super beata analysi M. Johannis Zechendorffi …*, Zwickau, 1662, fols B3ʳ–B4ʳ.

In an age without pension schemes Zechendorff remained headmaster until his death, though in his final years he no longer attended the school.[38] This, to judge from Peißker's apologetic tone, gave rise to considerable dissatisfaction. Those who believe that his final years were marked by senile incapacity, the headmaster's eulogist protests, are sorely mistaken. Though no longer able to teach at the Latin school, he was by no means idle. On the contrary, Peißker assures his audience, Zechendorff was constantly praying, an arduous undertaking, far removed from idleness or senile inertness.[39] After some negotiations, Zechendorff was succeeded as headmaster by his former pupil Christian Daum (1612–1687), a prominent pedagogue in his own right, who had been serving as teacher (*tertius*) at the Latin school since 1642.[40]

Zechendorff's exceptionally long tenure as headmaster in Zwickau (1617–1662) seems, all in all, to have been beneficial to the Latin school and his scholarly reputation must have stood it in good stead, as well as the fact that several of his pupils, among them Christian Daum, were to become respected scholars in their own right. His reputation was sufficient for a number of offers to be made to him during his long tenure in Zwickau and the fact that he turned them down in favour of the Latin school is not insignificant.[41] At the same time, just as his remaining in office long after he was no longer capable of carrying out his pedagogical duties seems to have given rise to discontent, it is important to note that Zechendorff's own satisfaction with the Latin school and the municipal authorities had its ups and downs. Suffice it here to say that in a letter to the Jena Orientalist Johann Ernst Gerhard of June 1647 the almost seventy-year-old headmaster complained bitterly of conditions in Zwickau and regretted having to turn down an invitation by the celebrated Orientalist and diplomat Adam Olearius to move to Denmark[42] due to misgivings about the Danish climate and travel by sea.[43]

Zechendorff owes his relatively few appearances in modern scholarship not so much to his life-long pedagogical exertions but to his achievements

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38   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. D4ᵛ.

39   Ibid., fol. B1ʳ.

40   On Daum see A.S. Ross, *Daum's Boys: Schools and the Republic of Letters in early modern Germany*, Manchester, 2015 and L. Mahnke, 'Christian Daum – ein Zwickauer "in ganz Europa berühmt"', in *Literarisches Leben in Zwickau im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds M. Hubrath and R. Krohn, Göppingen, 2001, pp. 195–213.

41   Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. D4ʳ.

42   Unlike Zechendorff Olearius undertook voyages to the East – most famously to Persia.

43   FBG, Chart. A. 138, fol. 213ʳ.

as an Orientalist, especially in connection with the Qur'an.[44] As has recently been pointed out, the Zwickau Latin school, like many others in its day, was primarily concerned with preparing pupils for university. Consequently, the stress was laid primarily on a thorough drilling in Latin and, from the fourth grade, in Greek as well. Though Zechendorff introduced new subjects – above all the study of Oriental languages – this in no way challenged the central role allotted to Latin in this pedagogical setting. But, with this notable exception, as Alan Ross notes, it was more the 'how' than the fairly constant 'what' that worried pedagogical reformers of the early seventeenth century.[45] When Zechendorff moved to Zwickau in 1617 he does not seem to have known Arabic. Two undated works of his, extant in manuscript, possibly written in his early years in Zwickau, deal with the teaching of Latin. Typical of his day is the concern in these works with method and typical of Zechendorff are the peculiar titles: *Methodi cabbalisticae causa*,[46] and *Sepimentum sive causae methodi cabalisticae*.[47] Despite appearances these dry manuals have nothing to do with Cabbalah in the normal sense but with a stringent method which, in the spirit of Ramism,[48] clearly defines the bare essentials of the subject at hand (Latin grammar) and its systematic instruction, in the firm belief that this will enable its swift and easy acquisition (*schnell und leichtlich*, as Zechendorff puts it in his German writings) with as little rote learning as possible. To these is added his 1636 *Praecognita latinae linguae*, also extant in manuscript.[49] As we shall see, when Zechendorff eventually immersed himself in Arabic and began teaching it, a simplification of instruction would remain a central concern. The same concern with method and an easier approach to languages becomes evident in Zechendorff's undated and unpublished Persian Grammar, composed in his later years, now surviving in Zwickau in what was probably meant as a first draft.[50] That Zechendorff should have embarked on his career in

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44 An instructive exception, touching on Zechendorff's pedagogical outlook in the context of civic concerns and the pedagogical trends of his day, is offered by A.S. Ross, '"Da hingegen bei uns fast ein jedes Land und Ort sich ein besonderes Machet". Zentrum und Peripherie im bildungsgeschichtlichen Kontext am Beispiel der kursächsischen Stadt Zwickau im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 131, 2011, pp. 263–83.

45 Ross, 'Zentrum und Peripherie', p. 271.

46 RSBZ, MS ZZZ ii.

47 Ibid., bound separately from the *Methodus Cabbalistica*.

48 There is a direct reference to Ramus in *Methodi cabbalisticae causa*, fol. 9ᵛ.

49 RSBZ, MS 9.10.17.

50 *In Linguam Medicam Particam, sive Persicam Manu-Ductio*, RSBZ, MS 18.5.18. fol. 2ᵛ. 'Weil Ich, G. Leser! Mich / ohne Ruhm zu melden / so lang Ich in pulvere scholastico nach Gottes Willen uber 40 Jahr versiret / stets befliesen, u. bedacht gewesen bin, Wie die

Zwickau with a detailed consideration of method in teaching Latin is hardly surprising. Though Oriental languages were taught in several German Latin schools – mostly Hebrew, with occasional instruction in Aramaic and Syriac – Zechendorff's enthusiastic study and teaching of Arabic, which led him to offer his pupils a 'Qur'anic paraphrase' of the Penitential Psalms, are exceptional.

The obvious questions are when Zechendorff came to learn Arabic, how, and most interestingly, why. On these points Zechendorff is frustratingly reticent. What we do have in the absence of a 'smoking gun' are several pieces of circumstantial evidence, which offer at least partial answers to these questions. On 2 December 1623, some six years after Zechendorff took up his post, the superintendent of Zwickau, Veit Wolfrum (1564–1626) held a festive speech in the Latin school, published two years later under the title *Nox Cygnea*,[51] an elaborate and in itself unoriginal exhortation to the study of Arabic.[52] In it Wolfrum, by then in his late fifties, told his audience of his recent discovery of this language and his enthusiasm for it – stemming mostly from its theological utility, stressing, true to form, its necessity for the conversion of Muslims. The latter argument can usually be treated as a pious trope, though in Wolfrum's case it has recently been suggested his interest in Arabic may have gone back to his officiating at the baptism of a Turk in 1612.[53] The learned superintendent was aware that an interest in Arabic would not go unopposed, and accordingly equated such objections with the demand to burn Jewish books, opposed by Johannes Reuchlin over a century earlier. He assures his audience of his detestation for the impiety of the Jews and the Turks, yet openly condemns the obscurantist zeal of those who would have the writings of Jews and 'Turks' banned.[54] Wolfrum prides himself on winning over the Latin school's headmaster Zechendorff. Although a command of Arabic had some practical

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studierende Jugent, umb vieler Ursach willen, könte baldt, leichtlicher, u. kurtzlichen zum studijs, u. höhern Dingen, gebracht, nicht so lang in trivialibus verhalten werden, Darbey aber gesehen, das es durch kein besser Mittel, als durch die guten, u. allerhandt nützlichen Sprachen geschehen könne; Weil die freyen künste, u. andere disciplinen, neben der hl. Theologia inn andern Sprachen, u. nicht nur inn vnser Deutzschen oder Lateinischen, od(er) Greichischen beschrieben, u. daraus gelernet werden mussen.' (my underline).

51   Cygnea is the Latin for Zwickau whose coat of arms bears six swans.

52   *Nox Cygnea exhibens dissertationem in laudem linguae Arabicae a Vito Wolfrum, D. & Superintendente. Recitabatur 2. Decemb. Anni Christi 1623. in Schola Zwickauensi, praesentibus non tantum omnibus Scholae praeceptoribus et discipulis adultioribus, verum etiam multis ex ordine senatorio & fraternitate in oppido & agro Cygneo*, Leipzig, 1625.

53   Ross, *Daum's Boys*, p. 94.

54   Wolfrum, *Nox Cygnea*, fols. B1r–v.

advantages (even if these would not have been considerable in Zwickau), Wolfrum stressed the role of Arabic studies in the framework of humanist scholarship, within which he places them.[55] While others learn French, Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, and Polish for worldly gain, let us (*Musarum alumni*), who dedicate our studies to the glory of God, study Chaldean, Syriac, and Arabic which are indispensable for theological debates.[56] More interesting than Wolfrum's arguments for the study of Arabic is the glimpse he affords of the demand for, and availability of, these studies in Zwickau's Latin school in December 1623. Vinzent Schmuck (1565–1628), dean of the theological faculty in Leipzig, wrote a short letter of approval with which Wolfrum prefaced his brief work.[57] A lengthy letter by himself to the Leipzig theologian (21 October 1624) was added as an appendix.[58] In his letter to Schmuck the Zwickau super-intendent had the following to say about the immediate backdrop to his endorsement of Arabic studies at the Latin school:

> When, following the peculiar request of a certain pastor in the diocese of Freiberg, who was paying me a visit and had purchased several copies of Elias Hutter's *Cubus alphabeticus*, I wrote an Arabic saying in his *album amicorum*, and, as chance had it, I had quoted something from the Arabic Psalter in a certain student's (*scholasticus*) album, it came to pass, with the blessing of Him, by whose counsel we are guided, that our headmas-ter, a man most dedicated to Oriental languages, should also begin [to take an interest in Arabic] and that at the same time the desire to learn this language should have been kindled among the pupils of our school. After I had sent you this dissertation and letter sent to me by twenty pupils, not only did you approve my suggestion, but you read the disserta-tion in such a way as to willingly take upon yourself the role of midwife for my new offspring, instructing me on some points and urging me to publish it. You see, illustrious Dr Schmuck, that it is, after God, thanks to you that we are now studying Arabic.[59]

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55   Thus he (convincingly) enlists Joseph Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon as pioneers of Arabic studies as well as less likely humanist scholars such as Martin Crusius. For Casaubon's Arabic studies see A. Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: 'Video longum esse iter'', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72, 2009, pp. 143–68.

56   Wolfrum, *Nox Cygnea*, fols B4ᵛ–C1ʳ. See also Ross, 'Zentrum und Peripherie'.

57   Ibid., fol. B3ʳ, 20 April 1624.

58   Ibid., fols H2ᵛ–I4ʳ, 21 October 1624. Both letters, it should be noticed, came after the festive oration in Zwickau.

59   Ibid., fol. I2ᵛ. 'Cumque ad peculiarem petitionem Pastoris cujusdam in Fribergensi dieoecesi, qui me salutabat, & Cubi Eliani exempla aliquot emebat dictum Arabicum

When the festive oration appeared in print in Leipzig in 1625 it was accompanied by several congratulatory poems – among them a laudatory note in Arabic by Zechendorff, the Arabic produced in elegant copper engraving. In late humanist hyperbole Zechendorff promises to sing Wolfrum's praise as long as he lives: 'O my noble teacher, for your instruction (sayings) taught my heart the language of the Arabs.'[60] However genuine this gratitude to the superintendent who shared his enthusiasm may have been, Zechendorff's interest in Arabic seems to have started somewhat earlier. In a *laudatio funebris*, published shortly after Wolfrum's death in 1626, his eulogist, Valentin Hentschel, claimed he had discovered Arabic in his fifty-ninth year (1623), 'with one foot in the grave' and past his mental prime. The point, of course, is to praise Wolfrum's diligence and eagerness to master a new language even in the autumn of his life.[61] By 1623, however, Zechendorff will have known a fair amount of Arabic – enough, in any case to allow him to teach the language (which at the time did not necessarily imply an impressive mastery of it). In his undated Latin gratulatory poem, Zechendorff claims to be working on a concordance of the Arabic Psalter he was studying with his students.[62] In a preface to his *Specimen Alcorani*, published in 1638 (a decade after Wolfrum's death), there is no trace

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albo amicorum ipsius insererem; & forte uni scholastico ex Psalterio-Savariano aliquid Arabici in suum album inscriberem; eo tandem deventum est benedictione ejus, qui secundum consilium suum nos ducit, ut Rector noster, Orientalium linguarum perquam studiosus, etiam inciperet, & simul in alumnis scholae nostrae desiderium illus Arabicae linguae accenderetur. Cumque Dissertationem & epistolam a 20. scholasticis hoc nomine ad me scriptam, ad te mitterem legendam, non tantum approbasti propositum meum, verum etiam Dissertationem ita legisti, ut obstetricantis munus non gravate in te susciperes in isto meo novo foetu, fideliter in quibusdam moneres, & ad evulgandam illam me instigares. Vides igitur Clariß. Smucci post DEUM tibi uni & solidi deberi, quod jam hic Arabicamur.'

60   Ibid., fol. H2ʳ.

مدحتي / اذا اخبّر باسمك / في الناس وامجّدك / حتّى أكون حيّا/ ياكريم معلّمنا / لانّ القَولَك قد قلبي / علّم لسان العرب

With the Latin version: 'Laudatio mea/ Age, annuciabo nomen tuum/ Inter homines et gloriabo Te./ Donec ero vivus ego./ O Domine venerande Doctor noster!/ Quia sermo tuus nunc cor meum/ Docuit linguam Arabum.'

61   V. Hetschel, *Splendor Doctorum Magnificus Das ist Heller Ehrenschein Getrewer Lehrer. In einer Christlichen Leich und Trostpredigt*, Leipzig, 1627, fol. H3ᵛ.

62   Ibid., fol. H1ᵛ. '[…] curta supellex/ Quandoquidem nobis librorum erat, atque Magistrum,/ Ut non destiterim, donec Psalteria Sacra/ Savariana, mihi dium, atque opus admirandum,/ Ære graviparta, atque in concordantia vocum,/ Cum nostri studij, studijque Philarabis olim/ Cuncta, labore meo, & cura collecta fideli,/ Multiplici fructu comportarem, atque locarem.'

of indebtedness to the late superintendent. Zechendorff maintains that he was self-taught and had been engaged in the study of the Qur'an – an arduous study due to lack of teachers and lexica – for the last twenty years, i.e. since 1618/19.[63] According to the same note it was in 1626 that he purchased his own codex of the Qur'an at great cost. There are otherwise very few indications of exactly when and why Zechendorff undertook his Arabic studies. Peißker, Zechendorff's eulogist (1662), tells us he had studied Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac in his twenties at the Latin school in Schneeberg.[64] Why and exactly when he began to learn Arabic must remain uncertain. A clue, however, is offered in a tantalizingly brief note in the introduction to his second Qur'anic sample *Unius atque alterius Suratae textus*, where Zechendorff notes that in 1626, having taught himself 'some Arabic' (*aliquot modo*) from books (*muti magistri*), he procured a copy of the Qur'an at great cost,[65] but this expensive acquisition[66] in 1626, as Wolfrum's short piece clearly demonstrates, must have been preceded by several years of some knowledge of the language. An obvious book for Zechendorff to have consulted would have been Thomas Erpenius' *Grammatica arabica* (1613) – a copy of this grammar with Zechendorff's annotations in fact survives in Zwickau.[67] Decades later, in a letter to Hottinger, Zechendorff claimed that he also used a manuscript volume of prayers in Arabic to teach himself the language.[68] His acquaintance with the Qur'an when he was nearing his fiftieth year, it was sometimes said by Zechendorff himself as well as by his eulogist, led him to translate the entire Qur'an into Latin and add his own refutation.[69] Roberto Tottoli has recently made the sensational discovery of Zechendorff's Qur'an in Kairo, consisting of the Arabic text, carefully copied out by Zechendorff with an interlinear Latin translation of the entire book.[70] Whatever the shortcomings of this translation, it presents

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63 J. Zechendorff, *Specimen Suratarum, id est, Capitum aliquot ex Alcorani Systemate*, Zwickau, 1638, fols A2ʳ–A3ʳ.

64 Peißker, *Dreyfache Ehren-Seule*, fol. D3ʳ.

65 J. Zechendorff, *Unius atque alterius Suratae textus*, Zwickau, s.a., fol. A1ʳ.

66 Which regrettably I have not been able to trace.

67 RSBZ, MS shelf mark 23.10.1. The book has been annotated by two different hands. One is unmistakably Zechendorff's.

68 ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 575ʳ, 6 October 1651.

69 E.g. J. Zechendorff, *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, Zwickau, 1627, fol. A3ʳ. ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 575ʳ, letter from Zechendorff to Hottinger, 6 October 1651. Zechendorff claims he had added an interlinear Latin translation (throughout) his copy of the Qur'an. See also Peißker, *Drey-fache Ehren-Seule*, fol. A4ᵛ.

70 R. Tottoli, 'The Latin Translation of the Qur'ān by Johann Zechendorff (1580–1662) Discovered in Cairo Dār al-Kutub. A Preliminary Description', *Oriente Moderno* 95, 2015, pp. 5–31.

in itself a remarkable feat of scholarly enthusiasm and dedication. While this translation remained unpublished (and apparently unknown) until Tottoli's discovery, Zechendorff's intensive study of the Qur'an resulted in the publication in print of two short works – annotated editions and Latin translation of four short suras – which were to become his visiting card in the Republic of Letters. Before turning to these, an earlier work merits consideration.

In 1627, a year after acquiring his Qur'an manuscript, there appeared in print Zechendorff's first published work dealing with the Qur'an, and seemingly connected with Wolfrum's plea for Arabic studies in the service of Christian polemics – a work originally recited at a graduation ceremony at the Latin school on 13 August 1627 with the title *Fabulae Muhammedicae* (Mohammedan Fables). Seventeenth-century book titles are notoriously long, but in this case it is worth quoting in full: *Mohammedan fables or the Qur'an's trifles which are to be found and recalled in its entire system* (*which consists of 114 chapters*) *and are read, accepted, and believed to be the divine truth by the Turks, Moors, Persians, and Arabs as well as by other Oriental peoples, yet are decried, driven out, and rejected by pious Christians. Faithfully rendered from an Arabic manuscript, displayed to the public in verse, and recited by the headmaster of Zwickau's Latin school, Master Johann Zechendorff of Lößnitz, on the event of a graduation ceremony in the presence of the teachers, gentlemen of the cloth, the consuls, and the entire municipal senate as well as other distinguished gentlemen and most learned men on 13 August 1627.*[71] The poetic rendering and commentary on Qur'anic 'fables' was not only, to the best of my knowledge, Zechendorff's first public utterance on the Qur'an, but it was delivered at a public event in the presence of his colleagues, pupils, and the local political and ecclesiastical dignitaries.[72]

The ambivalence informing Zechendorff's attitude to the Qur'an is patent at the outset in his short introduction: it is likened to a work of Oriental tapestry,

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71   *Fabulae Muhammedicae sive nugae Alcorani, quae in ejusdem systemate integro* (*quod 114. capitibus constat*) *reperiundae commemorantur, & tam a turcis, mauris, persis, arabibus, quam alijs orientalibus populis vt dia veritas leguntur, accipiuntur, creduntur, a christianis vero pijs pipulo differuntur, exploduntur, reijciuntur ex manuscript arabico fideliter versae & carminice prostitutae, ac recitatae in promotionis scholasticae actu: dominis scholarchis, ecclesiae ministries, consulibus, totoque senatu, & alijs dd. Ac viris doctißimis praesentibus a M. Johan: Zechendorff Lesnicensi, scholae Cygneae rectore, 13. Augustim Anno 1627*, Zwickau, 1627.

72   A charming reminder of the immediate context, i.e. a graduation ceremony attended by local notables but also by dozens of talkative teenagers, is offered by Zechendorff's final remark before embarking on the first 'fable'. Ibid., fol. B2ᵛ. 'Has ego dum refero strepera dictante Minerva/ Omnes nunc faveant, sint tranquillissima tecta:/ Garrula lingua suam non intermisceat odam.'

striking in its colourful splendour and the variegated material from which it is woven.[73] In less poetical terms, the book is to Zechendorff's mind an interwoven medley of truth and falsehoods, dazzling and yet lacking any intellectual acumen or forceful argument with which to jeopardize a Christian conscience.[74] A similar line of argument was used in 1543 to defend the revised publication of Robert of Ketton's twelfth-century Latin translation of the Qur'an.[75] The insult in claiming the Qur'an to be a collection of risible fables may have been intended, but it was at the same time a forceful riposte to those who argued that its publication would undermine the spiritual welfare of Christendom. In portraying the Qur'an as a collection of fables Zechendorff was following what had become a well-established line of argument,[76] although his admiration for the style of the Qur'an and his far-reaching concession of 'truths' in it far surpassed most of his sixteenth-century predecessors.

True to form, the work, written in Latin hexameters, is prefaced by an impassioned address to Muslims in Arabic and Latin:

> O Turks and Arabs! If only you would separate that which is false from the book which you study [i.e. the Qur'an], if only you would separate the

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73 Ibid., fol. A2ᵛ. 'Quod sunt perstromata Babylonica, sive ut vocant tapetes Turcici, varietate quipped colorum a Phrygionibus variegate & aucupicti: Jllud etiam est ALCORANUS ARABICUS, sive Liber ille, ex quo Turcae verbum Dei, & suam Religionem se haurire sibi persuasum habent; per quem pie & honeste hic vivere gestiunt, & quo in tandem creduli se beari confidunt.'

74 Ibid., 'Sic modo vera & sana invenimus posita: modo falsa & mendacijs referta, nulloque sensus acumine aut argumentorum pondere, quod hominem Christianum vel leviter movere possit instructa: modo fabulosa atque absona veris sunt immista; modo de his, modo de illis confuse agens nomina tractat. [...] Jllis omnibus hactenus in authentico, & autographo quodam Manuscripto Arabico cognitis a me eius gratia primum, ut linguam Arabicam aliquot modo (quum meo cortice natandum, viva Praeceptoris voce, destitute) familiarem mihi redderem.'

75 On Robert of Ketton's Qur'an translation see J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1955, pp. 3–9 and T. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560*, Philadelphia, 2007, esp. pp. 110–21. On Bibliander's printing of Ketton's translation and the ensuing controversy see H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Beirut, 1995, pp. 159–275.

76 E.g. Philipp Melanchthon's preface to Bibliander's Qur'an publication of 1453, *Praemonitio ad lectorem*, in *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia: Corpus Reformatorum*, eds K.G. Bretschneider (vols. 1–14) and H.E. Bindseil (vols. 15–28), Halle 1843–1860, vol. 5, pp. 11–13.

fables, which I have pointed out to you and have written it down for you in Latin, you shall live in righteousness and be united with us in faith.[77]

There is no reason to doubt Zechendorff's piety. At the same time there is no evidence, of which I am aware, to suggest he had ever engaged in any missionary effort or had any real interest in doing so. Apart from the obvious fact that converting Muslims would have been an unlikely task in Zwickau in the 1620s and 30s, if this piece of metric rhetoric were composed with an eye to proselytising Muslims, even beyond war- and plague-ridden Saxony, Zechendorff would not have composed it in Latin hexameters. This is not to suggest that converting Muslims (mostly Ottoman captives) was of no interest in the seventeenth-century Holy Roman Empire, but that, to my mind, it did not play a role in Zechendorff's writing, clearly meant for a Christian audience.[78]

The striking point in Zechendorff's argument, even if intended as an intellectual exercise rather than inter-religious communication, is that in order to be Christians Muslims had to excise the falsehoods in the Qur'an – i.e. that an 'emended' version would contain enough valid religious instruction to unite Muslims in faith with the orthodox (i.e. Lutheran) Christians of Zwickau.

The work itself combines Zechendorff's opinions on portions of the Qur'an with the school master's penchant for didactic Neo-Latin poetry.[79] Despite the harsh tone of the opening lines, they are not without a certain playfulness:

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77   Ibid., fol. A4ᵛ. 'Ad Turcas et Arabas de Alcorano. O Vos Turcae! & o Arabes./ Quem legitis librum/ Si ex eo sejungeretis falsum,/ Si ex eo separaretis fabulosum,/ Quod fabulosum posui id vobis/ Et latine conscripsi id vobis: Tunc crederetis in rectitudine/ Et eßetis nobiscum in fide.' The Arabic version follows on fol. B1ʳ.

الى اتراك وعرب من القران / يا انتم اتراك و يا عرب/ الذي تدرسونه الكتّاب/ إن منه تفدعون باطلاً/ إن منه تقدون محالاً / الذي محالٌ جعلتهكم / و بالرومية كتبتهكم / ثم تؤمينون باستقام / وتكون معنا في امانةٍ

78   For genuine efforts to convert Ottoman captives in the Holy Roman Empire see M. Friedrich, '"Türken" im Alten Reich. Anmerkungen zur Präsenz und zu den Lebensumständen von "Heiden" und "Ungläubigen" im Mitteleuropa', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 294, 2012, pp. 329–60 and A. Schunka, 'Türken taufen in Thüringen. Muslime und lutherische Geistlichkeit im Erfurt des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt*, 73, 2012, pp. 160–84.

79   To modern readers, for whom Neo-Latin poetry seems a pointless exercise in a dead language, this may appear a peculiar choice of medium. It should be noted that drills in Latin verse composition formed a staple of early modern schoolboys' routine. If Zechendorff's passion for Oriental languages was remarkable, his use of Latin verse was typical of its day.

> *Frivola fert animus deliramenta Prophetae*
> *Dicere MVHAMMEDIS* [...][80]
>
> ('My mind is inclined to relate Muhammad's frivolous absurdities').

This may be a play on the opening lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with which his pupils and readers would have been well acquainted.[81] While the *Fabulae* opens with a run-of-the-mill anti-Muslim invective (*O nimium stultus populus*) castigating Muslims for departing (!) from Christian doctrine,[82] thus conforming with traditional perceptions of Islam as an outgrowth of Christian heresy rather than a completely different religion,[83] and wondering at the credulity of Muslims who believe such 'trifles' (*nugamenta*).[84] The Qur'an itself is defined as a many-threaded work skilfully composed in lush poetry and its religious claims the product of a malign would-be prophet.[85] All this is a standard approach to the subject. The work's actual content points in a more original direction. There follow ten Qur'anic *fabulae*, i.e. Qur'anic versions of biblical narratives, which Zechendorff first paraphrases with references to the Qur'anic verses printed in the margins, followed by his comments. The important point here is that, despite minor discrepancies, none of these Qur'anic accounts would have struck Zechendorff's audience in the auditorium of the Latin school as particularly false or pernicious. If anything, in their verse paraphrase they do more to stress common ground than to excoriate Muhammad's 'trifles'. In his refutation Zechendorff points out some obvious differences between

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80   *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, fol. B1ʳ.

81   Ov. *Met*. i, 1–2. 'In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / corpora.'

82   *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, fol. B1ʳ. 'O nimium stultus populus! Qui semper adhaeret / Falsidico, gentes cui reduxisse voluptas: / Quique negat Christum crucifixum, quique recedit / A vera Christi doctrina, quando fatetur / Atque colit, blanda multum mendacia lingua.' (my underline)

83   On the Medieval development of this view see J.V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in medieval European Imagination*, New York, 2002, pp. 105–69. A brief consideration of this is outlined in my 'The Academic Study of Arabic in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Protestant Germany: a Preliminary Sketch', *History of Universities*, XXVIII, 2, 2015, pp. 93–135 (96–7).

84   *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, fol. B1ʳ⁻ᵛ. One of the rare occurrences of *nugamenta* in classical Latin, incidentally, is to be found in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, i.25: 'Et a quo' inquit 'istorum nugamenta haec comparasti?' – arguably enhancing the suggestion of playfulness in Zechendorff's hexameter 'address to Muslims'.

85   Ibid., fol. B1ᵛ. 'ALCORANUS: opus polymitum rite manuque / Et calamo scite descriptum carmine largo, / Religionis opus sacrum quod continet in se / Suppositi Vatis scelerata fraude maligni.'

biblical and Qur'anic narratives.[86] Without wishing to trivialise these differences, they are outshone by the similarities set out eloquently in Zechendorff's verse. Thus the third *fabula*[87] pivots on the Qur'anic verse 2.257: 'God is the Patron of the faithful. He leads them from darkness to the light. As for the unbelievers, their patrons are false gods, who lead them from light to darkness. They are the heirs of the Fire and shall abide in it for ever'. Few of those gathered in the auditorium of the Latin school in August 1627 would have found this offensive. This is followed by the Qur'anic account of the story of Cain and Abel. '[Cain's] soul prompted him to slay his brother; he slew him, and thus became one of the lost. Then God sent down a raven, which clawed the earth to show him how to bury the naked corpse of his brother." "Alas!" he cried. "Have I not strength enough to do as this raven has done and to bury my brother's naked corpse?" And he repented.' (5.31). Zechendorff's protest at Muhammad's adding the raven, unattested in the Old Testament,[88] cannot alter the obvious fact that the Qur'anic rendering of this episode has much in common with the way seventeenth-century Lutherans would have understood this biblical story. The same applies to the other *fabulae* paraphrased and commented on in this work. This fascination with parallels and affinities between the Qur'an and the Bible informed a considerable part of Zechendorff's interest in the Qur'an. We have already encountered his unpublished 'Qur'anic paraphrase' of the Penitential Psalms, probably written more or less at the same time. Offering Qur'anic paraphrases of various psalms seems to have been something of a pious habit with Zechendorff, rather than a onetime whim. Thus we find him in October 1654 consoling the Marburg clergyman Georg Teucher, whose wife Maria (Zechendorff's relative) had recently died in childbirth.[89] Concluding his elegiac couplets of consolation, Zechendorff ends with a 'Qur'anic para-

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86   E.g. The different accounts of Satan's fall – unlike the Qur'anic account in sura xviii, Christian doctrine does not hold that Satan's digression was his refusal to bow before man. *Fabulae*, fol. B3^v.

87   Ibid., fols B4^r–C1^r.

88   *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, fol. C2^r: 'O Auditores! quid vult sibi fabula mendax/ Corvi? quam falsam veris immiscuit illis.'

89   Zechendorff's condolences in Latin verse were printed together with the (German) funeral sermon and several other Latin funerary addresses and poems in *Frommer Kinderzeugender Weiber Güldenes Klainod der Seligkeit … Bey Christlicher Leichenbestattung der Weyland Erbaren und Tugendreichen Frauen Marien / Des Ehrwürdigen / Achtbaren und Wohlgelarten Herrn M. Georgii Teuchers / Wohlverordneten Pastoris und treufleissigen Seelsorgers zu Marbach … Welche den 1. Octobr. 1654. nach vielen außgestandenen Geburtschmertzen selig verschieden / und den 12. ejusdem Christlich daselbst zur Erden bestattet worden …*, Freiburg, 1654, fols H1^v–H2^r.

phrase' of Ps. 40. 17 'But I am poor and needy; yet the Lord thinketh upon me: thou art my help and my deliverer; make no tarrying, O my God.' Quoting in Arabic (in Hebrew transliteration) and in Latin translation what are purported to be corresponding snippets from suras 59, 33, and 25, which, strung together, read 'My misery lies heavily upon me, but my Lord prepares a feast in my honour. In him I have a guide. He suffices me as helper'.[90] 'Anti-Mohammedan' polemics notwithstanding, his interest in the Qur'an was deeply rooted in his Lutheran piety.

Zechendorff's Qur'an paraphrases have an affinity with his *Fabulae Muhammedicae* and the *Specimen suratarum* (1638) to which we now turn. All three are concerned with parallels and the existence of (Christian) truths in the Qur'an – a line of thought which had several variations in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The difference between Zechendorff and several other scholars identifying Christian utterances in the Qur'an is that he evinces no interest in any historical explanation. While certain scholars identified Christian truths in the Qur'an as being the result of Muhammad's adoption of authentic (Christian) oral traditions, some of which had been left out of the New Testament,[91] and others saw religious (but no longer Christian) truths in the Qur'an as testimonies of Muhammad's espousal of aspects of a philosophical religion disguised as revelation,[92] Zechendorff's extensive demonstration of parallels is decidedly a-historical. A further example of such a reading (and excerpting) from the Qur'an is offered by his undated *Eclogae Mohammedicae*, a slim eight-page work printed in Zwickau, in which several Qur'anic quotations expressing general monotheistic sentiments, are para lleled with biblical, patristic, and pagan quotations.[93] It is this agenda that, to my understanding, also informs the *Specimen suratarum* of 1638.[94]

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90   'Miseria mea gravis mihi! Sed parat escam honorem Dominus meus, mihi in eo director, sufficit ipse mihi auxiliator. באסי שדידן לי אלא אעתר אלרזק אלכרים רבי לי בה האדיאן כפי הן לי נציראן.' Zechendorff ends his condolences with a similar exercise on Ps. 4:17 'I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep: for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety.' excerpting verses from suras 7, 18, and 12.

91   E.g. J.C. Schwartz, *Specimen Philosophiae Orientalis Antiquissimae Ex Corano*, Cobourg, 1719.

92   E.g. J.D. Michaelis, *Nova versio partis surae ii. Corani, cum illustrionibus subiectis*, Göttingen, 1754, fol. 2ʳ.

93   *Eclogae Mohammedicae sive scita alcoranico-mohammedica arabica*, Zwickau, s.a., C.F. von Schnurrer in his *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle, 1811, p. 406, dates the work to 1646 without offering any reason for this dating.

94   As with other of his works, the title-page has no date. Since the translations are prefaced by a letter of late 1637 congratulating Zechendorff on the immanent publication of the *Specimen* 1638 is usually taken as its most likely year of publication.

Although the devotional aspects of his Oriental studies were consider-
able, Zechendorff clearly saw himself as a member of the Republic of Letters.
Even works of a highly devotional nature were studded with references to
Scaliger's correspondence and to the works of Arabists like Thomas Erpenius.
His 'Qur'anic paraphrases' and the published *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, though
indispensable for an understanding of his motivation as an Arabist, do not
account for his respectable standing within the learned community of his day.
He owed the fact that he was still quoted by scholars around 1700 to his Arabic
edition and interlinear translation of several Qur'anic chapters which he pub-
lished.[95] In 1638, in the midst of the Thirty Years War, Zechendorff published
his *Specimen suratarum*, the Arabic text and interlinear translation of suras 61
and 78, using coarse Arabic types carved for him by one of his pupils.[96] The
slim work is prefaced by a dedication to the professor of rhetoric at Danzig's
academic gymnasium Johann Mochinger (1603–1652)[97] and ends with several
letters by notable scholars. These include a letter by the Leiden Orientalist
Louis de Dieu (1590–1642) to the poet and professor of moral philosophy at
Wittenberg, Michael Schneider, in which he sang the praises of Zechendorff
and his translation of several Qur'anic chapters which had been circulating. As
is made clear from his letter, Zechendorff's reputation in Leiden owed much

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95   See e.g. J.M. Lange, *Dissertatio Historico-Philologico-Theologica de Speciminibus, Conati-
     bus variis atque novissimis Successibus Doctorum quorundam virorum in edendo Alcorano
     Arabicao*, Altdorf, 1704, p. 11.

96   Zechendorff, *Specimen Suratarum, id est, Capitum aliquot ex Alcorani Systemate*, Zwickau,
     1638. Zechendorff, who repeatedly apologized for the coarseness of these home-made
     Arabic types, makes several references to them in his correspondence, saying that they
     were cut for him by an (unnamed) young pupil. See e.g. ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 563ʳ, his letter to
     Hottinger (18 August, 1650), and MS 52, fol. 575ʳ, a letter to Hottinger, 6 October, 1651:
     'Proinde specimina ista / rudi, & indigesto charactere / per scholarem quendam puerum
     ita fieri permisi, uti si qui e[sse] doctis viderent; illam censendo vel approba[re]nt, vel
     reijcerent.'

97   See Bertling's entry in *ADB*, s.v. Mochinger's Orientalist interests and achievements are
     attested by an undated letter he wrote to Zechendorff and which the latter forwarded to
     Johann Ernst Gerhard (FBG, Chart. B 451, fol. 133ʳ) as well as by the Syrian scholar Nicolaus
     Petri in his letter of August 1647 to Jacob Golius following a visit to Mochinger in Danzig
     on his way back to Aleppo. See J. Schmidt, 'An Ostrich Egg for Golius, the John Rylands
     Library MS Persian 913 and the History of Early Modern Contacts between the Dutch
     Republic and the Islamic World' in id., *The Joys of Philology. Studies in Ottoman Literature,
     History, and Orientalism (1500–1923)*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 9–74 (47). Petri notes
     Mochinger's proficiency in Turkish as well as Arabic. I am grateful to Gerald Toomer for
     drawing my attention to this work.

to the Silesian physician and Orientalist Johann Elichmann, to whom we shall soon return.[98]

In the dedication to Mochinger Zechendorff claims that this slim volume was the fruit of some twenty years of studying the Qur'an, aiming, ultimately, at an Arabic-Latin edition of the entire book accompanied by a refutation.[99] As with the *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, refutation stands ostensibly at the heart of this enterprise, and here too Zechendorff's actual work diverges from its avowed aim. Each page of the Arabic text of the two short suras reproduced here is faced by a page where the truth value of each verse is determined (*falsa/recta*). In contrast to the polemical introduction, a surprising number of verses in these suras are deemed true and those refuted 'get off' in most cases with a relatively slight correction. This has much to do with Zechendorff's choice of suras. Apart from their convenient brevity, both sura 61 (*The Battle Array*) and sura 78 (*The Tidings*) are fairly innocuous from a Christian point of view. Though in his introduction Zechendorff does not spare Muhammad traditional Christian invectives,[100] he points out the positive, albeit non-Christian, light in which Jesus is portrayed in the Qur'an.[101]

Thus, for example, the opening verse of sura 61 'All that is in the heavens and the earth gives glory to God. He is the Mighty, the Wise One' meets with Zechendorff's approval and he lists several Old Testaments equivalents – found, not surprisingly, mostly in the Psalms.[102] The next verse 'Believers, why do you profess what you never do? It is most odious in God's sight that you should say one thing and do another' likewise elicits approval and biblical parallels, this time from the New Testament. If these two verses express a general monotheistic sentiment, verse 61.6 proves more interesting for a Christian commentator: 'And of Jesus son of Mary, who said to the Israelites 'I am sent forth to you from God to confirm the Torah already revealed, and to give news of an apostle that will come after me whose name is Aḥmed [i.e. Muhammad].' Yet when he brought them express signs they said 'This is plain sorcery.'' Not surprisingly, Zechendorff rejects the Qur'anic claims that Muhammad's advent as prophet was foretold by Jesus of Nazareth, or that Muhammad was at all alluded to in Scripture. He rejects the notion that the founder of Islam had performed any miracles, though he notes with approval as historically correct the claim that Muhammad's 'fellow Saracens' initially took Muhammad to be

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98   *Specimen Suratarum*, fols E2ᵛ–E3ʳ. The letter is dated 16 March 1637.

99   Ibid., fol. A2ʳ.

100   Ibid., fol. B3ʳ.

101   Ibid., fol. B2ʳ.

102   Ibid., fol. A4ʳ: 'DEUM ab omnibus in mundo invocari. Ψ 150.5. Ψ 96.11. Ψ. 148. 1. Esa. 49.13.'

an impostor – taking 'When he brought them conspicuous signs' as a reference to Muhammad rather than Jesus.[103] Nonetheless, the reproach following this verse 'And who is more wicked than the man who invents a falsehood about God when called upon to submit to Him? God does not guide the wrongdoers' meets with Zechendorff's approval. God is indeed not the author (*causa*) of evil in sinners – with corroborating references to the Psalms and Sirach.[104]

On occasion Zechendorff's critique can assume a more pedantic tone. Thus in commenting on sura 78.2 'Did we not spread the earth like a bed, and raise the mountains like supporting poles?' he comments 'It is not Muhammad who created with the Trinity the heavens etc. but only God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' It must have been clear to him that the first person plural in the Qur'an referred to God, but since he scornfully rejected Muslim claims for the Qur'an's divine authorship, Zechendorff rather pedantically refers the first person plural to Muhammad, who, he must have realised, was not laying claim to Creation. However, despite such instances, and despite some mistranslations, what is important in the present context is the way Zechendorff went about commentating on the Qur'an in this short work, emphasising what he saw as the truth value of each verse, and that a surprising number of verses – the overwhelming majority – were deemed by him to be correct.

At first glance Zechendorff's second specimen of Qur'anic texts, the *Suratae unius atque alterius textus*,[105] looks much like the *Specimen Suratarum*, using the same home-made Arabic types for the text of two short suras, 101 (The Disaster) and 103 (The Declining Day). It is, however, of a different nature altogether. As with most of Zechendorff's works, it is undated. Since the *Specimen* can be convincingly dated to around 1638, this is taken by some library catalogues to be the likely date for the *Suratae unius atque alterius textus*. Other dates are 1646 and even the unlikely late 1660 have been suggested.[106] The work was printed by Melchior Göpner, the Zwickau printer with whom

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103   Ibid., fol. B2ʳ. 'Falsa: 1. Christum Mohamadem Prophetam aut Apostolum esee, praedixisse. 2. Ejus Nomen in Sacra scriptura expressisse. 3. Ipsum cum miraculis venisse. ibid. Homines & sui Sarraceni Muhamedem esse praestigiatorem credidisse.'

104   Ibid., fol. B3ʳ. 'DEUM non causam mali in peccatoribus Ψ. 5.4. [For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: neither shall evil dwell with thee.] Syr. 15.21 [v. 20 in KJV: He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, neither hath he given any man licence to sin.].'

105   *Suratae unius atque alterius textum ejusque explicationem ex commentario quodam arabe dogmata Alcorani, / verba maxima, minimaque explicante literatae genti ad felicius refutandum atque solidius dijudicandum, de versione tam Alcorani, quam commentatoris Muhammedanae religionis*, Zwickau, s.a.

106   J.A.G. Weigel, *Apparatus literarius sive index librorum lectissimorum*, vol. IV, Leipzig, 1817, p. 23. J.F. Hirt, however, in his *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, 8, 1776, pp. 290–1.

Zechendorff often collaborated.[107] Determining the date of this work is possible and, more importantly, significant, due to the nature of Zechendorff's undertaking. Unlike the *Specimen Suratarum*, it is not a theological evaluation but the fruit of the important realisation that the Qur'an could not be sufficiently understood without recourse to Muslim commentaries (*Tafsir*). In the introduction to the short work Zechendorff states that he had already circulated among fellow-scholars an earlier attempt at translating a small portion of the Qur'an and commenting on the truth and falsity of its assertions – clearly a reference to the *Specimen Suratarum*. After the latter's favourable reception the present work offers the text of two suras and excerpts from a Muslim commentary in Arabic and Latin translation.[108] He had become aware of the fact, Zechendorff tells his readers, that the Qur'an could not be properly understood without recourse to its Muslim commentators of which there was a plethora among Muslims, but which were practically unknown to European scholars.[109] Numerous unread copies of Muslim commentaries, he surmises, must be gathering dust in the libraries of European potentates.[110] Animated by this newly acquired realisation he had attempted to obtain for himself a copy of a Muslim Qur'an commentary. 'And so six or seven weeks ago, by God's singular grace and by the favour and support of the best of friends, a certain *turjeman*, a commentator, reached me from distant shores, who treats the Qur'anic text as the Masoretes do the Torah among the Jews, a commentator with whom I was not yet acquainted, the *tafsir qadi pezavi* (The Qur'an-commentary of the Qadi Pezavi).'[111] This is either a scribal error or Zechendorff's misreading. The commentary his friends had procured for him was in fact *The Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Interpretation* by the thirteenth-century Persian scholar (and

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argued, unconvincingly to my mind, that the work must have been one of Zechendorff's earliest publications in Arabic.

107   Since Göpner arrived in Zwickau in 1630 and died in 1669 (See Herzog, *Chronik der Kreisstadt Zwickau*, pp. 416, 505) dating the *Suratae unius atque alterius textus* anywhere between 1630 and Zechendorff's death in 1662 is technically possible.

108   *Suratae unius atque alterius textus*, fols A1ʳ⁻ᵛ.

109   On this point see N. Malcolm, 'The Study of Islam in Early Modern Europe: Obstacles and Missed Opportunities' in *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China*, eds P. Miller and F. Louis, Ann Arbor, 2012, pp. 265–88.

110   Ibid., fols A2ʳ⁻ᵛ.

111   Ibid., 'Proinde ante sex-septem Hebdomadas, singulari DEI indultu a longinnquis oris, ex Amicorum optimorum favore, & promotione perlatus quidam ترجمان (qui hactenus Alcorani undiquaque stabilit uti Masorethae apud Judaeos Legem, velut legentes experientur) Commentator ad me, quemque Ego inter supra dictos nondum offendo nempe تفسير قاضي پضاوي.'

judge) Nāṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī. In Latin transliteration Bayḍāwī and Pezavi look nothing alike, but in Arabic/Persian a confusion of the two is not inconceivable: بيضاوي (Bayḍāwī) پضاوي (Pezavi).[112] This use of Bayḍāwī also offers us an indication of the date of the work's composition: on 18 October 1646 Zechendorff wrote a letter to Gerhard accompanying a short work in Arabic which he had published using his coarse Arabic types (*rudes ac infomes typi domestici*), making a direct reference to al-Bayḍāwī's commentary on a minor point.[113] This is followed by a letter of 12 December 1646 in which Zechendorff informed Gerhard of an Arabic Qur'an commentary he had most recently (*nuperrime*) come upon, and of his wish to translate it into Latin in its entirety and his hope of sending Gerhard and other scholars a sample of this work as soon as possible. Six months later, on 23 June 1647 he sent Gerhard samples (*quaedam exemplaria*) of the commentary.[114] In a letter to Hottinger of 6 October 1651 Zechendorff claimed (possibly getting his dates wrong) that he had not acquired his copy of al-Bayḍāwī until 1649[115] – this is clearly inaccurate, but strengthens the argument for an acquaintance with al-Bayḍāwī in the late 1640s and subsequently for a late date of composition of the *Suratae unius atque alterius textus*. Admittedly this is no conclusive proof that the work was printed in 1647, but it seems most likely to be the case. If Zechendorff was referring in his last two letters to Gerhard to a different Muslim commentary, it has disappeared without leaving a trace. In the same letter of October 1646 Zechendorff, clearly excited by the opportunities presented by this new acquisition, also stresses the great difficulty involved in using an Arabic codex which lacked both vocalisation and in many cases even the diacritical points – something which may explain his mistaking al-Bayḍāwī for Pezavi.[116] In fact, as early

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112   al-Bayḍāwī's extensive Qur'an commentary is in Arabic rather than Persian. It was published in modern times by H.L. Fleischer, *Beidhawii Commentarius in Coranum*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1846/8. al-Bayḍāwī's commentary to sura 101 discussed here is to be found in vol. 2, p. 414. On al-Bayḍāwī see P. Riddell, 'Baydawi', in *The Qur'an: An Encyclopedia*, ed. O. Leaman, New York, 2006, pp. 116–18 as well as J. Robson, 'Al-Baydawi', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds H.A.R. Gibb, J.H. Kramers, E. Lévi-Provençal, and J. Schacht, new edn, vol. 1, Leiden, 1986, p. 1129, and T. Nöldeke (who did not think much of al-Bayḍāwī) in his *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 2nd edn., Leipzig, 1909, ii. p. 176, iii. p. 242.

113   FBG, Chart. 138, fol. 206ʳ⁻ᵛ.

114   FBG, Chart A 138, fol. 213ʳ.

115   ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 575ʳ.

116   FBG, Chart. A 138, fol. 208ʳ. 'Commentarius qvidam in Alcoranum integrum, uti Ego possideo in Arabia scriptum nuperrime ad manus meas venit, liber egregius, sed sine punctis vocalibus, et[iam] saepe Diacriticis. Illum intepretari ad verbum, ut Alcorano ipsi feci, si Doctorum & tua imprimis ope, & censura uti-frui liceret. Proxima occasione, si DEO ita

as 1638 Zechendorff remarked in the preface to the *Specimen* that he had obtained a Persian and a Turkish Qur'an commentary, but was not versed enough in these languages to use them.[117] Three years later, in August 1650, he embarked on a correspondence with the renowned Zurich Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger, their detailed exchange having been triggered by Hottinger's use of al-Bayḍāwī (to Zechendorff's delight) in his *Thesaurus philologicus* (1649).[118] The Zwickau schoolmaster, already in his seventy-first year, tells Hottinger that he had translated al-Bayḍāwī (to whom he now refers by his proper name) the previous year (1649) and sends him a copy, apologizing for the poor quality of the Arabic types (*rudis & informis*) made for him by one of his pupils.[119] If this is the long promised translation (and Arabic edition) of the entire al-Bayḍāwī commentary, it has disappeared without trace. It is more likely that he sent Hottinger al-Bayḍāwī's commentary to the short suras 101 and 103 accompanied by his Latin translation. In any case, by the time Zechendorff corresponded with Hottinger he had despaired of further work with the commentary of al-Bayḍāwī, and, driven by disappointment at his failure to find a patron willing to invest in proper Arabic types, together with harsh economic necessity, he agreed to sell his copy of al-Bayḍāwī to the future mayor of Zurich, Johann Heinrich Escher, then in Leipzig.[120]

In the introduction to the *Suratae unius atque alterius textus*, we are told that, having consulted Baydawi's commentary for several days, because of the difficulty of the work, aggravated by lack of vocalisation, Zechendorff prayed to the Holy Ghost to enable him to translate two suras into Latin. Though the Holy Ghost guided his quill he is far from confident and humbly submits his specimen to the judgment of those of greater expertise.[121]

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visum fuerit, qvid speciminis ex illo mittam, ut T.ª Praest. & alij docti judicium suum de mea interpretatione tali, si arriserit, interponant: & an liber dignus tali labore, & luce.'

117 *Specimen*, A2ᵛ. It will be noted that by 1646 he felt confident enough to write a Persian grammar extant now in RSBZ, MS Sign. 18.5.18, the introduction to which he sent to Gerhard on 11 June 1646 (hence my dating), FBG, Chart. A 138, fol. 204ʳ. The Persian Qur'an commentary Zechendorff is referring to is possibly identical with RSBZ, MS 18.4.52b presented to him by the Leipzig (and later Helmstedt) Hebraist Johann Baldovius, and which does not seem to have been used by Zechendorff.

118 On Hottinger's *Tesaurus philologicus* in its pedagogical and theological context see J. Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 68–74.

119 ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 563ʳ⁻ᵛ.

120 See Loop, *Hottinger*, p. 143.

121 *Suratae unius atque alterius textus*., fol. A3ʳ.

Both suras offered here (101, 103) are very short. That this slim volume is not a polished final product but an experimental output submitted to his colleagues' judgment makes it all the more interesting and offers us an instructive glimpse into this Orientalist's workshop. Both suras elaborate a common theme, the Day of Judgment. sura 101 runs thus in N.J. Dawood's translation:

> In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! The Disaster [*al-qāriʿa*]! (1) What is [*mā*] the Disaster? (2) Would that you knew what the Disaster is! (3) On that day men shall become like scattered moths (4) and mountains like tufts of carded wool. (5) Then he whose good deeds weigh heavy in the scales (6) shall dwell in bliss; (7) but he whose deeds are light, (8) the Abyss shall be his home. (9) Would that you knew what this is like! (10) It is a scorching fire. (11)

The first thing to catch one's attention is the fact that Zechendorff misunderstood the basic term at the heart of this sura: *al-qāriʿa* (the disaster)[122] he translates it as 'the opponents' (*contradicentes*). This translation also pivots on Zechendorff's understanding of the syntactically pivotal adverb *mā* which can mean both 'what' as would seem to be the case here, as well as a negation of verbs in the past tense. Zechendorff chooses here the latter resulting in: 'The opponents (*contradicentes*). Not opponents (or non-opposing) (*Non cotradicentes*). And since I have made it known to you, what the opponents are (*Et quando notum feci tibi quid contradicentes*).' That this is a nonsensical mistranslation is clear. The instructive point is how Zechendorff reached this misunderstanding. This verse is followed by a quote from al-Bayḍāwī's commentary: 'An explanation of this verse precedes it in al-Hāqqah.'[123] *Al-Hāqqah*, as Zechendorff points out correctly, is the title of sura 69, which opens with an almost identical verse 'The Catastrophe (*al-hāqqah*):[124] and what is the Catastrophe? Would that you knew what the Catastrophe is!' The Zwickau schoolmaster, who, as we have already seen, was fond of juxtaposing diverse Qur'anic verses (both genuine and fabricated) to express a pious sentiment, is here following al-Bayḍāwī's lead and attempting, albeit unsuccessfully, to

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122   Literally 'that which pounds/strikes' is one of the Qur'anic designations for the Day of Judgement.

123   B4ᵛ.'سبق بيانه في الحاقه Praecessit Explicatio ejus in Alchqveti.'

124   The alternating *hāqqah*/ *qāriʿa* is the only difference between the two opening verses – hence the distinction in Dawood's translation between catastrophe and disaster.

understand sura 101 in the light of sura 69.[125] What trips him up is his mistranslation of *ḥāqqah*. Zechendorff often complained of the great difficulty of working on Arabic without a proper dictionary[126] – Jacob Golius' Arabic-Latin Lexicon appeared only in 1653, and whether Zechendorff could afford it is not at all clear. Zechendorff confused *ḥāqqah* (catastrophe) with the almost identical *ḥāqq* (truth)[127] and misses the point of al-Bayḍāwī's reference. Sura 69, like 101, deals with the Day of Judgment, and dwells on the divine retribution visited upon those who denied its existence (Thamūd and ʿĀd) and others who disobeyed God (among them Pharaoh). It could be that al-Bayḍāwī's observation on the similarity between the two suras led Zechendorff to mistake disobedience/opposition to God as the subject of sura 101 and its pivotal term *al-qāriʿa* (the disaster) as opponents. In other words, Zechendorff's approach and method, I would argue, are more significant in the present context than the error, which subverted his understanding of this passage. From assessing the Christian truth value of Qur'anic verses, he had moved, about a decade later, to attentively following a Muslim commentator's minute references on how to understand basic terms in the Qur'an – even if assuming that the two approaches to the Qur'an co-existed seems to me safer than to assume that the latter replaced the former. Zechendorff could still be fascinated by Qur'anic-Biblical parallels, while pursuing an interest in Muslim commentaries as aids in reading an extremely difficult book. Translating passages from the Qur'an without accessible dictionaries or a sufficiently broad acquaintance with the language was a Herculean undertaking, and it comes as no surprise that Zechendorff made several, at times egregious, mistakes. Pioneering enterprises are bound to be rough and their products are not meant for the faint-hearted.

While it is these two slim publication of 'Qur'anic snippets' which gained Zechendorff a certain standing in the Republic of Letters and, to a very modest extent, in modern scholarship, in the present context it is above all his long

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125   A reading of Qur'anic verses in the light of others is also manifest in Zechendorff's own note on 101.6 with a reference to sura 7.7 'On that day all shall be weighed with justice. Those whose good deeds weigh in the scales shall triumph, but those whose deeds are light shall lose their souls, because they have denied our revelations.'

126   E.g. ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 575ʳ, letter to Hottinger, 6 October 1651: 'Beidavi n. ante biennium demum tandem videre contigit / nec Lexicon nullum, præter quod mihi conscripseram, e Raphelangio, & alijs editis scriptis πτωτιϰῷ modo, & facie. Quo adjutus pro virib[us] meis Alcoranum, multas itidem Arabicas precationes, quarum M.S. libellorum aliquot nactus, discipulus Ego ita verti.' See also ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 574ʳ, letter to Hottinger, 24 April 1652.

127   Even if Zechendorff himself had doubts about this translation: Ibid., 'Titulus est Suratae 69. Ibi est horum verborum explication, qvam aduxissem si minorem literarum typi. Vox autem significat, ni fallor, Veritatem.' (my underline).

tenure as headmaster in Zwickau from 1617 to 1662 which is of particular inter-
est, and of which, regrettably, the extant sources offer only occasional evidence.
As we have seen, paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms and a playful address
in Latin hexameters on 'Qur'anic fables' were an occasional part of the peda-
gogical and intellectual context in which instruction in Oriental languages and
Arabic in particular were embedded in Zwickau. These do not, however, tell
us much about the actual teaching practices. Zechendorff's scholarly output,
short publications and letters addressed to fellow scholars make it clear that,
as from the mid 1620s, Arabic had become his main scholarly concern. How
was Arabic taught in Zwickau? What texts were used and how? And how suc-
cessful were Zechendorff's Arabic lessons? Regrettably, the honest answer to
these questions is an admission of almost complete ignorance. In none of his
extant letters, of which I am aware, does he offer us a glimpse into his classroom
activity; hardly a coincidence since his correspondence with fellow scholars
was devoted to 'higher' concerns – new discoveries rather than the practice
of teaching, nor have I been able to find any accounts by students describing
their Arabic studies in Zwickau. To add to the gloom of uncertainty is a piece
of bad news: with the possible exception of private instruction, Arabic studies
seem to have disappeared from the Zwickau syllabus after Zechendorff's time.
A schedule of lessons of 1676, 14 years after Zechendorff's death, compiled
by Christian Friedrich Leitner, deputy headmaster under Zechendorff's suc-
cessor Christian Daum, existing in an uncatalogued manuscript in Zwickau's
Ratsschulbibliothek, has no sign of Arabic or any other Oriental language.[128]
Some solace is to be found in circumstantial evidence. The Latin school library
in Zwickau holds several copies of Erpenius' *Grammatica Arabica* (1613), one
of them bearing several marginalia in Zechendorff's handwriting.[129] It is more
than likely that he would have used this book in both learning and teaching
Arabic. Another indirect testimony is offered by Zechendorff's obvious desire
to find printed Arabic texts to read with his pupils. One such instance is offered
by a florid letter in Arabic which he received from the above-mentioned Johann
Elichmann. Studying medicine and Oriental languages in Leiden, where he
evinced a particular interest in the uses of Arabic in the study of medicine,

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128   RSBZ, (no shelf-mark) *SYLLABUS LECTIONUM a Cl.mo Dno ConRectore CHRIST. FRID. LEIT-*
       NERO in Schola Cygnea Jussu & Auctoritate Dnn Inspectorum Rectorisque, 14 February 1674.
       This and other more elaborate uncatalogued Zwickau syllabi (which I was not able to
       find) are reproduced in R. Beck, 'Ein Stundenplan für die Zwickauer Gelehrtenschule von
       1676', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, 1 (1),
       1891, pp. 238–42.

129   RSBZ, MS 23.10.1.

Elichmann became a successful practising physician, with such scholars as Daniel Heinsius and Claude Saumaise among his patients. Apart for his interest in Persian and its affinities with German and Greek, he worked on the Arabic version of the *Tabula Cebetis*, which he believed to be of great value in reconstructing portions of the extant Greek text.[130] In the aforesaid letter by Louis de Dieu, accompanying Zechendorff's *Specimen Suratarum*, De Dieu refers to Elichmann as a distinguished doctor and experienced *chymicus*, as well as an outstanding expert on Arabic and Persian.[131] This brilliant career came to an abrupt end with Elichamnn's death in 1639 at the age of thirty-nine.[132] In 1631 Elichmann wrote a florid letter in Arabic to Zechendorff celebrating the uses of Arabic in medicine. They do not seem to have been acquainted prior to this, but Zechendorff's reputation as a champion of Arabic studies seems to have motivated the letter, in which Elichmann, who had started learning Arabic in the previous year, could exhibit his linguistic prowess. In 1636 Zechendorff had it printed with a parallel Latin translation and the Arabic in a Hebrew transliteration[133] with the express intention of using it in Arabic classes. A more conventional choice of text was Zechendorff's re-issue of Erpenius' Arabic edition of the Lord's Prayer in his Arabic grammar (1613), *Analysis orationis dominicae in lingua Arabica*, dedicated to Johann Ernst Gerhard (undated, c. 1647–1650).[134]

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130   His edition of the *Tabula Cebetis* was published posthumously in 1639 with a preface by Claude Saumaise. On Elichmann in the context of the Scythian hypothesis see T. Van Hal, 'On "the Scythian Theory". Reconstructing the Outlines of Johannes Elichmann's (1601/1602–1639) planned *Archaeologia Harmonica*', *Language & History*, 53, no. 2, 2010, pp. 70–80.

131   *Specimen Suratarum*, fol. E3ʳ. 'ZECHENDORFII eruditio apud nos inclaruit, per Doctiss.ᵐ Johannes Elichmannum, Medicum eximium, Chymicum peritißimum [!], literasque Orientales, praesertim Arabicas, & Persicas apperime doctum […].'

132   See J. Fück's article in NDB.

133   *Literae exoticae scriptae arabice a … Johanne Elichmanno Silesio medicinae doctore. ad clarissimum virum M. Johannes Zechendorff … In literas hebraeas conversae punctatae, & καταπόδα ferme ad verbum in latinum versae, commodo, atque usui discentis juventuti; unde; quot quippe centeni omnigenum autorum, & artium libri sibi, & rei literariae bono adhuc cum Deo, & die, brevi doctorum undique subadjuvarum ope & opera, quia antea nondum visi, expectandi, legendi, cognoscendi: perspiciat, publici juris factae*, Jena, 1636. See esp. fol. A2ᵛ: 'Et exinde incepi Ego paulo ante annum, qui jam praeterijt, operam dare huic Linguae.' and fol. A3ʳ: 'פמן אגלן הדה בדאת אנא קלילאן קבל אלסנת'

134   *Orationis Dominicae in lingua arabica analysis grammatica, iuxta Thomae Erpeni grammaticam Arabicae linguae* (sl.). On 8 February 1647 Gerhard wrote a letter to Zechendorff (Gerhard's draft is preserved in FBG, Chart. B 44 26ʳ) in which he thanked him profusely for a great kindness, possibly the dedication to him of this work.

Finding available printed Arabic texts for his students (or indeed, for himself) was extremely difficult, and Zechendorff's correspondence teams with complaints about the lack of Arabic types and of benefactors willing to invest in such types. We have encountered two alternative options already: the uncommon one of using home-made types, as in the case of the Qur'an samples, for whose lack of elegance Zechendorff was continually apologising, or the more common early modern recourse of producing Arabic in Hebrew transliteration, as in the case of Elichmann's letter. A third possibility, of which Zechendorff occasionally availed himself, was to have Arabic texts produced as copper plates. This costly option was used by Zechendorff in 1625 for a short address in Arabic to Veit Wolfrum in the above mentioned *Nox Cygnea* as well as for his Arabic 'address to Turks and Arabs' at the outset of his *Fabulae Mohammedicae* (1627). By far the most impressive use of copper-plates for his teaching of Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and later Persian and Turkish, is to be found in his *Circuli conjugationum*, a collection of copperplate engravings in octavo printed and elaborated repeatedly between 1626 and 1648: the *Circuli conjugationum* offer a visible link between Zechendorff's early concern with à la mode pedagogical method and his discovery of Arabic in the 1620s. In a series of complex and beautifully executed tables – usually in the form of six circles surrounding an inner-circle, each containing a systematically arrayed series of verb endings – Zechendorff offered a visual guide to the conjugation of perfect and imperfect verbs in various Oriental languages. The plates, measuring ca. 130×80 mm,[135] were produced by Jeremias Hermann, a Zwickau engraver with whom Zechendorff collaborated on several occasions. The product was a slim pocket-book, consisting solely of small engravings which, in theory, anyone studying these languages could easily consult at any time to identify a verb's conjugation and tense. The 1626 title-page declares their purpose: this schematic and systematic visualisation of verb systems in various Oriental languages was meant to allow students to master effortlessly any one of these languages within less than a month[136] (Figure 3.2). Such promises of early modern teachers may seem dubious, and as with Zechendorff's earlier *Methodus Cabbalistica*, we may wonder how successful his *Circuli conjugationum* actually

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135   They vary slightly in size.

136   *Circuli coniugationum ad linguas hebraeam chaldaeam syriacam et arabicam facillimo labore et breviβimo studio cognoscendas quamvis vel septimana nedum mensis spatio et tam ad cuiusvis linguae analysin quam Genesin admodum conducentes quibus mutatio punctorum et punctandi ratio subjecta cum introductione germanica et praemiβa lectionis paucis horis cognoscendae instructione inventi et dispositi M. Ioan. Zechendorff philologiae et orientalium linguarum cultore*, Jena, 1626.
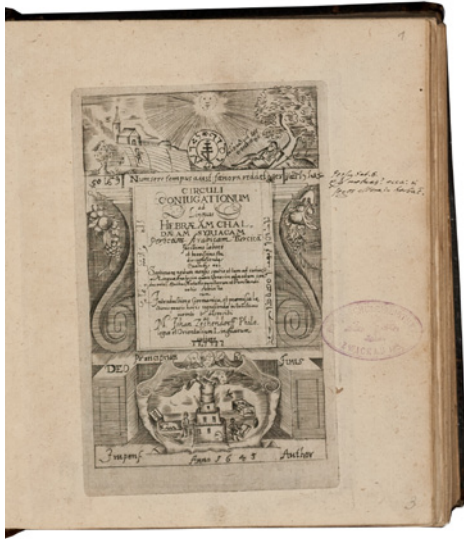
FIGURE 3.2
Zechendorff, Circuli conjugationum*,
Zwickau 1645, RSBZ.*

were in facilitating the study for beginners struggling with Semitic verb con-
jugations. Such promises, however, were common at the time, and often
accompanied by a genuine concern for simplifying language instruction as far
as possible, often in the belief that a highly systematic approach would reduce
to a minimum the need of learning by rote. Among Zechendorff's prominent
contemporaries championing this form of highly systematic and allegedly
simplified study of languages was the Tübingen mathematician and Hebraist
Wilhelm Schickard (1592–1635). Among Schickard's manuals for the study
of Hebrew is his *Rota hebraea* (first published in 1621), featuring two super-
imposed concentric discs. The upper disc is perforated by a window which,
on rotation, functioned together with the lower disc as a simple 'conjugation
calculator' – an idea arguably more clever than instructive.[137] Schickard's *Rota*
and Zechendorff's *Circuli* share a certain visual resemblance – but not a func-
tional one. It is not clear to me exactly how Zechendorff intended his *Circuli* to
be used, and my own impression is not one of lucid simplicity. Be that as it may,
the slim volume consisting of ornate engravings would, in all likelihood, have
been too expensive for most students, and the fact that this work only survives

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137 On Schickard's instruction in Hebrew see See W.W. Müller, 'Hebräische und chaldäische
Studien', in *Wilhelm Schickard 1592–1635. Astronom, Geograph, Orientalist, Erfinder der
Rechenmaschine*, ed. F. Seck, Tübingen, 1978, pp. 49–108, esp. pp. 55–62 for the *Rota
hebraea*. The suggestion that Zechendorff may have been emulating Schickard's *Rota* is
also raised by Friedrich Seck in his edition of Schickard's correspondence: *Wilhelm
Schickard Briefwechsel*, vol 2, Stuttgart, 2002, p. 478.

FIGURE 3.3   *Zechendorff,* Circuli conjugationum, *Zwickau 1645,* RSBZ.

today in a handful of copies suggests that it was not a great success. Among the few extant copies of this work there is one in the Zwickau Ratsschulbibliothek printed in 1645. Apart from a few minor changes to the title-page illustration, this 'edition' differs primarily in the greater number of plates (circular and rectangular tables) and the inclusion of Persian and Turkish[138] (Figures 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4). It should also be noted that the Zwickau library holds a manuscript of an unpublished introduction to Persian grammar by Zechendorff. Although undated, the handwriting, though unmistakably Zechendorff's, suggests an old, less firm hand.[139]

The *Circuli conjugationum* may have failed to gain a broad readership, and may have become, in time, a bibliographical rarity, but Zechendorff was buoyantly proud of this work. In his correspondence with Hottinger he dwells at length on their didactic merit.[140] In May 1651 he sent Hottinger some of the tables, and in October sent him further tables, complaining that his introductions to Persian and Turkish have not yet appeared in print owing to the lack of sponsors.[141]

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138   RSBZ, MS 18.4.24.

139   RSBZ, MS 18.5.18. *In Linguam Medicam Particam, sive Persicam Manu-Ductio.* The work interestingly is in German rather than Latin.

140   E.g. ZBZ, MS 52, fol. 564^r, letter from Zechendorff to Hottinger, May 1651.

141   ZBZ, MS 52, fols 575^r–576^r, esp. fol. 575^v, 6 October 1651. 'Quos Circulos, uti voco, sive Tabellas in Linguas Orientales quasdam miserim, non amplius memini an etiam in Hebræ.

FIGURE 3.4 *Zechendorff,* Circuli conjugationum, *Zwickau 1645, RSBZ.*

Though it is hard to judge exactly how much Arabic teaching was actually offered in Zwickau during Zechendorff's long tenure as headmaster, the 'Qur'anic paraphrase' of the Penitential Psalms suggests that it was at the very least a prominent part of his private instruction on offer. It is also clear that his reputation as an Orientalist was sufficient to draw several aspiring scholars to spend some time in Zwickau under his tutelage – as visiting scholars rather than registered pupils in the municipal Latin school. A prominent example of the latter is the Hamburg private-scholar, and one of the most respected Christian Hebraists in seventeenth-century Germany, Esdras Edzard (1629–1708), who stayed in Zwickau in 1648 after studying in Leipzig,[142] and again in 1650, probably on his southward journey from Hamburg to study with Johann Buxtorf the Younger in Basel.[143]

One of Zechendorff's most remarkable students was Nikolaus Schmidt-Küntzel (1606–1671), an illiterate peasant with a phenomenal gift for languages who, despite his father's objections, was brought to Zwickau in 1631 or 1632. His patron brought the young man, who had already taught himself several languages (including several Oriental languages) to Zwickau, where the peasant prodigy, as Zechendorff recorded more than two decades later in a letter to Hottinger, made rapid progress in his studies – Arabic first and foremost.[144] Zechendorff dwells at length on this remarkable student's later fortunes. Years after he had left Zwickau Schmidt-Küntzel paid Zechendorff a visit, in which, he tells Hottinger with unconcealed admiration, he asked Zechendorff to show him the Coptic alphabet, of which he was hitherto ignorant. Within a few hours he could read this language too.[145] This proud account was in all likelihood occasioned by a query from Hottinger. Schmidt-Küntzel had published several almanacs which may have aroused his curiosity. Their

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Chalda. Syriacam & Persicam? (nondum incise sunt in æs Turcici) & utinam Manuductionem in illas Linguas addere potuissem, quæ quidem publici juris hactenus non facta, p[ro]p[ter] promotorum defectum.'

142   G. Behrmann, *Hamburgs Orientalisten*, Hamburg, 1902, p. 41.

143   Edzard's letter to Johann Ernst Gerhard, 24 January, 1650, FBG, Chart. A 136, fol. 35.

144   ZBZ, MS 52, fols 572^v–573^r, 14 January 1655.

145   The (added) point of this anecdote may also have been to impress upon the renowned Zurich scholar Zechendorff's own claim to knowledge of this language. A slim printed exhortation to the study of Oriental languages, extant in Zwickau, ends with the phrase 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost' in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Coptic. Zechendorff, *Incentiva ad gentem literariam aliosque demum omnes*, Zwickau, 1640, – the Coptic is added in Zechendorff's hand (like the rest of the Oriental languages, with the exception of Hebrew) on fol. A4^v.

typographical richness, including Arabic types, occasioned Zechendorff's envy.

Zechendorff's appointment in Zwickau in 1617, it must be conceded, does not mark a watershed in the study of Arabic in the West. Unlike the justly celebrated anniversary of Erpenius' appointment to the chair of Arabic in 1613, the four-hundredth anniversary of his appointment in 2017, overshadowed by the five-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, has not occasioned exhibitions or academic conferences. The case of Zechendorff and Oriental studies at the Zwickau Latin school is nonetheless instructive. Even if his scholarly endeavours may have been more heroic than long lasting, they have something to say about the broader landscape of Oriental studies in the seventeenth century. It may be unwise to draw too clear a divide between centres and peripheries in the field of Oriental studies of the early seventeenth century, but Zwickau was nonetheless far removed from the cutting edge of the Oriental studies of its day. In a sense this makes it particularly interesting. Oriental studies, and Arabic studies in particular, were hardly ubiquitous, but certainly more diffuse than is commonly assumed. For the Holy Roman Empire Latin schools are clearly more important for the broader dissemination of these studies – even if not always of the highest standard. Zechendorff was an exceptionally creative autodidact attentive to the intellectual trends of his day, but numerous other Latin schools in the seventeenth century offered occasional instruction in Arabic. Among the extensive collection in the Zwickau Ratsschulbibliothek of letters he received, ranging from a formal letter of release from the town council of Schneeberg (1617) to a letter from his half-brother informing him of his stepmother's death (1630), the majority are palimpsests in Zechendorff's distinctive handwriting, using the versos, margins, and occasionally the spaces between the lines to practise the conjugation of Arabic and Persian verbs or to quote passages from the Qur'an or an Arabic version of the Gospels. Zechendorff's scholarship, or at least significant portions of it, was devotional in nature. Several of the manuscript codices in Zwickau suggest that he composed personal prayer compilations in Arabic which were clearly meant for personal edification rather than publication.[146] It is not unlikely that, in his final years, as he remained at home, some of the prayers his eulogizer tells us he was constantly reciting would have been in Arabic. At the same time it would be misleading to conclude this short account of Zechendorff with the suggestion that he was a pious provincial. His *Specimen suratarum*, for instance, was prefaced by commendations by some of the most notable scholars of his day and among his correspondents, as we have seen, was no less an Orientalist

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146   RSBZ, MS 18.4.39, a collection of Arabic prayers and further Arabic psalm paraphrases.

than Hottinger. Zechendorff's correspondence with Gerhard also shows how remarkably up to date he was in contemporary scholarly developments. This ambivalence, I would argue, is instructive as an illustration of how blurred the distinction between centre and periphery still was in the field of Oriental studies in the first half of the seventeenth century. Zechendorff, for all his brilliant peculiarities, was part of a much broader network of scholars, with their eyes set on Leiden, Oxford, and Paris, and their pedagogical concerns and practices often rooted in more local circumstances. They are an essential part of the history of Oriental studies in Early Modern Europe.

CHAPTER 4

Arabia in the Light of the Midnight Sun: Arabic Studies in Sweden between Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad and Jonas Hallenberg*

Bernd Roling

Introduction

When August Strindberg was learning Hebrew, countless words passed in front of him that seemed totally Swedish to him, as he describes in his own words in his *Blue Book.* Had he not been taught that there was a 'chasm' between the Germanic and Semitic languages? The very first words in the dictionary suggested the opposite. *Aborren* was Swedish for the freshwater perch, but it had no etymological explanation. Neither the German word *Barsch* nor its Latin equivalent *perca* seemed much help. Yet the Icelandic word for perch, *abor*, sounded like the German *Eber*, that is, 'boar', and even more like the Hebrew word for 'strong', namely *abir*. And was not the *aborre*, the wild boar among freshwater fishes? Did it not bristle with strength? In Old Swedish the creature was called *aghbar*. Did that not sound like the Arabic superlative *akbar*? Would he not gain a better understanding of the many puzzling words in Swedish by seeking the Semitic roots of his native language?[1] Already in the *Blue Book*, a summa of the author's views of the world and all the sciences, these reflections had led Strindberg to study Chinese, Manchurian and various Finno-Ugric languages for their links to Hebrew, thus rejecting the dominant approach to the ancient Semitic languages in the early twentieth century, which was primarily

1 In German see A. Strindberg, *Ein Drittes Blaubuch*, transl. E. Schering, Munich, 1921, there 'Die Ahnen der Muttersprache', pp. 1255–6. The piece was not included in the original printed Swedish version of the *blå bok*, but taken by the translator Schering from the heritage.

the study of cuneiform literature.[2] Several special studies of Chinese, of *The Roots of World Languages*, *Biblical Proper Names* and *The Origins of Our Mother Tongue* followed in 1910 and 1911.[3]

Strindberg's untrammelled delight in associations gave more weight to sound sequences than to grammatical structures and oscillated between brilliance and dilettantism, but it was more than just a philological expression of the doctrine of all-encompassing correspondences to which Strindberg was committed as a follower of Swedenborg. It was also heir to an approach and methods that had made Oriental studies into a baroque patriotic pursuit, and which perhaps had a greater influence in Sweden than in other learned settings in Europe. The dignity of one's mother tongue would surely be enhanced if it could be matched to the pattern of the First Language. A Swedish national ideology arose after the Thirty Years' War that provided this new European empire, from Lapland to Pomerania, with a prehistory tailored to the idea of the North as a universal civilising power. It was in the same era that the first chairs in Oriental languages were established at the universities of the Swedish empire, in Uppsala, Lund, Turku, Tartu, Pernau and Greifswald.[4] This paper

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2   A. Strindberg, *En blå bok*, Samlade Verk 65, ed. G. Ollén, Stockholm, 1997, e.g. 'Hammurabis inspirerade Lagar', pp. 419–20; id., *En ny blå bok*, Samlade Verk 66, ed. G. Ollén, Stockholm, 1999, 'Om Urspråket och Babels Förbistring', pp. 779–83, 'Urspråket och Urreligionen', pp. 801–4, 'Svenska och Hebraiska', pp. 805–6, 'Hebraiska Studier', pp. 809–11', 'Kinesiska Språket', pp. 812–14, 'Finska, Ungerska, Mandchuiska, Japanska', pp. 837–45, id., *En blå bok. Avdeling III. En extra blå bok*, Samlade Verk 67, ed. G. Ollén, Stockholm, 2000, 'Jahveh-Namnet', pp. 1479–85, 'Kilskrift-liknande tecken', p. 1486, 'Kinesiska Språkets Hemlighet', p. 1522, and see also H. Jonsson, 'Hebreiskan, urspråket och diverse språjamförelser', in *En ny blå bok*, pp. 1093–8. In German see A. Strindberg, *Ein Blaubuch. Die Synthese meines Lebens*, 2 vols, transl. E. Schering, Munich. 1920, vol. 1, 'Hammurabis inspirierte Gesetze', pp. 435–6, and vol. 2, 'Von der Ursprache und Babels Verwirrung', pp. 674–9, 'Ursprache und Urreligion', pp. 598–602, 'Schwedisch und Hebräisch', pp. 603–5, 'Hebräische Studien', pp. 608–10, 'Die chinesische Sprache', pp. 611–13, 'Finnisch-Ungarisch-Mandschurisch-Japanisch', pp. 639–46; and also A. Strindberg, *Ein Drittes Blaubuch*, 'Der Jahweh-Name', pp. 1202–10, 'Keilschriftähnliche Zeichen', p. 1211, 'Das Geheimnis der Chinesischen Sprache', pp. 1253–5.

3   A. Strindberg, *Bibliska egennamn med ordfränder i klassiska och lefvande språk*, Stockholm, 1910; A. Strindberg, *Modersmålets anor: Svenska ordfränder i klassiska och lefvande språk*, Stockholm, 1910; A. Strindberg, *Världs-Språken Rötter*, Stockholm, 1911.

4   On the general history of the universities in 17th and 18th century Sweden see the surveys of C. Annerstedt, *Uppsala Universitets Historia. Andra Delen. 1655–1718*, 2 vols, Uppsala, 1908–09; C, Annerstedt, *Uppsala Universitets Historia. Tredje Delen. 1719–1792*, 2 vols, Uppsala, 1913–14; J. Rosén, *Lunds Universitets historia 1: 1668–1709*, Lund, 1968; G. Johannesson, *Lunds Universitets historia 2: 1710–1789*, Lund, 1982; K. Gierow, *Lunds Universitets historia 3: 1790–1867*, Lund, 1971; K.G.T. Rein, *Filosofins studium vid Åbo universitet*, Helsinki, 1908; H. Råberg, *Teologins historia*

will present in synopsis how, in the seventeenth century, the study of Arabic was developed by drawing on Sweden's own models of national supremacy and how, both inspired by these and defined against them, it became established as an independent discipline. Editorial scholarship and biblical antiquarianism and philology all took root in the Baltic region as elsewhere, but here they were loaded with a baroque universalism which was itself perhaps a condition of their genesis. The conditions in which Swedish Arabic studies arose will be reconstructed here through two figures in particular, Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710) and Jonas Hallenberg (1748–1834), whose combined lifespans cover the whole of the eighteenth century. While Peringer's name is associated with the process of establishing the discipline, the figure of Hallenberg, as will be shown, reveals how long Oriental studies in Scandinavia remained true to the outlook of baroque universalism.

The *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum* of Gustaf Peringer and Olaus Celsius

Arabic studies in Sweden began with a foundational act, undertaken in the late seventeenth century by the two most important Orientalists of the Swedish empire, Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad, already established as a professor, and his respondent, the young Olaus Celsius (1670–1756), from the family of the Celsii.[5] In 1694 they published their *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, presented as a disputation, which marks the start of the history of Swedish Arabic stud-

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vid *Åbo universitet*, 2 vols, Helsinki, 1893–1901; I.A. Heikel, *Filologins studium vid Åbo universitet*, Helsinki, 1894; G. von Rauch, *Die Universität Dorpat und das Eindringen der Frühaufklärung in Livland 1690–1710*, Essen, 1943; H. Piirimäe, *Ülikoolilinn Pärnu*, Tartu, 1999; M. Klinge, *Eine nordische Universität. Die Universität Helsinki 1640–1990*, Helsinki, 1992, pp. 13–197; and S. Lindroth, *A History of Uppsala University 1477–1977*, Uppsala, 1976, pp. 15–146.

5 On Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad's life and works in general see first of all the collected studies in the volume of É.Á. Csató, G. Gren-Eklund and F. Sandgren, *En resenär I svenska stormaktstidens språklandskap. Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710)*, Uppsala, 2007; and earlier the classical study by H. Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock*, Tübingen, 1952, pp. 134–5, pp. 145–7, pp. 151–3, pp. 184–7; and K.V. Zetterstéen, 'Gustaf Peringer Lilieblands Hebreiska Oration vid Jubelfesten i Uppsala 1693', in *Teologiska Studier tillägnade Erik Stave på 65-årsdagen*, Uppsala, 1922, pp. 11–28, here pp. 11–15. On Olaus Celsius see first of all Annerstedt, *Uppsala Universitets Historia. Tredje Delen. 1719–1792*, vol. 2, pp. 339–45; and S. Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria*, 4 vols, Stockholm, 1975, vol. 2, pp. 226–7, vol. 3, p. 647. Other studies will be mentioned below.

ies.[6] In this work, neither scholar is in any doubt that he must build new foundations. Almost all of their *Historia* can thus be read as a manifesto for a branch of scholarship that was yet to be established at the Swedish universities, and as a defence of Arabic studies as a whole. At the same time, Peringer and Celsius provide a catalogue of primary and secondary literature which, as we shall see, would subsequently achieve near-canonical status in Sweden.

The Beginning of Arabic Studies in Sweden

The two scholars first strive to legitimize their object of study. What is the origin of the Arabic language?[7] Jewish tradition had linked Arabic to the descendants of Ishmael, as Peringer recalls, and Thomas Erpenius had suggested that Ham was the progenitor of the Arabs,[8] but authoritative sources like Samuel Bochart,[9] the father of Oriental geography,[10] and Edward Pococke had already demonstrated that Joktan from Mesha in Sephar, mentioned in Genesis, must be the true progenitor of the Arabs.[11] Only later had the Israelites become part of the Arab community. Joktan had spoken perfect Hebrew, like later members of the Arab people such as Jethro, with whom Moses was able to converse.[12] Arabic must therefore be considered to derive directly from Hebrew and is thus of a similar dignity and purity, a point that had already been demonstrated for Swedish by the great Gothicist Georg Stiernhielm,[13] as

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6   G. Peringer Lillieblad – O. Celsius (resp.), *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, Uppsala, 1694. Parts of the *Historia* were reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis nova historico-philologico-theologica*, Bremen, 1764, see there vol. 4, fasciculus 1, pp. 1–54; fasciculus 2, pp. 203–88, and fasciculus 3, pp. 373–435.

7   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 1, pp. 1–8.

8   T. Erpenius, *Oratio de linguae arabicae praestantia et dignitate*, Leiden, 1613, fol. A4ʳ–A4ᵛ. On Erpenius's role in Oriental studies see still J. Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1955, pp. 59–73.

9   On Bochart's achievements in Oriental geography see Z. Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds. Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 141–204.

10   S. Bochart, *Geographia sacra, cuius pars prior Phaleg De dispersione gentium et terrarum divisione facta in aedificatione turris Babel, pars posterior Chanaan De coloniis et sermone Phoenicum agit*, Frankfurt, 1681, Liber II, ch. 15, pp. 109–12.

11   E. Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum sive Gregorii Abul Farajii Malatiensis De Origine et Moribus Arabum*, Oxford, 1650, Notae, pp. 38–41.

12   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 1, pp. 8–9.

13   G. Stiernhielm, *Jesu Christi Evangelia ab Ulfila Gothorum in Moesia Episcopo circa annum a nato Christo CCCLX ex Graeco Gothice translata, nunc cum parallelis versionibus Sveo-Gothica, Norraena seu Islandica et vulgata Latina edita*, Stockholm, 1671, see there the extensive *praefatio* fols a3ʳ–F3ʳ.

Peringer notes.[14] The Arabic script, too, he continues, had arisen from the original Hebrew alphabet and was of majestic antiquity. Other types of script, above all Kufic, but also Syriac or Persian, were secondary relative to Arabic.[15] In their discussions Peringer and Celsius draw on the relevant authorities in their field, especialy Henning Henningsen's *Muhammedanus precans*,[16] Johann Heinrich Hottinger's *Historia ecclesiastica*, together with many other of Hottinger's treatises,[17] and Edward Pocock's *Specimen*, but also works less well known today,[18] such as Georg Welsch's *Ruzname*, which had appeared a few years previously.[19] The immense continuity of the Arabic language could be demonstrated through the Arabic proper names found in Greco-Roman literature long before the earliest extant Arabic writings. Had not Hirtius in his *Bellum Alexandrinum* spoken of a king called 'Malak'?[20] Had not Cassius Dio, too, in his *Roman History* mentioned a *princeps* with the no less informative name 'Sabus'?[21] Already the northern German scholar Henning Henningsen,[22] like Johann Heinrich Hottinger,[23] Edward Pococke[24] and the Danzig scholar Johannes Fabricius in his *Specimen arabicum*, a work that was of great importance to Peringer, had noted the almost clinical purity of Arabic and its direct, almost mirror-like derivation from Hebrew. The Arabs had never been subjected by conquest to foreign rule; no foreign loanwords had entered their

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14   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 1, pp. 4–5.

15   Ibid., ch. 1, pp. 10–14.

16   H. Henningsen, *Muhammedanus precans, id est Liber precationum Muhammedicarum arabicus manuscriptus*, Schleswig, 1666.

17   On Johannes Heinrich Hottinger's extensive writings and his role in the learning of Arabic see the excellent study by J. Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 2013, passim.

18   On Edward Pocock's role in the history of Islamic studies see e.g. B.P.M. Holt, 'The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England: The Background and the Work of Edward Pocock', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 19, 1957, pp. 444–55; and G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 116–47, pp. 155–66, pp. 271–9, p. 294.

19   G.H. Welsch, *Commentarius in Ruzname naurus sive Tabulae aequinoctiales novi Persarum et Turcarum anni*, Augsburg, 1676.

20   Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii*, ed. A. Klotz, Stuttgart, 1966, *Bellum Alexandrinum*, ch. 1, p. 1.

21   Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, ed. E. Cay, 9 vols, Cambridge, MA., 1968, vol. 6, Book 53, § 29, Greek and English, pp. 268–9.

22   Henningsen, *Muhammedanus precans*, pp. 284–7.

23   J.H. Hottinger, *Etymologicum orientale sive Lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton*, Frankfurt, 1661, Praefatio, fols a3^v–b3^r.

24   Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, pp. 150–1.

speech.[25] It was above all this closeness to origins, Peringer and Celsius stress, that gave Arabic its special appeal.[26]

There was an apparent contradiction to the dignity of ancient Arabic in the fact that the Arabs themselves had given a rather low estimate of the status of their culture before the coming of the Prophet and had characterized that period, as had been shown by Johannes Fabricius and Edward Pococke, as the 'Age of Ignorance'.[27] But was this verdict of Arabic historiography just?[28] For Peringer, the early Arabs must, rather, have had special knowledge due to their closeness in time and culture to the Biblical revelation. This knowledge consisted of astronomical knowledge and a philosophy of the celestial bodies that which was still closely connected to the scriptural revelation.[29] Scripture itself offered witnesses to the special erudition of the ancient Arabs, in the Arabic-speaker Job, who had praised the Creator's power over the celestial bodies, and his interlocutors, Bildad the Shuhite, Eliphaz the Temanite and Zophar the Naamathite, who were clearly exponents of philosophical eloquence similar to that of Job, and in Jethro, who had already been identified as an Arab by Hottinger.[30] Even more emphatic proof of the wisdom of the ancient Arabs was provided by the figure of Luqman.[31] As Peringer notes, this person too had already been given due weight by *Abul-Faragius*, as translated into Latin by Pococke.[32] One whole sura of the Qur'an had praised this man as a contemporary of King David, and Christian Ravius had wanted to see him as the poet Alcman.[33] Johann Heinrich Hottinger had presented numerous plausible arguments for identifying Luqman as none other than Aesop, whose fables were

25   J. Fabricius, *Specimen arabicum quo exhibentur aliquot scripta arabica, partim in Prosa, partim Ligata oratione composita*, Rostock, 1638, p. 7. On Fabricius' *Specimen* and its background and impact see the Jan Loop's essay in this volume.

26   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 2, pp. 24–30.

27   Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, Notae, p. 52; Fabricius, *Specimen arabicum*, p. 25.

28   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 2, pp. 31–3.

29   Ibid., ch. 2, pp. 34–42.

30   J.H. Hottinger, *Smegma orientale sordibus barbarismi*, Heidelberg, 1658, Liber I, ch. 8, p. 412; and ibid., *Thesaurus philologicus seu Clavis Scripturae*, Zürich 1659, Liber II, ch. 1, Sectio 3, pp. 499–500.

31   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 2, pp. 42–4.

32   G. Abul-Faragius, *Historia compendiosa Dynastiarum*, Oxford, 1663, in Latin p. 33, in Arabic p. 51; and similiarly Fabricius, *Specimen arabicum*, pp. 207–8; and e.g. W. Schickard, *Tarich, hoc est Series Regum Persiae ab Ardshir-Babekan, usque ad Iazdigerdem a Chaliphis expulsum*, Tübingen, 1628, pp. 19–20.

33   C. Ravius, *Prima tredecim partium AlCorani arabico-latini*, Amsterdam, 1646, fol. C^r.

echoed in the Qur'an.[34] Further, Peringer and Celsius continue, the Books of Kings link the wisdom of Solomon to the wisdom of the Arabs and praise the Queen of Sheba, called Belkis in the Arabic tradition, as its outstanding proponent.[35] Was there not here, as Bochart and Jacob Golius had already stressed, a whole arsenal of pre-Islamic learning?[36] Why would it have been said that Democritus or Pythagoras had travelled to Arabia, if that were not the point of origin of knowledge of the stars?[37]

A temporary end to the postulated Arabian civilisation occurred, according to Peringer and Celsius, with the coming of the Prophet, about whom the two Uppsala scholars, as is to be expected, had little good to say.[38] Peringer admits that some authors had noted, with regard to the Qur'an, that Muhammad's lack of education was strong evidence of its miraculous character.[39] In reality, however, he says, it was the monk Sergius, a figure cited by anti-Qur'anic polemicists for centuries, who was responsible for the composition of the text, rather than a divine revelation[40]. Peringer knew that both Lodovico Marracci and Abraham Hinckelmann had worked on complete editions of the Qur'an;[41] he was also familiar with the numerous editions of individual suras presented

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34   J.H. Hottinger, *Historia orientalis, ex variis orientalium monumentis collecta*, Zürich, 1651, Liber I, ch. 3, pp. 70–2; and see T. Erpenius, *Locmanni sapientia fabulae et selecta quaedam Arabum Adagia*, Leiden, 1636.

35   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 2, pp. 46–8.

36   Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, Liber II, ch. 26, pp. 151–4; Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, Notae, pp. 85–6; and Alfraganus, *Elementa astronomica*, opera J. Golii, Amsterdam, 1669, Notae, pp. 86–8.

37   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 2, pp. 48–9.

38   Ibid., ch. 3, pp. 54–6.

39   Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, Notae, pp. 165–8; and Hottinger, *Historia orientalis*, Liber I, ch. 5, pp. 143–4.

40   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 3, pp. 56–7.

41   L. Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus ac in Latinum translatus, apositisque unicuique capiti notis, atque refutatione: His omnibus praemissus est Podromus totum priorem tomum implens*, 2 vols, Padova, 1698; and A. Hinckelmann, *AlCoranus s. Lex Islamitica Mohammedis, Filii Abdallae Pseudoprophetae*, Hamburg, 1694. On the famous Qur'an-translation by Marracci see e.g. G. Levi della Vida, 'Ludovico Marracci e la sua opera degli studi islamici', in id., *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi*, Milano, 1959, pp. 193–210; and M. Borrmans, 'Ludovico Marracci et sa traduction latine du Coran', in *Islamochristiana*, 28, 2002, pp. 73–86; and see recently esp. R. Glei, 'Scripture and Tradition. Traces of Counter-Reformatory Discourse in Marraci's Work on Islam', in *Esperienza e rappresentazione dell'Islam nell'Europa mediterranea (secoli XVI–XVIII)*, eds A. Celli and D. Scotto, Florence 2015, pp. 671–689, and id. and R. Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at work: the evolution of his Latin translation of the Qur'ān in the light of his newly discovered manuscripts*, with an edition and a comparative linguistic analysis of Sura 18, Wiesbaden, 2016, passim.

by Petrus Kirstenius,[42] Thomas Erpenius[43] or Johann Georg Nissel.[44] Queen Christina alone owned thirteen manuscripts of the Qur'an which were still awaiting study. The Umayyad caliphate had only deepened the cultural breach introduced by Islam.[45] Pococke's *Abul-Faragius* and Jirjis b. al-ʿAmīd al-Makīn, *Georgius Elmacinus*, in his *Historia saracenia*, which Erpenius had published in Latin, had made this clear enough through their account of the burning of the Alexandrian library and of the first caliphs' opposition to learning.[46] All that this era had produced was coins, as was known from Hottinger;[47] some of these had been discovered in excavations even in Sweden, as recently in Örebrö.[48]

The situation in the Arab world had changed only under the Abbasids, Peringer and Celsius concluded, at which point the Arabs became the most important guardians of the classical tradition.[49] Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Manṣūr had undertaken a major project of translation, parts of which – numerous works by Aristotle, Euclid and Plotinus – Peringer could find in Hottinger's *Bibliotheca orientalis*, as well as in Pococke and John Greaves's prefaces to their editions of Abū l-Fidāʾ and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī.[50] How many works from the ancient world would never have reached the Renaissance if the Arabs had not preserved them across the centuries? A catalogue of Arab scholars then follows on almost forty pages, arranged by discipline and citing not only Al-Kindī, Abū Maʿshar, Avicenna, Averroes and Al-Battānī, but also Ibn al-

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42   P. Kirstenius, *Tria specimina characterum arabicorum*, Breslau, 1608, pp. 7–10.

43   T. Erpenius, *Historia Josephi Patriarchae ex Alcorano arabice*, Leiden, 1617, fols D2ʳ–H4ᵛ.

44   J.G. Nissel, *Testamentum inter Muhamedem legatum Dei et christianae religionis populos olim initum, ut et Suratarum Alcorani decimaquartae et decimaquintae*, Leiden, 1655, with separated pagination.

45   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 3, pp. 62–4.

46   G. Abul-Faragius, *Historia compendiosa Dynastiarum*, in Latin pp. 114–15, in Arabic pp. 181–2; G. Elmacinus, *Historia saracenica, qua res gestae Muslimorum explicantur*, Leiden, 1625, Liber I, ch. 3, pp. 29–30.

47   J.H. Hottinger, *Dissertatio de nummis orientalium, Hebraeorum maxime et Arabum.*, in ibid., *Cippi Hebraici*, Heidelberg, 1662, pp. 89–188; and see as Peringer's authority also A. Morell, *Specimen universae rei numariae antiquae*, Paris, 1683, pp. 132–33.

48   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 3, p. 65.

49   Ibid., ch. 3, pp. 66–9.

50   J. Greaves, *Chorasmiae et Mawaralnahrae, hoc est regionum extra fluvium Oxum descriptio ex tabulis Abulfedae Ismaelis*, London, 1650, praefatio, fols aaʳ–aa3ᵛ; E. Pococke, *Lamiato'l Ajam, Carmen Tograi poetae Arabis doctissimi*, Oxford, 1661, praefatio, fols 4ʳ–8ʳ; and for Peringer's list of texts J.H. Hottinger, *Promtuarium sive bibliotheca orientalis*, Heidelberg, 1658, Liber III, Pars II, ch. 2, pp. 215–41.

Haytham and al-Bīrūnī.[51] Peringer stresses that it was not just in astronomy, mathematics and medicine that Arabic science was far ahead of the Latin world. Arabic historiography, too, as Johann Heinrich Hottinger and Matthias Wasmuth had shown, was superior to Western history writing in its precision and impartiality;[52] Christian Ravius had even found a history of Alexander the Great.[53] And the quality of the language was worthy of the subject it presented, as Peringer illustrates on a further twenty pages.[54] In this assessment, too, the Swedish scholars were able to draw on the great English authorities for their debate and on recently prepared editions. As a scholarly language Classical Arabic had the advantage of a stupendous *vocum emphasis* and *proprietas* and a *rotunda copia et brevitas*, and in this, as was demonstrated not least by Avicenna's *Canon*, it had no peer among all languages.[55] It was distinguished by a *foecunditas vocum*, which, as Pococke had shown, could form eighty synonymous terms just for 'ruler',[56] and which in historiography also permitted an especially subtle form of ambiguity and a singular *acumen*. The later variants of Arabic, whose land of origin had been conquered by the Turks and Tartars, could no longer rival this apogee of Arabic language and culture, as Peringer stressed.[57]

The final part of the *Historia linguae et eruditonis Arabum* consists of a separate history of Arabic studies in Europe, beginning among the Arabic Jews, with Saadia Gaon and Maimonides and including the Oriental and European Karaites. Peringer and Celsius summerize medieval interest in Arabic and the first Latin translations from the hands of figures like Petrus of Tivoli or Adelard of Bath, whose provisional character and later influence Peringer is able to demonstrate with a list of wrongly transcribed medical terms.[58] There follows a synopsis, country by country, of early modern Arabic studies, which details at

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51   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 3, pp. 70–105.

52   M. Wasmuth, *Grammatica arabica*, Amsterdam, 1644, Paraenesis de linguae arabicae utilitate, fols II^r–II2^v; and a basic list of texts in Hottinger, *Promtuarium sive bibliotheca orientalis*, Liber III, Pars II, ch. 2, pp. 271–5.

53   C. Raue, *Spolium orientis christiano orbi dicatum*, Kiel, 1669, Centuria II, no. 38.

54   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 3, pp. 105–14.

55   P. Kirstenius, *Liber secundus de Canone canonis a filio Sina*, Breslau, 1609, Praefatio, pp. 1–5; L. Warner, *Proverbiorum et sententiarum persicarum centuria*, Leiden, 1644, Praefatio, fols 4^r–5^v.

56   Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, Notae, p. 153.

57   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 4, pp. 120–37. See as Peringer's authority T. Hyde, *Tabulae longitudinis ac latitudinis stellarum fixarum ex observatione Ulugh Beighi Tamerlanis Magni Nepotis*, Oxford, 1665, praefatio (without pagination).

58   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 5, pp. 139–58.

length the achievements of Hottinger, Ludolf, Wasmuth, Filippo Guadagnoli, John Selden and William Bedwell.[59] But what was the position of Arabic studies in Peringer's homeland, in Sweden? Textbooks in Hebrew studies had been produced and theologians like Johannes Buskragius and Johannes Terser had emphasized the importance of Oriental studies, as had Erpenius before him.[60] But that was all. And why was knowledge of Arabic so useful? Arabic was needed, of course, to spread the truth of the Gospel in Arabia too. Both Peringer and Celsius had highlighted the antiquity of Arabic and its direct derivation from the *lingua adamica*. Arabic must therefore have a key role as an exegetical resource.[61] A number of obscure passages of Scripture could be explained with the help of Arabic. This special importance of the language according to Peringer had been demonstrated with copious examples by Johann Heinrich Hottinger,[62] as well as by Louis de Dieu in his commentaries on the New Testament.[63] Furthermore, as had already been made clear by earlier apologists for Arabic studies, Thomas Erpenius and Christian Ravius, the Arabs' enormous achievements in science meant that knowledge of Arabic must be of great utility also for physicians, mathematicians and politicians, indeed for everyone interested in languages.[64]

Arabia in the North

Peringer and Celsius thus make the case for Arabic using an established repertoire of arguments at the centre of which, as would be expected, theology is the leading discipline. The nobility of Arabic, its antiquity and purity, which set this language above all others, and its privileged role as a resource for scriptural exegesis were interlinked, and they were a sufficient incentive to establish Arabic studies in Sweden. A few years later the value of Arabic was promoted in the same style by Albert Schultens in his orations *De utilitate linguae*

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59   Ibid., ch. 5, pp. 159–83.

60   Ibid., ch. 5, pp. 183–5. Peringer and Celsius are invoking the authorities of Johann Peter Buskagrius, with a public speech, entitled *De usu linguarum in theologia*, and Johannes Elai Terserus, with a disputation on *teraphim*, as the very first two Swedish Orientalists with Arabic language skills. Neither text has been published.

61   Ibid., ch. 6, pp. 193–9.

62   Hottinger, *Smegma orientale*, Liber I, ch. 7, pp. 107–201.

63   L. de Dieu, *Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum*, Leiden, 1634, esp. ch. 7, pp. 49–80; id., *Animadversiones sive Commentarius in quatuor evangelia*, Leiden, 1631, esp. in Matthaeum, ch. 9, pp. 30–34.

64   Erpenius, *Oratio de linguae arabicae praestantia et dignitate*, fols C3r–D4v; and C. Raue, *Panegyrica secunda orientalibus linguis dicta*, Utrecht, 1644, pp. 13–23.

Arabicae and *De linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*,[65] which were in every way paradigmatic for their period.[66]

However, the *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum* took on a distinctive cast through the national and patriotic focus that both authors wished to accord to Oriental studies; as we shall see, this too would have a lasting influence. From the mid-seventeenth century the Swedish national ideology of gothicism had established itself among large numbers of Swedish university professors.[67] After disembarking from the Ark, Noah's descendants, the sons of Japheth, had travelled West and settled in Sweden, the original homeland of all the Nordic peoples, as had been maintained already by the Bishops of Uppsala, Johannes Magnus and Olaus Magnus. The Swedish peninsula had in this way become the parent of all European cultures, it being the place whence the Scythians, Amazons and Goths had conquered all of Europe in great migrations. Several works by Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1679) had already demonstrated that the earliest Gothic language must be directly related to Hebrew,[68] due to the immigration of the Japhethites; indeed, as could be proved through long word-lists,

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65 J. Braun – A. Schultens (resp.), *De utilitate linguae arabicae in interpretanda sacra scriptura*, Groningen, 1706, passim; id., *Oratio altera de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine, intima ac sororia cum lingua Hebraea cognatione, nullisque saeculis praeflorata puritate*, Franeker, 1729 (reprinted 1732), passim; id. – J. Ratelband (resp.), *Dissertatio philologica de convenientia admirabili dialecti arabicae cum hebraea in universo linguae ambitu*, Leiden, 1740, there ch. 5, pp. 68–101 a commented translation of sura 1 into Hebrew. The extensive result of his exegetical work was A. Schultens, *Animadversiones philologicae et criticae ad varia loca veteris testamenti, in quibus, ope praecipue linguae Arabicae, multa ab interpretibus nondum satis intellecta*, illustrantur, Amsterdam, 1732.

66 On Albert Schultens, whose position towards Arabic was much more complex than it can be explained here, see the very useful remarks by J. Loop, 'Kontroverse Bemühungen um den Orient. Johann Jacob Reiske und die deutsche Orientalistik seiner Zeit', in *Johann Jacob Reiske – Leben und Wirkung*, Leipzig, eds H.G. Ebert and T. Hanstein, 2005, pp. 45–86 (54–61). For a survey of Schultens's writings see still F. Mühlau, 'Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung für die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft', in *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 31, 1870, pp. 1–21.

67 On the goticist ideology in Sweden in general see e.g. the surveys of I. Schmidt-Voges, *De antiqua claritate. Gotizismus als Identitätsmodell im frühneuzeitlichen Schweden*, Frankfurt, 2004, passim; J. Svenbro, 'L'idéologie gothisante et l'Atlantica d'Olof Rudbeck', in *Quaderni di Storia*, 11, 1980, pp. 121–56, or S. Hansson, 'The Lament of the Swedish Language: Sweden's Gothic Renaissance', in *Renaissance Studies*, 23, 2009, pp. 151–60.

68 On the figure of Georg Stiernhielm in general see P.R. Olofsson, *Georg Stiernhielm. Diktare, domare, duellant. En levnadsteckning*, Stockholm, 1998, passim; and already B. Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm. Hans liv och versamhet*, Uppsala, 1909; and more recently e.g. K. Tarkiainen and Ü. Tarkiainen, *Provinsen bortom havet. Estlands svenska historia 1561–1710*, Stockholm, 2013, pp. 101–03. On Stiernhielm lexicographic projects J. Considine, *Dic-*

it was possible to derive it directly from Hebrew.[69] The aura of ancient Norse literature should therefore be correspondingly exalted. A few years before Peringer, the myth of the Hyperboreans had been related to the Swedish nation by Stiernhielm and Carl Lundius, who had situated the Hyperboreans' cult of Apollo in Scandinavia.[70] The temple in Uppsala, as once described by Adam of Bremen, had been their temple and the worship offered in it had been the cult of a triad composed of Odin, Thor and Freya, a celestial cult based on the worship of sun, moon and earth.[71] When, as was believed on the authority of the opening chapters of Snorre Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, the historical Odin had adopted the name of the god and migrated to Sweden from Asia Minor around the time of the birth of Christ, he had claimed this cult for himself.[72] Sweden's great polyhistor Olaus Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702), wanting to write a glorious prehistory for the Swedish empire, went a step further in his four-volume *Atlantica*, published in 1689–1704, which took the national ideology to its extreme. Rudbeck demonstrated with irrefutable erudition that Plato's Atlantis had been none other than the ancient Scytho-Gothic empire.[73]

    tionaries in Early Modern Europe. Lexicography and the Making of Heritage, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 244–9.

69   G. Stiernhielm, *Glossarium Ulphila-Gothicum linguis affinibus, per Franciscum Junium, nunc etiam Sveo-Gothica auctum et illustratum*, Stockholm, 1670; and already id., *Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus*, Uppsala, 1650, see there e.g. fol. B2ʳ on the 'Hall' of Odin, as derivated from the Hebrew word for 'tent', 'ahal'.

70   G. Stiernhielm, *Anticluverius, sive Scriptum breve, Johanne Cluverio Dantisco-Borusso oppositum, Gentis Gothicae originem et antiquissimam in Scandia vel Scandinavia sedem vindicans*, Stockholm, 1685, Dissertatio de Hyperboreis, pp. 135–37; and C, Lundius, *Zalmoxis primus Getarum legislator*, Uppsala, 1683, ch. 3, § 11, pp. 78–84.

71   On the golden temple of Uppsala and its timeless dignity, as exposed already by the Magnus brothers see e.g. M.E. Ruggieri, 'Gli idoli del tempio di Uppsala: tradizione ed ermeneutica in Johannes e Olaus Magnus', in C. Santini, *I fratelli Giovanni e Olao Magno. Opera e cultura tra due mondi*, Rome, 1999, pp. 261–308.

72   S. Sturluson, *Heims Kringla, eller Nordländske Konunga Sögor*, transl. J. Peringskiöld the Elder, Stockholm, 1697, Old Norse and Latin, ch. 2–8, pp. 2–10.

73   On Rudbeck's life see e.g. D. King, *A True Story of Genius, Madness, and an Extraordinary Quest for Lost World*, New York, 2005, there on the 'Atlantica' pp. 143–6, pp. 161–5. For a survey of the 'Atlantica' see G. Eriksson, *The Atlantic Vision. Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque Science*, Canton, 1994, pp. 13–86; and id., *Olaus Rudbeck 1630–1702. Liv, lärdom, dröm i barockens Sverige*, Stockholm, 2002, pp. 279–496. In addition e.g. I. Schmidt-Voges, *De antiqua claritate*, pp. 177–90, Tero Anttila, 'East of Atlantis – Ancient Finland and its Inhabitants in Olof Rudbeck the Elder's Atlantica', in *Itämeren itälaidalla II*, eds K. Alenius a, A. Honkola, Rovaniemi, 2009, pp. 39–56 (43–51); or already A. Ellenius, 'Olaus Rudbecks Atlantiska Anatomi', in *Lychnos*, 1959, pp. 40–52; and esp. J. Nordström, *De yverbornes ö. Sextonhundratalsstudier*, Stockholm, 1934, pp. 136–54.

At its heart had stood the golden temple of Uppsala, whose celestial cult, as Rudbeck proved in detail, had become the archetype of all the mythologies of the ancient world. The Yule festival held in archaic Sweden at the winter solstice to celebrate the return of the sun was the paradigm of all solar and vegetation cults of the ancient world, whether they took on the form of Persephone, Cybele or Dionysos, all of whom were just variations on the drama of the slain god Balder. Its caste of priests, the caste of Druids established by Odin, had become the model for all priestly castes.[74] Rudbeck had attempted to trace all the divine cults found in the Greco-Roman world back to an Old Norse substrate, basing his case on the Edda. Since the 1680s, Swedish scholars like Jacob Reenhielm and Olaus Verelius had begun to translate into Latin the remains of saga literature, such as the 'Hervara Saga' or 'Egil's Saga einhenda',[75] and commented on them in the same spirit as Rudbeck, viz. as witnesses to a primeval tradition that illuminated the Old Norse solar cult.[76] One of the most important members of this national-minded translation project was Peringer's younger brother, Johan Peringskiöld the Elder (1654–1720),[77] who provided Sweden not only with a Latin version of the *Heimskringla* and a translation of the Norse variant of the saga of Dietrich and the Nibelungen,[78] but, together

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74 O. Rudbeck the Elder, *Atland eller Manheim, dedan Japhetz afkomne, de förnemste Keyserlige och Kungelige Slecht. Atlantica sive Manheim, vera Japheti posterorum sedes ac patria*, 4 vols, Uppsala, 1679–1702, there on the solar cult with all its branches and derivations vol. 2, Latin and Swedish, ch. 5, pp. 135–436.

75 On the early modern Latin saga translations in Sweden see K. Busch, *Großmachtstatus und Saga-Interpretation – die schwedische Vorzeitsagaeditionen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Digital. University Library Erlangen, 2004. For a useful survey of Swedish 17th and 18th century antiquarism and its methological approach see in addition J. Widenberg, *Fäderneslandes antikviteter: etnoterritoriella historiebruk och integrationssträvanden i den svenska statsmaktens antikvariska verksamhet ca 1600 – 1720*, Uppsala, 2006, esp. pp. 105–41; M. Legnér, *Fäderneslandets rätta bekrivning. Mötet mellan antikvarisk forskning och ekonomisk nyttokult i 1700-talets Sverige*, Helsinki. 2004, esp. pp. 48–83; and S. Blocher, *Altertumskunde und Sammlungswesen in Schweden von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis zur Regierungszeit Gustavs II. Adolf*, Frankfurt. 1993, pp. 199–210.

76 See e.g. O. Verelius, *Hervarar Saga på gammal Götska*, Uppsala, 1672, ch. 1, pp. 21–3, or ch. 4, pp. 60–66, or P. Salanus, *Fostbroedernas Eigles Och Asmunds Saga – Fortissimorum pugilum Egilli et Asmundi Historia*, Uppsala, 1693, Notae, pp. 156–60.

77 On Peringskiöld's translations Busch, *Großmachtstatus*, pp. 121–35, pp. 203–20; or K. Schier, 'Literatur als historisches Argument: Einige Bemerkungen zum Nachwirken Snorris in Skandinavien vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert', in *Snorri Sturluson. Beiträge zu Werk und Rezeption*, ed. H. Fix, Berlin, 1998, pp. 181–229, here pp. 201–6.

78 J. Peringskiöld, *Vita Theoderici regis Ostrogothorum et Italiae autore Joanne Cochlaeo Germano, cum additamentis et annotationibus, quae Sveo-Gothorum ex Scandia expeditiones*

with his son Johan the Younger (1689–1725), also an extensive census of the Swedish runic inscriptions.[79]

At various points in their *Historia*, Peringer and Celsius take account of this national ideology, which in 1694 was still a long way from its zenith. When discussing the origin of the decimal system and the numeral notation in use today, they admit that the Indians can rightly claim responsibility for the 'Arabic' numerals.[80] A similar argument had already been made by Erpenius and Wasmuth in their Arabic grammars;[81] Georg Welsch had also treated the topic in detail in his *Ruzname*.[82] But who could say, argued Peringer, whether it had not in fact been the Scythians, the mother-people of the Goths, who were due the credit for discovering the numerals?[83] Matters were similar with the practice of writing as a whole and the first writing materials. Job had wanted to carve his writings in stone;[84] and Athanasius Kircher had discovered what was perhaps the oldest Semitic inscription, carved into Mount Horeb.[85] But was this primitive form of writing not the same as that of the runestones and their script? And especially similar, Peringer and Celsius observe, to that minimal and perhaps earliest – almost cuneiform – variant, which Olaus Celsius's father, Magnus Celsius (1621–1679), had found in Helsingland. Was this not perhaps evidence of an inner affiliation?[86] When Celsius in 1702 returned to the topic of the runestones of Helsingland, he managed to give even greater weight to the parallels.[87] Flavius Josephus had recounted how the descendants of Seth had carved their celestial knowledge on stones to save it from the deluge; the Jews had carved their Commandments on tablets of stone or, like Jacob in

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et commercia illustrant, Stockholm 1699; id., *Wilkina-Saga, aller Historien om Könung Thiderich af Bern, och seins Kämpar, samt Niflunga Sagan*, Stockholm, 1715.

79   J. Peringskiöld, *Monumentorum Sveo-Gothicorum liber Primus, Uplandiae partem primariam Thiundiam continens, cum Antiquitatibus ac Inscriptionibus quae Cippis et Rupibus, vel Tumbis incisae passim reperiuntur*, Stockholm, 1710, there on the solar cult of Uppsala ch. 2, pp. 134–62.

80   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 1, pp. 19–22.

81   T. Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica*, Leiden, 1613, Liber I, ch. 1, p. 11; M. Wasmuth, *Grammatica arabica*, Amsterdam, 1654, ch. 1, sectio 1, p. 4.

82   Welsch, *Commentarius in Ruzname*, p. 72.

83   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 1, pp. 18–19.

84   Job, 19:23–24.

85   A. Kircher, *Prodromus coptus sive Aegyptiacus*, Rome, 1636, ch. 8, pp. 201–19.

86   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 1, pp. 14–15.

87   O. Celsius – O. Flodman (resp.) – M. Thelaus (resp.), *Sunaita runr sive Oreades Helsingicae redivivae*, 2 vols, Uppsala, 1710, vol. 1, Pars I, ch. 4–5, pp. 15–23.

Bethel, had set up standing stones.[88] Just so, Celsius pointed out, had the men of the North proceeded from the earliest times, as one could learn from the *Heimskringla*.[89] In the *Historia*, Peringer and Celsius are able to adduce even more parallels between Arab culture and the Old Norse homeland. Hardly any language had produced more eloquent poets than Arabic, as had been shown already by Erpenius and Johann Fabricius Dantiscanus.[90] Did not these poets, with their intricate metaphors, their satirical wit and the often agonistic character of their delivery, correspond to the Norse skaldic poetry, the vast antiquity of which was self-evident to every committed Gothicist?[91] With satisfaction Peringer and Celsius finally observe that the Arabic geographer al-Idrīsī, whose work had been translated into Latin by Gabriel Sionita a few years previously,[92] already had a sound knowledge of Sweden and Finland and had noted not only Kalmar and Sigtuna, the metropolis founded by Odin, but also *Tavastia*, the Finnish region of Häme.[93]

Peringer and Celsius as Swedish Arabists

It was already pointed out by Hans-Joachim Schoeps that Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad became the guiding figure for a whole generation of Swedish Orientalists who took their cue from Buskragius and Terser, both of whom were mentioned by Peringer. Across a period of around three decades scholars like

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88   F. Josephus, *Opera*, ed. H. St. J. Thackeray, 9 vols, Cambridge, MA., 1961, *Jewish Antiquities*, vol. 4, Book I, § 3, Greek and English, pp. 30–33.

89   Celsius – Flodman – Thelaus, *Sunaita runr sive Oreades Helsingicae*, vol. 1, Pars I, ch. 6, pp. 23–6. Athanasius Kircher, informed about the Helsingland-runes, was not willing to identify letters at all, see O. Celsius, *De runis helsingicis ad virum illustrem Antonium Magliabechium epistola*, Rome, 1698, fol. A2ᵛ.

90   Erpenius, *Oratio de linguae arabicae praestantia et dignitate*, fols D3ʳ–D4ʳ; Fabricius, *Specimen arabicum*, pp. 169–82, Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, Notae, pp. 158–61. On metrics Peringer – Celsius, pp. 117–19, are giving some extracts taken from Samuel Clarke, *Scientia metrica et rhythmica, seu Tractatus de prosodia arabica*, Oxford, 1661.

91   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 3, pp. 115–17.

92   G. Sionita, *Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio*, Paris, 1619, Clima septimum, pars 5, pp. 274–75. The Arabic text, used by Peringer, appeared as *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, Rome, 1592, Reprint Frankfurt, 1992, see there Climate VII, Pars 5 (without pagination). For a modern commented edition see al-Idrīsī, *La Finlande et les autres pays baltiques orientaux*, ed. O.J. Tallgren-Tuulio and A.M. Tallgren, Helsinki, 1930, there pp. 30–35, and see on Sigtuna, Tavastia and Kalmar in the commentary, p. 44, pp. 48–9.

93   Peringer – Celsius, *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum*, ch. 3, pp. 101–2.

Johannes Palmrooth, Laurentius Normann, Daniel Lundius, Carolus Schulten, Georg Wallin, Eric Fahlenius, Anders Boberg, Michael Enemann and Eric Benzelius the Younger brought about a flourishing of Swedish Oriental studies that would never again be reached at the universities of Uppsala, Lund, Turku, Greifswald, Tartu and Pernau. The result of their work was, primarily, a thriving practice of translation from Hebrew, conducted in monographic works and disputations and involving especially Maimonides, Ibn Esra and Abravanel, though it also found room for less well known authors such as Jehuda Lebh ben Hillel. Not all the products of this period made their way into print: kabbalistic texts, in particular, such as an extensive Zohar anthology and excerpts from the 'Sefer Gale Razeia', circulated only in manuscript. In addition to the Latin translations, the number of disputations treating rabbinical questions and biblical realia runs into three digits. These works, too, make generous use of Hebrew literature and, as Schoeps showed, they often draw even on obscure texts in the original language.[94]

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94   On Semitic and especially the Hebrew studies at the Swedish universities in general see
      the surveys of Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock, Religions- und geistesgeschichtliche
      Untersuchungen*, Tübingen, 1952, pp. 134–62; and B. Roling, 'Erlösung im angelischen
      Makrokosmos. Emanuel Swedenborg, Die Kabbala denudata und die schwedische Orien-
      talistik', in *Morgen-Glantz*, 16, 2006, pp. 385–457 (397–420). On semitic studies in Uppsala
      in 17th and 18th century J. Eskhult, *Andreas Norrelius' Latin Translation of Johan Kemper's
      Hebrew Commentary on Matthew*, Uppsala, 2007 (53–63); B. Lindberg, 'Filosemitism och
      biblicism – om synen på det judiska i det karolinska Sverige', in Csató – Gren-Eklund –
      Sandgren, *En resenär*, pp. 143–63 (146–61); G. Bäärnhielm, 'Orientalistiken i Sverige fram
      till 1720-talet', in Csató – Gren-Eklund – Sandgren, *En resenär*, pp. 39–87; Marsha Keith
      Schuchard, *Emanuel Swedenborg, Secret Agent on Earth and in Heaven. Jacobites, Jews, and
      Freemasons in Early Modern Sweden*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 14–36; F. Rundgren, 'Semitic Lan-
      guages', in *Uppsala University 500 Years*, vol. 6, *Faculty of Arts at Uppsala University. Lin-
      guistics and Philology*, Uppsala, 1976, pp. 99–112 (100–08); Annerstedt, *Uppsala Universitets
      Historia. Andra Delen*, vol. 1, pp. 314–16, and vol. 2, pp. 290–7, *Tredje Delen*, vol. 1, pp. 119–
      24, and vol. 2, pp. 390–405; and earlier K.U. Nylander, 'Semitiska studier i Sverige under
      flydda tider', in *Ny svensk tidskrift för kultur- och samhällfrågor, populär vetenskap, kritik
      och skönliteratur*, 10, 1889, pp. 179–208, pp. 329–68. On Oriental and mainly Hebrew stud-
      ies in Turku see K. Karttunen, 'Lähteitä orientalistiikan ja Vanhan testamentin ekseget-
      iikan historiaan 1640–1828', in *Suomalaisen eksegetiikan ja orientalistiikan juuria*, eds
      I. Antola and H. Halén, Helsinki, 1993, pp. 163–202, there a survey of all dissertations
      pp. 163–79; id., *Itää etsimässä. Eurooppalaisen Aasian-tutkimuksen vaiheita*, Helsinki,
      1992, pp. 48–51; and especially id., *Moseeksen kirjoista kungfutselaisuuden klassikoihin ja
      Jerusalemista Siperian tundralle. Aasian-tutkimuksen vaiheet Suomessa*, Helsinki, 2011,
      pp. 13–182. On the role of Semitic studies in Tartu/Dorpat and Pärnu/Pernau see first of all
      von Rauch, *Die Universität Dorpat*, pp. 348–54; and K. Karttunen, 'Linguarum professio in
      Academia Gustaviana in Tartu (Dorpat) and Academia Gustavo-Carolina in Pärnu

In Sweden there was great interest in the Kabbala which, from his arrival in Sweden in 1698, was promoted by one man, a convert and former follower of Sabbatai Zevi, Moses ben Ahron, who had given himself the name Johann Kemper. As we shall see, this special standing of the Kabbala in Sweden would not leave Arabic studies at the Swedish universities untouched. Kemper was responsible for some works on the *Cabala christiana*, including a series of Zohar excerpts and a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of Matthew, which he commented upon in the tradition of the Christian Kabbala.[95] Kemper found an enthusiastic student in a contemporary of Olaus Celsius, the Uppsala Orientalist and librarian Anders Norrelius (1679–1749), who, in several treatises, in turn adapted Kemper's works and translated them into Latin.[96] Even a quick look at Norrelius's texts shows that a few basic ideas that had long been established in the tradition of the Christian Kabbala were deployed to adapt the kabbalistic *sefirot* system to Christianity. For Norrelius, Christ corresponded to the mediating angel of the Enoch tradition, Metatron and El Shaddai, the Son of God and incarnate Logos. At the same time, within the ten *sefirot* the Saviour could be matched to the *sefira yesod*, in which the *sefirot tif'eret* and *malkhut* were united. This union of three *sefirot* in one, Norrelius believed, reflected the triad of the upper *sefirot*, which bore all the attributes of the

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     (Pernau) in Estonia', in *Nordisk Judaistik*, 16, 1995, pp. 65–74; and earlier A. Bulmerincq, 'Orientalistika õpingud Tartu rootsiaegses ülikoolis', in *Usuteadusline Ajakiri*, 3, 1932, pp. 39–44.

95   On the life and teachings of Johan Kemper, whose longlasting influence can still be seen in the works of Jonas Hallenberg, as will be demonstrated below, and his approach to Oriental studies Eskhult, *Andreas Norrelius' Latin Translation*, pp. 64–72; Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock*, pp. 92–133; S. Asulin, 'Another Glance at Sabbateanism, Conversion and Hebraism in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Scrutinizing the Character of Johan Kemper in Uppsala, or Moshe, Son of Aharon of Krakow (Hebrew)', in *The Sabbatean Movement and its Aftermath. Messianism, Sabbateanism and Frankism* (*Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought 16/17*), 2 vols, ed. R. Elior, Jerusalem, 2001, pp. 423–70 (427–70); E.R. Wolfson, 'Messianism in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper', in *Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World*, eds M.D. Goldish and R.H. Popkin., Dordrecht, 2001, pp. 139–87. On Kempers commentary on Matthew see esp. M. Eskhult, '"Rabbi" Johan Kemper's skrifttolkning: en maktpåliggande frihet', in *Ordets makt och tankens frihet: Om språket som maktfaktor*, ed. R.B. Andersson, Uppsala, 1999, pp. 159–68; and Eskhult, *Andreas Norrelius' Latin Translation*, pp. 73–81.

96   On the figure of Anders Norrelius Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock*, p. 98, pp. 107–13, p. 116, pp. 143–6; Roling, 'Erlösung', pp. 403–7; and already Nylander, 'Semitiska studier', pp. 343–4.

Christian Trinity.[97] It was perhaps unusual in Norrelius's work that this Uppsala Orientalist, who had also demonstrated his knowledge of Arabic in a study of the bird names in Scripture,[98] made extensive use of the classics of anti-Qur'anic polemic, above all the *Prodromus Alcorani* of Lodovico Maracci, in order to search the Qur'an, too, for evidence of belief in the Trinity.[99]

Peringer and Celsius at first glance do not seem to move far outside the mainstream of Swedish Hebrew studies.[100] Peringer produced a whole series of Latin translations, including the Mishna tractates 'Avoda Zara' and 'Tamid',[101] which he had done already as a student in Altdorf, and excerpts from the *Mishne Torah* of Maimonides.[102] The treatises and disputations addressed well known topics that were often discussed subsequently, too, such as the Urim

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97   A. Norrelius, *Phosphorus orthodoxae fidei veterum Cabbalistarum testimonia de sacro-sancta trinitate et Messia Deo et homine ex pervetusto libro Sohar deprompta*, Amsterdam, 1720, pp. 6–7, pp. 43–7; id., *Någre utvalde Bevis, Tagne utur Sohar, fom är Judarnes åldsta och vårdesta Utlågning öfver Mosis Böcker, at deras Förfäder, som fordom lefde under Gamla Testamentets tid, haft samma Lära och Tro, om det Guddomeluga Väsendet: om Messia, eller Jesu Christo: och hans Medlare-ämbete, som vi Christne det nu hafve*, Uppsala, 1747, IV. Beviset, pp. 8–10, VII. Beviset, pp. 13–16; id., *Hebreiska oration vid Jubelfesten i Uppsala den 16 Juni 1730*, ed. and transl. (into Swedish) K.V. Zetterstéen, Leipzig, 1923, Hebrew pp. 26–30, Swedish, pp. 48–51; and in the Latin translation of Johan Kemper by Norrelius e.g Eskhult, *Andreas Norrelius' Latin Translation*, p. 351, p. 352, pp. 356–7.

98   A. Norrelius, *Schediasma de avibus Arbeh, Solam, Chargol, Chagab Israelitis in cibum concessis*, Amsterdam 1720, id., *Diatriba de avibus de esu licitis quam codice sacro, Talmudico Chullin, et naturae scrutinio in ulteriorem locorum Levit. XI et Deut. XIV illustrationem*, Uppsala, 1746, there e.g. p. 3, p. 21, p. 23, pp. 60–61, p. 69.

99   Norrelius, *Phosphorus orthodoxae fidei*, p. 3, pp. 9–10, pp. 14–15.

100   On Peringer's Hebrew studies see beside Schoeps now M. Eskhult, 'Peringer som hebra-ist', in Csató – Gren-Eklund – Sandgren, *En resenär*, pp. 127–39.

101   G. Peringer, *Masekhtot 'Avoda zara ve-Tamid paraphrasi Latina redditi, quorum primus agit de Idolatria, alter de Sacrificio iugi, quod olum in Templo Hierosolymitano quotidie offerebatur*, Altdorf, 1680. As Peringer stresses in his introduction (without pagination), Wagenseil was his teacher, but his real inspiration was Edward Pococke, *ornamentum huius saeculi*. The book was dedicated to Queen Ulrika Eleonora.

102   G. Peringer, *Officium Messiae Judaici, hoc est R. Mosis Maimonis Tractatus de regibus caput undecimum*, Uppsala, 1692; and e.g. id. – J. Florander (resp.), *R. Mosis Maimonidae Tractatus de primitiis cap. sextum et septimum, quae ex Hebraeo in sermonem Latinum conversa*, Uppsala, 1695, together with further disputations on chapters of the same treatise. Peringer's bibligraphical work culminated in G. Peringer – J. Ritterhus (resp.), *De cura litteraturae hebraicae, praecipie inter Europaeos, breviter delineata in dissertatione graduali*, Uppsala, 1688.

and the Thummim,[103] the Nazarites,[104] the scapegoat,[105] *tefilin*,[106] the Tabernacle,[107] washing the hands,[108] the Jubilee[109] or Jonah's gourd.[110] An unusual but maybe today well-known point in Peringer's work in Jewish studies was his frequently affirmed interest in the Karaites, whom he sought out in person in Lithuania during a lengthy journey in 1690.[111] The results of his expedition, which consisted primarily in a collection of manuscripts, were reported in letters, including one that was published, to Hiob Ludolf, with whom he was in close contact.[112] The journey resulted in no other publications, but Peringer devoted a series of lectures to his experience in Lithuania. In the following

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103   G.Peringer – J. Lechander (resp.), *Urim et Thummim*, Uppsala, 1684.

104   G.Peringer – C. Jernfeld (resp.), *De Nasiraeis tractatus Hebraeo-philologicus*, Uppsala, 1683.

105   G.Peringer – H. Stridsberg (resp.), *De Asasele seu hirco emissario dissertatio philologica*, Uppsala, 1683.

106   G.Peringer – N. Swebelius (resp.), *Dissertatio philologica de tephilin seu phylacteriis*, Uppsala, 1690.

107   G. Peringer – P. Tillaeus (resp.), *Vikuah 'al mishkan ohel mo'ed sive Historiola tabernaculi mosaici*, Uppsala, 1688.

108   G.Peringer – A. Wijbjörnsson (resp.), *Disputatio philologica Netilat yadayim seu lotionem manuum secundum morem hebraeorum*, Uppsala, 1688.

109   G.Peringer – O. Hernodius (resp.), *De anno Judaeorum jubilaeo*, Uppsala, 1685.

110   G. Peringer – D. Trautzel (resp.), *Dissertatio philologica de kikajon Jonae*, Uppsala, 1691.

111   On Peringer's travellings in Lithuania see first S. Szyszman, 'Gustaf Peringers Mission bei den Karäern', in *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 102, 1952, pp. 215–28; and now esp. E.Á. Csató, 'Caraimica upsalensia', in Csató – Gren-Eklund – Sandgren, *En resenär*, pp. 181–213. Peringer's journey has received great attention also in Lithuania itself, see e.g. A. Balulis – S. Mikulionis – A. Miškinis, *Trakų miestas ir pilys*, Vilnius, 1991, p. 114; and H. Kobeckaitė, *Liutuvos Karaimai*, Vilnus, 1997, p. 36, p. 51. When the Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf was visiting Trakai, the Karaite capital in Lithuania, in the year 1992, where he was warmly welcomed by the Karaite community of the city, according to the Lithuanian Web-Portal 'Mes-karaimai' (<http://trakietis.balsas.lt/traku-naujienos/nauji enos/mes---kaaimai>, written by Romualdas Tinfavičius), it was noted that the King was visiting Trakai 300 years after Peringer's journey, which had been initiated by his royal predecessor Carl XI, and demonstrated the great history of Swedish interest in their life.

112   G. Peringer, 'Epistola ad Iobum Ludolphum de statu Karraitarum in Lithuania', in *Monatliche Unterredungen Einiger Guter Freunde von Allerhand Büchern und Anderen Annemlichen Geschichten*, Nürnberg, 1691, pp. 572–4. A collection of Peringer's letters written to Hiob Ludolf, but including also Erik Benzelius and Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna is reproduced in Csató, 'Caraimica upsalensia', pp. 184–93, pp. 201–12. On Hiob Ludolfs close contacts to Sweden see already S.J.C. Lindqvist, 'Hiob Ludolf och Sverige', in *Donum Grapeanum. Festskrift tillägnad överbibliothekaren Anders Grape på sextiofemårsdagen den 7 mars 1945*, Uppsala, 1945, pp. 605–25.

period, Olaus Celsius probably saw himself primarily as a scholar of Hebrew. He and his respondents presented, among other things, studies on the Tractate 'Sanhedrin',[113] synagogues,[114] the Hebrew language in general,[115] Hebrew coinage,[116] Samson's foxes,[117] the Jewish oath,[118] the crossing of the Red Sea,[119] the Mount Sinai,[120] the 'Ma'ase Bereshith',[121] the Hebrew law of war,[122] Jewish laws on washing,[123] Rabbi Gamliel and his possible relation to Christianity,[124] the Samaritans,[125] Jewish converts,[126] and ambitious studies of Maimonides, which were accompanied by a richly annotated catalogue of his works.[127]

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113   O. Celsius – N. Hedenius (resp.), *Synedrium judaicum dissertatione philologica delineatum*, Uppsala, 1709.

114   O. Celsius – P. Eekman (resp.), *Batte kenesiyyot sive De synagogis dissertatio gradualis*, Uppsala, 1712.

115   O. Celsius – J.J. Montelius (resp.), *'Al leshon ha-qodesh sive de lingua sancta disputatio philologica*, Uppsala, 1712.

116   O. Celsius – E.P. Sahlmann (resp.), *Dissertatio gradualis de antiquis Hebraeorum nummis*, Uppsala, 1719.

117   O. Celsius – E. Bråmann (resp.), *Exercitium academicum de vulpibus Simsonis*, Uppsala, 1719.

118   O. Celsius – E. Rudman (resp.), *Exercitium academicum Shebuot yehudim sive iuramenta Judaeorum*, Uppsala, 1727.

119   O. Celsius – O.J. Telin (resp.), *De transitu Israelitarum per mare rubrum philologema*, Uppsala, 1715.

120   O.s Celsius – N. Altenius (resp.), *Har Sinaj seu Mons Sinai brevi dissertatione delineatus*, Uppsala, 1717.

121   O. Celsius – J. Landberg (resp.), *Ma'ase bareshit opera prima divina dissertatione philologica explicaturus*, Uppsala, 1718.

122   O. Celsius – J. Wallinus (resp.), *Disputatio philologica de legibus hebraeorum bellicis*, Uppsala, 1722.

123   O. Celsius – A.A. Leufstadius (resp.), *Dissertatio philologica de lotionibus Ebraeorum*, Uppsala, 1727.

124   O. Celsius – E. Siberg (resp.), *Rabban Gamliel Senior*, Uppsala, 1715, there on his role in Christianity § 6, pp. 28–31.

125   O. Celsius – M.L. Schepner – I. Peldan (resp.), *Specimen academicum de templo Samaritanorum in Garizim*, Uppsala, 1722; and O. Celsius – E. Frondel (resp.), *Natales linguae literarumque Samaritanorum*, Uppsala, 1717.

126   O. Celsius – J. G.Ratzki, *De judaeis conversis, eorumque in rem christianam aut literariam historiola*, Uppsala, 1714.

127   O. Celsius – J. Unaeus (resp.), *Specimen academicum de Rambam seu R. Mose Maimonide*, Uppsala, 1727, there on the writings of Maimonides §§ 9–11, pp. 20–35, §§ 19–23, pp. 57–72. Celsius, § 6, pp. 10–14, stresses also Maimonides strong connection with Arab philosophy. In addition e.g. O. Celsius – L. Hellmann (resp.), *Halikot kela'im sive R. Mosis Maimonidae tractatus de miscellis tria capita*, Uppsala, 1713.

But what was the later fate of Arabic studies, the project initiated by Peringer and Celsius in 1694? In the same year as the *Historia*, Peringer treated the Hijra of the Prophet at length, and by drawing on *Elmacinus* he reported and commented upon the special role of the city of Mecca and compared the Arabic dating era with the Christian and Jewish ones.[128] One study, certainly prompted by scholars like Gabriel Sionita und Abraham Ecchellensis, had already been devoted to the Maronites.[129] For a wider public the Uppsala professor translated into Swedish the 'Dream book' of Muhammed b. Sīrīn, which had long been circulating in Europe.[130] Arabic is also brought into disputations by Peringer on Rabbinic topics. He briefly addresses the Arabic names of gods in his treatise on the tetragrammaton.[131] In his study of the Hebrew protective amulettes and *sigilla*, which brims with parallels from both folklore and kabbalistic sources,[132] Peringer does not omit to include variants from Arabic occultism, which could have been an important source for Jewish talismanic magic.[133] His authority for this was Henning Henningsen's monumental study, *Muhammedanus precans*, hitherto largely overlooked, which provided information about comparable rituals.[134] When in 1696 Peringer presented in translation a catechism that had been produced in an Algonquian language for the Indians of Swedish Virginia, his observations included not only the fact that the Swedes had occupied the area seven hundred years earlier through the Vinland voyages,[135] but also remarks on the number of Bible translations that had been made into Oriental languages and on whether the many Indian idioms might match up to Hebrew in their poetic acoustic patterns.[136]

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128 G. Peringer – A. Orostander (resp.), *Dissertatio de Hegira Muhammedis*, Uppsala, 1694, §§ 5–8, pp. 9–21. See e.g. Elmacinus, *Historia saracenica*, Liber I, ch. 1, pp. 5–27; Hottinger, *Historia orientalis*, Liber IV, ch. 4, pp. 260–70.

129 G. Peringer – J. Jäger (resp.), *Dissertatio historica de Maronitis*, Uppsala, 1691.

130 G. Peringer, *Ny Apomasaris dröm-book, thet är en upsats på allehanda slags drömmer hwilka man icke allenast effter the indianers, persers och aegyptiers lära, har befunnit sanne, utan och af långlig förfarenheet och noga upteknande förmärkt, ofehlbart*, Stockholm, 1701.

131 G. Peringer – J.E. Klinthe (resp.), *De glorioso et reverendo nomine Dei Tetragrammato Jehova dissertatio hebraeo-philologica*, Uppsala 1682, ch. 3, § 6, fols D2ᵛ–D2ʳ.

132 G. Peringer – L.J. Weslander (resp.), *De amuletis Hebraeorum dissertatio*, Stockholm, 1685, ch. 3, pp. 39–55.

133 Ibid., ch. 2, §§ 3–4, pp. 15–17, § 7, pp. 20–21, § 9, pp. 23–4.

134 Henningsen, *Muhammedanus precans*, e.g. pp. 100–01, pp. 112–14, pp. 378–80.

135 J. Campanius Holm, *Lutheri Catechismus, öfwersatt på America-Virginske Språket*, Stockholm, 1696, Preface, fols a6ʳ–a7ʳ.

136 Ibid., Preface, fols a2ʳ–a2ᵛ.

However, Peringer's interest in Arabic continued to be attracted above all by the celestial cult that he himself had declared to be central to ancient Arab life. At least indirectly Peringer was here playing into the hands of the Rudbeckians, who had judged these celestial cults to be derivatives from or preludes to the Trinity of Uppsala.[137] Peringer provided the realia from the history of religion that could further illustrate and fill out Rudbeck's grand synthesis. The founder of the worship of the celestial bodies was Noah's son Ham, as the Uppsala professor established in a special study on the topic; Ham's descendants had taught astronomy to, among others, Zoroaster in Bactria.[138] Knowledge of the zodiac and large parts of mathematics, but also the cult of Isis and Osiris, representing in bodily form the Sun and the Earth, were established by Ham in Egypt.[139] Other representatives of this religion of the celestial bodies were the Sabaeans, whose existence would have been seen as a challenge above all by the Jews. The question of whether Zoroaster was also responsible for their rites is left open by Peringer.[140] The customs and stellar cults of the Sabaeans are explicated by the Uppsala scholar and his respondent, the later professor Daniel Lundius, primarily by drawing on Pococke, Hottinger and of course Maimonides himself, who, for both of them, explicitly confirms the immense antiquity of Sabaean cult practice.[141] For Peringer, the Magi follow on from the Sabaeans. Even their name, as Peringer stresses, is indirectly owed to Arabic, and originates in the root *j-s-s*, a word for *explorari*.[142] They too had worshipped sun and stars in a similarly complex ritual to that of the Sabaeans, as had been stressed already by the *philosophus Arabs* Job.[143] A further cult of

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137   On the late academical reception of Rudbeckianism in general see T. Frängsmyr, *Svensk idéhistoria. Bildning och vetenskap under tusen år*, 2 vols, Stockholm, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 323–5; Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria*, vol. 3, pp. 643–53; and especially, with a special focus on Finland, B. Roling, 'Von der Magie zur Poesie: Universalmythen in der finnischen Ethnogenese des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Enzyklopädie der Esoterik*, eds A.B. Kilcher and P. Theisohn, Munich, 2010, pp. 213–56.

138   G. Peringer – E. Halenius (resp.), *De Chamo scientiarum auctore dissertatio*, Uppsala, 1694, Thesis 2, pp. 4–7.

139   Ibid., Thesis 7, pp. 20–22, Thesis 9, pp. 25–8. See in addition also G. Peringer – J.D. Wingius (resp.), *De Sanchoniathone dissertatio*, Uppsala 1686, Membrum III, ch. 7, pp. 20–25.

140   G. Peringer – D. Lundius (resp.), *Emunat ve-daat ha-tsoveh. De Zabiis dissertatio philologica*, Uppsala, 1702, § 2, pp. 3–6.

141   Ibid., §§ 9–12, pp. 20–26.

142   G. Peringer – J. Arborelius (resp.), *Exercitatio academica de Magis Persarum*, Uppsala, 1694, Thesis 1–2, pp. 1–5.

143   Ibid., Thesis 5, pp. 10–12. See Job 31:26; and e.g. de Dieu, *Animadversiones sive Commentarius in quatuor evangelia*, in Marcum, ch. 2, pp. 3–4, and Alfraganus, *Elementa astronomica*, Notae, p. 35.

light was maintained in the temple of Gades, as Peringer explains in a follow-up study.[144] The end of the series is formed by a disputation on heliolatry in general. Peringer summarizes in almost encyclopaedic scope all known solar cults of the ancient world, and finally moves straight to Olaus Rudbeck, who had presented sufficient arguments, Peringer stresses, to prove the foundational role of the stellar cult in Uppsala and the triad of Odin, Thor and Freya.[145]

Olaus Celsius's later work in Arabic studies seems less speculative and more motivated by the exegetical role of Arabic, which he himself had ranked so highly. Celsius treated the god Moloch,[146] the role of the Arabs in Spain,[147] the place of paradise[148] and of Islam in India, which he sketched out with the help of travellers' reports.[149] Other studies concerned the pyramids, though these are presented only from the perspective of classical Greece and Athanasius Kircher,[150] and the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, the course and context of which Celsius was largely able to draw from the sources collected by Pococke and Hottinger.[151] Parallels to Arabic literature and its rich use of metaphors are found, for Celsius, both in the riddling sayings of Scripture, especially the books of the Prophets, which could all, he believed, be traced back to the tradition of the Egyptian hieroglyphics,[152] and also in the 'Golden Verses' of Pythagoras, for which Celsius considered a basis in the ancient Orient plausible. Divine perfection needed to be transmitted via tropes and images in order

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144   G. Peringer – N. Sundberg (resp.), *De Templo Herculis Gaditano exercitatio academica*, Uppsala, 1695, passim.

145   G. Peringer – J.G. Lifver (resp.), *De Heliolatreia sive cultu solis idolatrico disputatio philologica*, Uppsala, 1684, passim. On Rudbeck and the trinity of Uppsala see there Thesis 11, pp. 22–3.

146   O. Celsius – M.M. Dahling (resp.), *Exercitium academicum de Molecho*, Uppsala, 1717.

147   O. Celsius – E.O. Berg (resp.), *De Arabum in Hispania regno dissertatio*, Uppsala, 1720.

148   O.Celsius – E. Klingt (resp.), *Exercitium academicum de situ Paradisi terrestri*, Uppsala, 1714, see there ch. 3, §§ 8–9, pp. 18–22.

149   O. Celsius – M. Kruse (resp.), *Historia religionis in India orientali dissertation graduali leviter adumbrata*, Uppsala, 1719, Sectio II, pp. 55–70.

150   O. Celsius – J. Åkerman (resp.), *Historiola Pyramidum Aegypti*, Uppsala, 1725.

151   O. Celsius – B. Piscator (resp.), *De peregrinatione Muhammedanorum Meccana dissertatio*, Uppsala, 1722, Sectio 2, §§ 1–18, pp. 10–37. See e.g. Hottinger, *Historia orientalis*, Liber I, ch. 7, pp. 151–62; and Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, Notae, pp. 115–17. A further source was the recently published volume of A. Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, Utrecht, 1705, see there Liber I, pp. 3–123.

152   Olaus C. – C.J. Mendes (resp.), *Hiddot ha-qedushot seu Aenigmata sacra dissertatione philologica explicata*, Uppsala, 1724, Sectio 2, ch. 2, § 2, pp. 44–5, Sectio 3, § 2, pp. 78–9.

to bring it closer to ordinary people.[153] For Celsius, there were comparable Egyptian roots also for the astral cult that was linked to the obscure 'queen of heaven', the *regina coelestis*, against whose worship the prophet Jeremiah had explicitly warned.[154] The main focus of Celsius's engagement with Arabic came to be biblical botany. During a study trip, as Celsius himself records, he received from Golius the Arabic manuscript of a work on plant lore written by an author who had commented on Dioscorides in the tenth century, Abul Fadli ben Ahmed from Shiraz, today identified with Ibn Alkotbi.[155] Celsius realized the value of the Arabic taxonomy of plants and the immense continuity of plant terminology within the Semitic languages, and he believed that it held the key to several opaque biblical plant names. A series of monographic works followed: beginning with the biblical *chedeq*, which Celsius is able to identify as the aubergine,[156] he identifies various plants in Scripture with plants that were still common in the Orient. Celsius's extensive researches led in 1748 to the large, two-volume *Hierobotanicon*, which remained an influential reference work on the realia of biblical botany into the nineteenth century, and which managed to identify almost every plant in Scripture, from the famous *dodaim* to the palm *tamar*.[157] In this way it provided the period's most important supplement to the *Hierozoikon* of Bochart.

Arabic Studies Following Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad

How was Peringer and Celsius's programme for a Scandinavian project of Arabic studies received at the Swedish universities beyond its two founding figures? The diplomat and traveller Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727)

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153   O. Celsius – L. Ferner (resp.), *Aurea Pythagorae carmina*, Uppsala, 1705, no. 48, § 2, pp. 149–53.

154   O. Celsius – Petrus Apfelbaum (resp.), *Dissertatio philologica de regina coeli*, Uppsala, 1727, §§ 4–7, pp. 11–24. See Jeremiah 44:16–17.

155   O. Celsius, *Hierobotanicon sive de plantis Sacrae Scripturae dissertationes breves*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1748, Praefatio (without pagination).

156   O. Celsius – S. Gestrinus (resp.), *Botanici sacri exercitatio prima de Hedeq* (*Prov. XV et Mich. VII*) *ex Arabum scriptis pro modo ingenii illustratur*, Uppsala, 1702, ch. 2, pp. 16–29; and e.g. id., *De sacra herba Etzov disquisitio brevis*, in *Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae*, 3, 1734, pp. 1–45; and id., 'Commentiuncula, quae ostenditur Ebr. *Erez*, esse Arabum *Ers*', in *Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae*, 3, 1733, pp. 50–78; id., 'Quaeritur an '*Oren* Esai. XLIII. 14 sit '*Aran* arbor arabica, spinosa, baccifera, Abilfadli, Materiae medicae scriptoris apud Arabes clarissimi', in *Acta literaria et scientiarum Sueciae*, 3, 1732, pp. 101–9.

157   Celsius, *Hierobotanicon*, on the *dodaim* vol. 1, pp. 1–24, on the *palma* vol. 2, pp. 444–579.

gave a large collection of Arabic manuscripts to the University Library of Uppsala.[158] It is striking that the scholars directly influenced by Peringer nevertheless showed hardly any interest in treating Arabic themes in themselves: despite the large number of works produced by Palmrooth, Carolus Schulten, Boberg and Benzelius, not a single such topic is treated among them.[159] The only study on the history of philosophy is a disputation by the Uppsala theologian Johannes Steuch, who like Peringer had studied with Wagenseil in Altdorf and had devoted himself to the study of Arabic logic, taking his cue from Pococke, Graevius and Hottinger.[160] Almost continuously throughout Steuch's surveys he reports the theses presented in the *Historia*, explicitly basing his findings on Peringer and Celsius: the Greek sages had studied in the Orient and Job was the archetype of the Arab sage;[161] with the coming of the Prophet, Arab life had been hit by a massive collapse in its civilisation,[162] which was first restored by the Abbasid caliphs.[163]

We must wait two decades, until the second generation of Swedish Orientalists, before we hear a stronger echo of Peringer's efforts. A first type of disputation that we encounter is committed to the credo of treating Arabic as an exegetical language, the status of which is raised by its closeness to the primordial Hebrew language. Many of these works were produced in Turku in Finland, as Klaus Karttunen has recently shown.[164] Carl Aurivillius was perhaps the most productive Orientalist and Old Testament scholar of his era in Sweden, and had studied under Schultens in Leiden; his works were deemed worthy of re-publication by Michaelis.[165] Aurivillius celebrated the utility of Arabic for biblical exegesis in one of his own works in 1747, the argument of

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158   J.G. Sparwenfeld, *Catalogus Centuriae librorum rarissimorum manuscriptorum et partim impressorum*, Uppsala, 1706, see there e.g. for the manuscripts of Ibn al-Wardī and al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭughrāʾī, no. 18, p. 31, and no. 34, p. 43. A similar collection Sparwenfeld gave to the Royal Library in Stockholm, see id., *Ecloga sive catalogus librorum tum manuscriptorum impressorum, Hispanici praesertim Idiomati, quibus Regiam Bibliothecam Stockholmensem adauxit*, Stockholm, 1706. Peringer wrote the preface of the catalogue.

159   A contemporary 18th century survey of Swedish Oriental studies is given by E.L. Hydrén – J.G. Humble (resp.), *Specimen historico-literarium de fatis litteraturae orientalis in Suecia*, Uppsala, 1755, there e.g. on Peringer pp. 26–7, on Norrelius p. 36.

160   J. Steuchus – C.D. Solander, *Disputatio gradualis Historiam logicae Arabum exhibens*, Uppsala, 1721, § 2, pp. 3–9.

161   Ibid., § 1, pp. 1–3, § 5, pp. 12–22.

162   Ibid., § 6, pp. 22–25.

163   Ibid., § 7, pp. 25–27.

164   Karttunen, *Moseeksen kirjoista kungfutselaisuuden klassikoihin*, pp. 111–17.

165   C. Aurivillius, *Dissertationes ad sacras litteras et philologiam orientalem pertinentes, cum praefatione Joannis Davidis Michaelis*, Leipzig, 1790. On Carolus Aurivillius see Anner-

which closely follows that of Peringer's *Historia*, being based, like its model, primarily on Hottinger and Pococke: Arabic is directly derived from the *lingua adamica* and for that reason is of special dignity.[166] Aurivillius gave examples of this usefulness again later in a study devoted to the Decalogue, the lexicology of which he was able to illuminate word by word from Arabic.[167] Another work by Aurivillius on Arabic is based directly on Celsius, namely a Latin translation of the botanical encyclopedia of Ibn al-Wardī, an author of the fourteenth century.[168]

Other scholars around the shores of the Baltic also picked up the theme of the privileged position of Arabic and celebrated it in the spirit of Peringer in apologias of their own. A direct student of Aurivillius, Carl Abraham Clewberg, who was an amazingly productive Hebrew scholar and theologian, underlines the privileged position of Arabic in his *Specimen de usu linguae Arabicae*,[169] delivered in 1757 at the University of Turku, directly citing Schultens, but stresses even more strongly than his predecessors the primeval status of Arabic.[170] He demonstrates its closeness to the primordial Hebrew language with a whole series of examples.[171] Finnish scholars like Eric Cajanus (as Clewberg knew), whose disputation was supervised by the theologian Daniel Lundius, or Daniel Weman had at the same time attempted to show that the Finnish and Estonian languages must also have arisen directly out of Hebrew,[172]

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stedt, *Uppsala Universitets Historia. Tredje Delen*, vol. 2, pp. 371–2, pp. 396–400; Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria*, vol. 3, pp. 589–92.

166   C. Aurivillius – E. Hallgren (resp.), *Disputatio philologica de usu dialecti Arabicae in indaganda vocum Ebraicarum significatione propria et orginaria*, in *Dissertationes ad sacras litteras*, no. 1, pp. 1–40 (first Uppsala, 1747), §§ 2–6, pp. 3–11.

167   C. Aurivillius – A. Thorberg (resp.), *Decalogus Hebraicus ex Arabica dialecto illustratus*, in *Dissertationes ad sacras litteras*, no. 26 (first Uppsala, 1782), pp. 560–73.

168   C. Aurivillius – E. Axelsson (resp.), *Particula ex opere cosmographico Ibn Alvardi latine versa et notis illustrata*, in *Dissertationes ad sacras litteras*, no. 2 (first Uppsala, 1752), pp. 41–73.

169   On Clewberg in general see Heikel, *Filologins studium*, pp. 188–92. A detailed summary of this disputation now is given by T. Harviainen and K. Karttunen, 'The Outset of Arabic Studies in Finland with Notes on Finnish: Carolus Clewberg and Michael Avellan', in *Travelling through time. Essays in honour of Kaj Öhrnberg*, eds S. Akar, J. Hämeen-Anttila and I. Nokso-Koivisto, Helsinki, 2013, pp. 427–56.

170   C.A. Clewberg – M. Avellan (resp.), *Specimen philologicum usum Arabicae in perficiendo lexico hebraeo sistens*, Turku, 1747, § 1, pp. 1–3.

171   Ibid., §§ 5–8, pp. 9–18.

172   D. Lund – E. Cajanus (resp.), *De linguarum hebraicae et fennicae convenientia*, Turku, 1697, Membrum II, pp. 7–13, and later C.G. Weman – B. Ignatius (resp.), *De convenientia linguarum Hebraeae et Fennicae*, Turku, 1767, there e.g. § 4, pp. 12–14,

indeed, among the European languages they were perhaps the ones most closely related to it.[173] The final section of Clewberg's study is therefore devoted to the attempt to show proximity between Arabic and Finnish through long comparisons of vocabulary.[174] A few years later Clewberg's colleague in Turku, Lars Lefrén,[175] was able to show how a passage from Genesis can only be explained with reference to Arabic.[176] To support his exegesis, Lefrén does not shy away from noting onomatopoetic correspondences in Old Swedish.[177] These kinds of parallelisms were only possible because the idea of a primordial language as a whole was widely held to be beyond challenge.

Michael Avellan, who had served as respondent in Clewberg's *Specimen*,[178] followed this up in 1761 with a study, written together with his brother, which once again restated his theses about the exceptional position of Arabic. For the Finn Avellan, too, the supporting authorities are, in addition to Hottinger, Erpenius and Schultens, primarily Peringer and Celsius, whose assessment of the wisdom of the ancient Arabs Avellan wholly supports.[179] Disputations of identical content were delivered in Lund in 1784 by Henrik Ståhl,[180] in Uppsala in 1791 by Elias Hedendahl,[181] and in Turku the same year by Pehr Malmström, another student of Aurivillius. Malmström provided a whole catalogue of arguments that can be adduced in favour of the study of Arabic: not just the almost

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173   On the supposed relationship between Finnish and Hebrew see T. Harviainen, 'Ragaz ja rakas. Kai on suomikin heprean sukua?', in *Kirjoja ja muita ystäviä. Onnittelukirja Kaari Utriolle ja Kai Linnilälle*, ed. M. Paulaharju, Hämeenlinna, 2002, pp. 69–74; and id., 'The Story of Supposed Hebrew-Finnish Affinity a Chapter in the History of Comparative Linguistics', in *Inquiries into Words. Constraints and Contexts: Festschrift in the Honour of Kimmo Koskenniemi on his 60th Birthday*, ed. A. Arpe, Saarijärvi, 2005, pp. 289–306, there e.g. on Lundius and Cajanus pp. 294–7, and with many details Roling, 'Von der Magie zur Poesie', pp. 236–44.

174   Clewberg – Avellan, *Specimen philologicum usum Arabicae*, § 9, pp. 18–20. See also Harviainen and Karttunen, 'The Outset of Arabic Studies', pp. 445–50.

175   On Lefrén see Heikel, *Filologins Studium*, pp. 192–93, Råberg, *Teologins historia*, pp. 124–33.

176   L. Lefrén – I. Arenander (resp.), *Dissertatio gradualis de gemina versione arabica exclamationis Adami*, Gen. ii, 23, Turku, 1714, §§ 1–2, pp. 3–5, § 4, pp. 6–8.

177   Ibid., § 9, pp. 13–14.

178   On Avellan see Heikel, *Filologins Studium*, p. 211, Råberg, *Teologins historia*, pp. 120–21.

179   M. Avellan – C. Avellan (resp.), *Dissertatio historico-philologica de caussis puritatis ac floris perennis linguae Arabicae*, Turku, 1761, passim, on Peringer esp. § 4, pp. 8–9.

180   H. G Ståhl – T. Linnell (resp.), *Dissertatio academica in eo occupata, ut rationes nonnullas, quae linguam Arabicam cultoribus perdiscendam suadeant*, Lund, 1784, passim.

181   E. Hedendahl – C.E. Hultin (resp.), *Dissertatio philologica de necessitate et utilitate linguae Arabicae cum reliquis dialectis theologo*, Uppsala, 1791, passim.

divine origin of the idiom, its immense *duratio* and the archaic knowledge –
above all astronomy, mathematics and medicine – that it transmits, and the
utility of Arabic for scriptural exegesis and the study of philosophy,[182] but also
the superiority of Arabic poetry, proclaimed by William Jones in this period.[183]

A second type of Arabic study in the Swedish empire picked up themes that
had been established by the major figures of Oriental studies cited already by
Peringer, viz. Pococke, Fabricius Dantiscanus and Hottinger. Peringer and
Celsius had not made much of the Qur'an, which they had characterized as the
beginning of the decadence of Arabic. Eric Fahlenius, a doctoral student of
Johannes Esberg who would later enjoy a career as professor in Pernau,[184] felt
called upon to demonstrate in detail the falsification of the Qur'an by the
deceitful Prophet.[185] With this goal, Fahlenius believed that he could derive
numerous suras from Jewish sources, which he drew in part from rabbinic tra-
dition and in part from kabbalistic works like the Zohar, which he himself had
helped to make available in Sweden.[186] Fahlenius was followed in his harsh
judgment on the authenticity of the Qur'an by Jonas Sidrén in his *Historiola
literaria Corani*,[187] which he followed with a list of editions existing to date.[188]
The first Latin translation of some Qur'an passages, namely the first and sec-
ond suras, which were for the most part collated from the editions of Maracci
and Hinckelmann, was produced only in 1793 by Pehr Malmström.[189] In addi-

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182   P, Malmström – G, Krogus (resp.), *De vario usu litteraturae orientalis dissertatio academ-
       ica*, Turkum 1791, §§ 1–7, pp. 3–24.

183   Ibid., § 8, pp. 24–26. On the same matter A. Kahl – P.W. Bjerken (resp.) – I. Thomberg
       (resp.), *Commentatio academica de connexione linguarum Arabicae et Hebreae sacri codi-
       cis interpreti necessaria*, Lund, 1821, there esp. § 2, pp. 7–13.

184   On E. Fahlenius see Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock*, pp. 144–45, p. 153; von Rauch,
       Die Universität Dorpat, pp. 350–51; and H. Piirimäe, *Ülikoolilinn Pärnu*, p. 85, p. 115.

185   On Fahlenius's refutation of the Qur'an see in detail B. Roling, 'Humphrey Prideaux, Eric
       Fahlenius, Adrian Reland, Jacob Ehrharth und die Ehre des Propheten. Koranpolemik im
       Barock', in *Die Wahrnehmung des Islams in Reformation und Aufklärung*, eds D. Klein and
       B. Platow, Munich, 2008, pp. 61–76, (69–70).

186   J. Esberg – E. Fahlenius (resp.), *Historiola Al-Korani et fraudum Muhammedis*, Uppsala,
       1699, see there e.g. ch. 2, pp. 15–19, pp. 23–4, pp. 25–6, pp. 28–9. Very close to Fahlenius
       was P. Holm, *Muhammad ar-rasul al-kadib sive Theologiae Muhammedanae brevis consid-
       eratio*, Jena, 1670, who made extensive use of *Elmacinus*, too. Holm was a Swedish theolo-
       gian, who studied in Jena, but later returned to Lund. See there on the Trinity in the
       Qur'an e.g. Pars II, ch. 3, fols G2ᵛ–G4ᵛ.

187   J. Sidrén – A. Stolpe (resp.), *Historiola litteraria Corani*, Uppsala, 1792, § 1, pp. 3–4.

188   Ibid., §§ 4–5, pp. 5–9.

189   P. Malmström – J.H. Fallenborg (resp.) – J.H. Avellan (resp.), *Specimen AlCorani arabice et
       latine*, 2 vols, Turku, 1793–94. On Malmströms person see Heikel, *Filologins Studium*,
       pp. 245–51.

tion to these works, which breathe the spirit of the anti-Qur'anic polemics of the likes of Humphrey Prideaux,[190] in the mid-eighteenth century there are also treatises and disputations that offer a new commentary on the 'Carmen Tograi', a didactic poem by al-Ṭughrā'ī that Pococke had published,[191] or other works by this author, who had become known through the publications of the English scholars.[192] The Uppsala theologian Johan Adam Tingstadius (1748–1827), who became one of the important Swedish Bible translators, picks up the same text to look for parallels to the lexicography of Scripture.[193] Following William Jones's *Oriental Poetry*, but also Herder's *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, Eric Myrberg in 1798 elucidated the *parashot* of Isaiah and parts of the Psalms with the help of Hafiz and other Eastern poets, aiming to explain their tropology.[194] In Lund, finally, Anders Hylander (1750–1830) continued the work of Aurivillius on the manuscript of Ibn al-Wardī.[195]

190   H. Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected, in the history of the Jews and neigbour-ing nations: from the descension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, to the time of Christ*, London, 1716. On this widespread pamphlet against the prophet, which in the year 1800 also was translated into Swedish, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 289–93; Roling, 'Humphrey Prideaux, Eric Fahlenius', pp. 62–8; and P.M. Holt, 'The Treatment of Arab History by Prideaux, Ockley and Sale', in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, London, 1963, pp. 290–302, here pp. 290–94.

191   G. Gadolin – D. Backman (resp.), *Lamicum carmen Abu-Ismaelis Tograi latine explicatum*, Turku, 1790, passim. On Gustaf Gadolin see Råberg, *Teologins historia*, pp. 196–200; and Rein, *Filosofins studium*, p. 290.

192   P.J. Appelberg – L.A. Palm (resp.), *Specimen academicum exhibens historiam Chamazujae secondi in Aegypto Sultani, arabice cum versione latina*, Lund, 1785.

193   J.A. Tingstadius – B. Hesselgren (resp.), *Dictiones arabicae ex carmine Tograi Hebraismum biblicum illustrans*, Uppsala, 1794, there e.g. on Hafiz, using William Jones p. 11. Extensive use of Arabic is made by Tingstadius also in J.A. Tingstadius, *Specimen supplementorum ad Lexica Hebraica*, 8 vols, Uppsala, 1791–1803. Already when he startet his career in Greifswald, Tingstadius proclaimed the purity of the Arabic language and its close rela-tionship with the primordial language, see J.A. Tingstadius – J. Clarström (resp.), *Media-tiones historico-philologicae de ortu et cognatione linguarum orientalium*, Greifswald, 1768, § 9, pp. 16–19. Later Tingstadius repeated these ideas many times, see also for example. J.A. Tingstadius, *Strödde anmärkningar öfver Hebraiska och Arabisca dialecterna, af bifo-gas vid den grammatica, man i dessa språk helst vill följam till språkälskares tjenst*, Uppsala, 1820, passim, and his programmatic speech, held in Uppsala, J.A. Tingstadius, *Inträdes-tal om österlandska poësiens egenskaper*, Uppsala, 1786, passim.

194   E. Myrberg – E. Kjersen (resp.), *Monumenta quaedam poëseos Hebraeae et Arabicae*, Uppsala, 1798, passim. On a similiar matter see also S.F. Lidman – I.H. Kinnander (resp.), *Dissertatio de antiquae poëseos Arabicae genio*, Uppsala, 1807, passim.

195   A. Hylander, *Specimen operis cosmographici Ibn el-Wardi ex lingua arabica in latinam con-versum*, 38 vols, Lund, 1784–1809, see there for example the description of Rome Pars 16,

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Peringer's attempts to give the solar cult at Uppsala an Oriental prehistory, and the consequent insistence on a divinely bestowed primordial language from which both Old Norse and Arabic could be derived with equal assurance, in themselves make it clear that Swedish Orientalism had a national character for which Peringer himself is partly responsible.

For philologically inspired gothicism it was Olaus Rudbeck the Younger, son of Olaus Rudbeck the Elder, who, at the start of the eighteenth century, had taken the national-mythological model of linguistics to its extreme.[196] Engagement with other Semitic languages could not remain untouched by this project. After an expedition to Lapland at the behest of the King,[197] Olaus Rudbeck the Younger, in 1695 – almost the same time as the appearance of the *Historia* – had reached the conclusion that the Sami language must reflect Hebrew in the purest fashion, and this for one simple reason: the lost tribes of Israel had, Rudbeck believed, found a new home in Lapland after their expulsion from the Holy Land, in the form of the Sami.[198] Their rites and all

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pp. 134–5. His son S. Hylander, *Index Geographicus in caput primum operis cosmographici Ibn el-Wardi*, 5 vols, Lund, 1823, added an extensive index.

196   On Olaus Rudbeck the Younger and his linguistic models see J. Agrell, *Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia fram till 1827*, Uppsala, 1955, pp. 119–25; E. Hovdhaugen and F. Karlsson, *The History of Linguistics in the Nordic Countries*, Jyväskylä, 2000, pp. 117–19; G.J. Stipa, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachforschung von der Renaissance bis zum Neupositivismus*, Helsinki, 1990, pp. 187–91; Roling, 'Erlösung', pp. 400–1; id., 'Von der Magie zur Poesie', pp. 234–6; Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock*, pp. 105–9; and already Erkki Itkonen, *Suomalais-ugrilaisen kielen- ja historiantutkimuksen alalta*, Helsinki, 1961, pp. 133–4. A dissertation on Rudbeck the Younger is currently going to be prepared under my supervision by Stefan Bauhaus.

197   A summary of Rudbeck's expedition is given in the preface to the facsimile of Rudbeck's notebook, see O. Rudbeck the Younger, *Iter lapponicum. Skissboken från resan till Lappland 1695*, 2 vols, Stockholm, 1987, vol. 2, Commentary, pp. 7–27; and in addition already T.M. Fries, 'De första naturvetenskapliga forskningsfärden i Sverige', in *Nordisk Tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri*, 1898, pp. 481–97, pp. 517–37. The majority of the volumes, which should have appeared as travel-journal were destroyed in the city fire of Uppsala in 1702. See in the only printed volume on the relationship between the Sami and the Hebrew O. Rudbeck the Younger, *Nora Samolad sive Lapponia illustrata*, Uppsala, 1701, e.g. Latin and Swedish pp. 51–2, pp. 74–5, for Arabic etymologies see e.g pp. 27–8.

198   On the role of the Sami in academical Swedish culture see the survey R. Pulkkinen, 'Myytiset saamelaiset', in *Beaivvi Mánát. Saamelaisten juuret ja nykyaika*, ed. Irja Seurujärvi-Kari, Helsinki, 2000, pp. 41–64; and esp. S. Virkkula, *Lappi kirjallisuudessa barokista*

their customs matched the life of the ancient Israelites, as Rudbeck is able to show through a whole series of special studies,[199] and their language could be paralleled with Hebrew through lengthy comparisons of vocabulary.[200] If the biblical Japhethites had migrated to Sweden straight after the Deluge, and the crypto-Jewish element had been reinforced by the subsequent migration to the North of the no less Biblical Sami, it must be possible to derive not only Hebrew and Arabic, but also Sami and Finnish, Old Norse and Gothic from a single basis, and they could elucidate each other's semantics. Inspired by this insight, from 1705 Rudbeck in Uppsala set about drawing up a linguistic atlas, the *Thesaurus linguarum Asiae et Europae*, in a total of 12 volumes,[201] of which however he only managed to publish a single fascicle.[202] Assuming as starting point a Semitic-Germanic-Finno-Ugric foundation, this atlas included not only most Semitic and Indoeuropean languages but also Chinese, which Rudbeck believed could be assigned to the eastern part of the former Scythian empire, and various African as well as native American languages, all seen as deriving from the primordial language.[203]

romantiikaan, Oulu, 2000, passim. On the treatment of the Sami in contemporary academic disputations in general see in addition B. Roling, 'Der Schamane und das Orakel von Delphi. Prophetie und Prophetiemodelle im frühneuzeitlichen Skandinavien', in *Prophetie und Autorschaft. Charisma, Heilsversprechen und Gefährdung*, eds Christel Meier and Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf, Berlin, 2014, pp. 277–304, (291–302).

199   O. Rudbeck the Younger, 'Epistola ad Fabianum Tornerum de Estonum, Fennonum, Lapponum origine', in *Acta literaria Sueciae* 2, 1727, pp. 300–306; id., 'Descriptio Cataracti in Cascawari Laponiae', in *Acta literaria Sueciae*, 3, 1734, pp. 46–8; and see also id., *Ichthyologiae biblicae pars secunda de Borith Fullonum*, Uppsala, 1722, pp. 145–6. Rudbeck wrote also a dictionary of Sami language, see O. Rudbeck the Younger, *Glosarium Laponicum*, UUL, MS Ihre, sig. Ihre 104.

200   O. Rudbeck the Younger, *De convenientia hebraicae et lapponicae linguae*, Uppsala, 1703, printed in J.C. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, Pars II, Hamburg, 1721, pp. 639–48, there the Sami-Hebrew glossary, pp. 641–8; and id., *Atlantica illustrata sive illustrium, nobilium, principum atque regum insula, ubi et Prisci Hesperidum horti*, Uppsala, 1733, there another glossary pp. 68–73.

201   O. Rudbeck the Younger, *Lexicon linguarum Asiae et Europae harmonicum*, UUL, MS Rudbeck, sig. R 1–12, 12 vols.

202   O. Rudbeck the Younger, 'Thesaurus linguarum Asiae et Europae harmonicus', in *Acta literaria Sueciae*, 3, 1733, pp. 90–106, an extract of the the letter A; and id., *Thesaurus linguarum Asiae et Europae harmonicus*, Uppsala, 1717, the glossary on the letter A, with many Arabic words pp. 9–16.

203   Rudbeck prepared a separate treatise, to demonstrate the relationship between american native tongues and the primordial Semitic-Germanic-Finno-Ugric language, see O. Rudbeck the Younger, 'Oförgripelige tankar om Amerikanska språket', in *Smärre språkvetenskapliga avhandlingar*, UUL, MS Rudbeck, sig. R 12b, no. 5.

In the following years Rudbeck the Younger attempted to make the results of this mammoth project useful also for exegesis, in the form of a series of essays and, in some cases, ambitious treatises. Various obscure passages of Scripture could, Rudbeck believed, be filled with new meaning through an amalgam of Hebrew and Arabic analogies and by comparing roots and analogous vocabulary in Old Norse, Sami and Finnish. The sign of the covenant, *ot*, given to Noah had been a rainbow right from the start, as could be shown by comparison with a related Sami term.[204] The ominous *selav*, which the Vulgate had translated as *coturnix*, was revealed as a flying fish,[205] the *ramash* from the ninth chapter of Genesis as a reindeer,[206] and the *dodaim* that Rachel received from Leah, and which Celsius had preferred to identify as mandrakes, were in reality just strawberries.[207] In the following years, in collaboration with Johan Kemper, who had already prefaced the report of the Lapland expedition with a dedicatory poem,[208] Rudbeck also integrated kabbalistic ideas and representations into his linguistic speculation. Names like Metatron or El Shaddai became symbols of Christ and the Trinity through reference to their Old Norse roots.[209] In this web of explanations supported by immense knowledge of detail and often by observations that were in fact quite correct, Arabic was continuously present and even held its ground as the most important exegetical language alongside Finnish and Old Norse. Even Bible commentaries would be written

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204   O. Rudbeck the Younger, *Specimen usus linguae Gothicae in eruendis atque illustrandis obscurissimis quibusvis Sacrae Scripturae locis*, Uppsala, 1717, on the role of Arabic pp. 8–9, Chinese pp. 60–76, the Sami as Lost Tribe pp. 81–84, the rainbow pp. 202–03.

205   O. Rudbeck the Younger, *Ichthyologiae biblicae pars prima de ave Selav cuius mentio fit Num. XI: 31*, Uppsala, 1705, pp. 30–33.

206   O. Rudbeck the Younger, 'Cogitationes de voce Ramash Gen IX', vol. 3, in *Acta literaria Sueciae*, 2, 1728, pp. 416–22, pp. 426–35. The serpent of the Paradise, *nachash*, could be derivated, last but not least from the germanic root 'Naschen', see O. Rudbeck the Younger, 'Om Nachash eller om ormen i paradiset', in *Smärre språkvetenskapliga avhandlingar*, UUL, MS Rudbeck, sig. R 12b, no. 3, esp. § 7; the ceder, *eretz*, from the root 'rise', see Olaus Rudbeck the Younger, 'Om Libanons ceder', in *Smärre språkvetenskapliga avhandlingar*, UUL, MS Rudbeck, sig. R 12b, no. 4, esp. § 3.

207   O. Rudbeck the Younger, *Dudaim Rubenis, quos neutiquam Mandragorae fructus fuisse*, Uppsala, 1733, pp. 15–16.

208   Rudbeck the Younger, *Nora Samolad*, preface (without pagination).

209   O. Rudbeck the Younger, 'Cogitationes de nominibus divinis Schadi et Metatron', in *Acta literaria Sueciae*, 2, 1729, pp. 539–47, pp. 562–73. On the Tetragrammaton see also id., *Ichthyologiae biblicae pars prima*, pp. 14–28.

in the spirit of Rudbeck the Younger, which could present for every word of Genesis one chain of Arabic-Hebrew roots and another one of Old Norse.[210]

The extent to which Arabic studies in Sweden, following Peringer, were under the influence of similar universalistic constructions, and were perhaps inspired as much as they were misled by them, is made clear, finally, by the example of the two most prominent Orientalists of the late eighteenth century, Jonas Hallenberg and Matthias Norberg. In both cases, their contribution to Oriental studies is not in dispute. Both show at the same time that a baroque conception of knowledge and the advancing specialisation of Oriental studies into individual disciplines did not necessarily conflict even in the early nineteenth century.

Jonas Hallenberg had begun his career as a historian;[211] his most important works include a history of the regency of Gustavus Adolphus and a *Nya allmäna historien*,[212] which was later to be followed by a detailed commentary on Sven Lagerbring's *Swedish History*.[213] This and other studies earned him the office of Swedish Royal Antiquary. In addition to his activity as a historian, Hallenberg had a wide-ranging interest in the ancient Norse world and the archaeology of Sweden, which led to a series of publications on recent discoveries.[214] Hallenberg's enthusiasm for numismatics was crowned by the office of supervisor of the Royal Coin Cabinet, the holdings of which he catalogued in detail.[215] His special interest was the Kufic coins, which were generously

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210   As attempts to combine old Norse language and Bible commentary see e.g. D. Annerstedt – J.O. Johannson (resp.), *Parallelismus inter linguam Hebraicam et Sviogothicam, Pars prima*, Uppsala, 1764, on Genisis 1:1; and D Annerstedt – J Åberg (resp.), *Parallelismus inter linguam Hebraicam et Sviogothicam, Continuatio*, Uppsala, 1768, on Genesis 1:2; or even C. Aurivillius – A. Svedelius (resp.), *Dissertatio gradualis de Cosmogonia mythologica*, Uppsala, 1761, there esp. § 2, pp. 7–8, § 3, pp. 9–12.

211   On the life and work of Jonas Hallenberg see the surveys of B.E. Hildebrand, *Minnesteckning öfver Jonas Hallenberg*, Stockholm, 1880; N. Ahnlund, *Jonas Hallenberg. Minnesteckning*, Stockholm, 1957; Agrell, *Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia*, pp. 168–72; and Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria*, vol. 4, pp. 282–8, pp. 305–10.

212   J. Hallenberg, *Nya allmaenna historien ifrån boerjan af sextonde århundradet*, 3 vols, Stockholm, 1783–88.

213   J. Hallenberg, *Öfver första delen af Sven Lagerbrings's Svea Rikes Historia: Anmerkningar*, 2 vols, Stockholm, 1819–22.

214   On archaeological strata see e.g. J. Hallenberg, *Quatuor monumenta aenea e terra in Suecia eruta*, Stockholm, 1802; id., *Berättelse om ett i Motala ström träfffadt fynd*, Stockholm, 1818; id., *Berättelse om ett forntids romerskt metallkärl, funnet i Westmanland år 1818*; id., *Berättelse om twänne fynd, det ena träffadt på Öland, år 1815, det andra i Bohuslan, år 1816*, Stockholm, 1821.

215   J. Hallenberg, *Berättelse om Svenska Kongliga Mynt-Cabinettet*, Stockholm, 1804.

represented there and which Aurivillius and Clewberg had already studied and commented upon.[216] Many of these coins were from Viking hoards found in Sweden itself. Hallenberg's friend, the great Orientalist from Bützow, Olof Tychsen, had only a few years previously written the great standard work on Arabic numismatics.[217]

Right from the start, Hallenberg had seen himself also as a theologian and Orientalist. Already in 1800 he had presented a monumental, over 1500-page commentary on the Book of Revelation, the chapters of which Hallenberg had exhaustively elucidated with rabbinic parallels.[218] In a similar way to Rudbeck the Younger, the Swedish scholar worked for years on a comparative atlas of languages which, in its ambition, rivalled Rudbeck's project and which, like its counterpart, never got into print.[219] Further monumental studies, including a 'History of Ancient Persia', also remained in manuscript.[220] Hallenberg, too, had no doubt that all languages shared a substrate and that it must be possible to demonstrate their relationship to each other. Through their age and affiliation to Hebrew, the Semitic languages, and foremost among them Arabic, must take first place in this system of relationships; alongside them, as Hallenberg like Rudbeck believed, stood the linguistic remains of the Old Norse civilisation. Each language group could therefore explain the other. In a similar way to

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216   J. Hallenberg, *Collectio nummorum Cuficorum, quos aere expressos, addita eorum interpretatione, subiunctoque alphabeto Cufico*, Stockholm, 1800; id., *Numismata orientialia aere expressa brevique explanatione enodata*, 2 vols, Uppsala, 1822. See earlier C.A. Clewberg – M. Lundbeck (resp.), *Dissertatio academica de nummis arabicis in patria repertis*, Turku 1755, passim; and Carl Aurivillius, 'De nummis Arabicis in Sviogothia refertis disquisitio', in *Nova Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum Upsalensis*, 2, 1775, pp. 79–107.

217   O.G. Tychsen, *Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum*, 4 vols (cum additionibus), Rostock, 1794–97; and id., *De numis Hebraicis diatribe, qua simul ad nuperas ill. Franc. Perezii Bayerii obiectiones respondetur*, Rostock, 1791.

218   J. Hallenberg, *Historiska anmärkningar öfver uppenbarelse boken*, 3 vols, Stockholm, 1800; and see in additionally J. Hallenberg, *Dogmatis de resurrectione corporum mortuorum origo*, Stockholm, 1798. The manuscript collection of Hallenberg includes a further similar work e.g UUL, MS Hallenberg, sig. T 12; and a commentary on the Psalms e.g UUL, MS Hallenberg, sig. T 155–156, 2 vols.

219   J. Hallenberg, *Jämförande ordbok*, UUL, MS Hallenberg, sig. R 31–62, 32 vols. See also Agrell, *Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia*, p. 171.

220   J. Hallenberg, *De rebus regum Persiae ante introductam religionem Muhammedicam sive Historia Persiae antiquae e Persico*, UUL, MS Hallenberg, sig. H 348–350, 3 vols. In fact, this manuscript is a translation of Ahmad al-Ghaffārī's *Epitome of the Ancient History of Persia*, ed. William Ouseley, London, 1799, but with many notes, added by Hallenberg. In addition, Hallenberg wrote *Ad historiam regni Persici adversaria*, UUL, MS Hallenberg, sig. H 351.

Rudbeck the Younger, for Hallenberg, too, the Kabbala was a universally present primeval tradition that linked the Semitic world with the remains of Old Norse culture at another, admittedly hidden, level.[221] The Trinitarian figures of the *sefirot* system, which Norrelius had identified as the central Christian element of the Kabbala, had a significance for both cultures. In 1805, with Tychsen's help, a 'Secret Doctrine of the Orientals' appeared, in which Hallenberg not only provided an introduction into the mysticism of the *sefirot*, but also put together a panorama out of a patchwork of neoplatonic elements taken mostly from Proclus, in which a triad of light, time and number was matched to the trinity of Uppsala, Odin, Thor and Freya, and which corresponded to the god of light, Apollo, enthroned on a tripod.[222] Hallenberg further made extensive use of the first introductions to Indian mythology, Thomas Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*,[223] Paulinus de Bartholomae's *Systema brahmanicum*,[224] but also of the *Alphabetum tibetanum* of Antonio Giorgi,[225] today hardly remembered at all, in order to match the first triad of *sefirot* to the Indian *trimurti* of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva and other elements of Indian reli-

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221   On the role of Kabbalah in general see already Hallenberg, *Historiska anmärkningar*, vol. 1, pp. 14–28.

222   J. Hallenberg (anonym), *Die Geheime Lehre der alten Orientaler und Juden, zur inneren und höheren Bibelerklärung, aus Rabinern und der ganzen alten Literatur, von einem grossen Philologen des Auslandes*, Rostock, 1805, see there esp. pp. 42–53. The original Swedish manuscript was later published as J. Hallenberg, *Ljus öfver bibeln! eller, De gamle Orientalers och Judars hemliga lära för skriftens inire och rätta mening*, Stockholm, 1875.

223   T. Maurice, *Indian Antiquities, or dissertations relative to the antient geographical divisions, the pure system of primeval theology, the grand code of civil laws, the original form of government, the widely-extended commerce and the various and profound literature of Hindostan*, 7 vols, London, 1794–1806; and see esp. id., *A dissertation on the oriental trinities, extracted from the fourth and fifth volumes of Indian Antiquites*, London, 1800.

224   P. a Sancto Bartholomaeo, *Systema brahmanicum liturgicum, mythologicum, civile ex monumentis indicis Musaei Borgiani Velitri dissertationibus historico-criticis*, Rome, 1791; and in addition esp. id., *De antiquitate et affinitate linguae Zendicae, Samscrdamicae et Germanicae dissertatio*, Padova, 1798. De Bartholomae's writings had received more attention in Sweden than the contemporary studies of William Jones. There even existed a Swedish translation of his Travel Journal, the *Viagio alle Indie Orientale*, prepared by the Linnean Samuel Oedmann, see *Donald Campbells Land-Resa til Indien och Fra Paolinos da San Bartholoeo Resor uti Indien*, Stockholm, 1801.

225   A.A. Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum missionum apostolicarum commodo editum*, Rome, 1762. For a useful survey of this important work, the first written on Tibet at all, see now C. Bellini, *Svelare il paese del nevi. L'Alphabetum tibetanum di Agostino Antonio Giorgi*, Villa Verucchio, 2011, pp. 49–80.

gion.[226] This primordial triad was extended, in Hallenberg's postulated universal religion, by two further elements: the cult of the celestial heptad, which could also be traced as a blueprint from the Egyptians into the branches of Indoeuropean mythologies; and by the assumption of a God incarnate, a *mies*, *manusya* or *enosh* as had been found by Norrelius in the lower *sefirot*, and which could equally well be found in all cultures.[227]

The Arab world, too, had to be accommodated in the matrix of a *philosophia perennis* that oscillated between Kabbala, the Edda's account of the gods, and the assumption of a universal language. Already in 1796 Hallenberg had been prompted by an eighth-century Kufic coin on which, with sura 112, the oneness of God was three times repeated, to distill out of Old Norse mythology and the Qur'an an amalgam of the lexical fields *Gud*, *ahad*, *choda*, Odin and *agathos*, the wide-ranging branches of which, Hallenberg believed, could be traced back to the ancient Egyptian cult of the sun and which also had to find room for a battery of Finno-Ugric languages.[228] All cultures had always been familiar with a perfect, ultimate, luminous, highest Good that embraced trinity and unity equally; Islam had preserved an especially pure recollection of this ultimate primeval basis of all religions. Hallenberg's speculative enthusiasm, which was supported by extensive materials and daunting linguistic knowledge, reached its climax in a text from 1816, the *Disquisitio de nominibus in lingua Sviogothica lucis et visionis*, which extended the approach of the previous work by universalising it even further; now, over almost 1200 pages, the canon of cited languages was increased several times over.[229] Hallenberg no longer believed in a *lingua adamica*, as Stiernhielm and Rudbeck had taught, but rather in a primordial language that could be grasped onomatopoeically, in which the semantic field of sun and light could be articulated in the first sound patterns.[230] Beginning with the Semitic languages, above all Hebrew and Arabic, sounds could be found in all languages that had captured the flickering

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226   Hallenberg, *Die Geheime Lehre der alten Orientaler*, pp. 53–6. For very similar ideas see Hallenberg's contemporary N.H. Sjöborg, *Samlingar för Nordens fornälskare, innehållande inskrifter, figurer, ruiner, verktyg*, Stockholm, 1822–30, vol. 2, pp. 80–91, pp. 109–12.

227   Hallenberg, *Die Geheime Lehre*, pp. 58–66, pp. 80–99.

228   J. Hallenberg, *Ex occasione nummi cufici de nominis Dei Gud, in Suio-Gothica cognatisque linguis origine*, Stockholm, 1796, ch. 1–6, pp. 8–79, passim.

229   On the 'Disquisitio' of Hallenberg and the ambigious reactions it received together with the treatise 'Ex occasione', see Hildebrand, *Minnesteckning*, pp. 16–18; and Ahnlund, *Jonas Hallenberg*, pp. 226–39.

230   J. Hallenberg, *Disquisitio de nominibus in lingua Suiogothica Lucis et Visus cultusque solaris in eadem lingua vestigiis*, 2 vols, Stockholm, 1816, vol. 1, pp. 1–7, and pp. 180–286. It is almost impossible to sum up the treatise.

of light and the hissing of fire.[231] Repeatedly Hallenberg reconstructed across cultures a lexical field from terms for 'seeing', 'sun', 'light' and 'god',[232] with majestic filiations and meandering chains of derivation that in his work finally reach an end in an analysis of the primordial Yule festival, the winter solstice, in Uppsala. Rudbeck had once again found an audience.[233]

Matthias Norberg (1747–1826), who had studied under Aurivillius but became professor in Lund, was far more distinguished as an Orientalist than even Hallenberg.[234] Among the almost 180 studies that he produced,[235] Norberg had proved himself primarily as an expert in Syriac,[236] but had also presented studies on Arabic medicine,[237] astronomy[238] and geography,[239] on the Ottoman empire and on the Qur'an;[240] at the same time, he had in several works endeavoured to introduce Arabic into biblical exegesis and had explicitly called for

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231   Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 441–527.

232   Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 6–237. Also Rudbeck had written a treatise 'Om verbal se in olika språk', in UUL, MS Ihre, sig. Ihre 50. The extent to which Hallenberg was influenced by this treatise remains unclear.

233   Hallenberg, *Disquisitio de nominibus in lingua Suiogothica Lucis et Visus*, vol. 2, pp. 491–574.

234   A biography of Norberg is provided by C. Westerdahl, *Från Norrtjärn till Konstantinopel. Matthias Norberg (1747–1826)*, Stockholm, 1990. On Matthias Norberg's life and writings see Gierow, *Lunds Universitets historia 3*, pp. 321–2; Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria*, vol. 4, pp. 257–60; on his ideas on language esp. Agrell, *Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia*, pp. 173–200, and – very critical – Hovdhaugen and Karlsson, *The History of Linguistics*, p. 286.

235   For a collection of the majority of disputations see M. Norberg, *Selecta opuscula academica*, ed. J. Normann, 3 vols, Lund, 1817–19.

236   M. Norberg, *Codex Nasaraeus: Liber Adami appellatus, Syriace transcriptus*, 3 vols, Lund, 1815–16; or id., *Stellae Nasaraeorum aeones ex sacro gentis codice*, 2 vols, Lund, 1811.

237   M. Norberg, 'De medicina Arabum', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 404–20 (first Lund, 1791).

238   M. Norberg, 'De astronomia Arabum', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 395–403 (first Lund, 1802); and in addition id. – Anders Lizell (resp.), *Dissertatio de origine astronomiae apud orientales*, Lund, 1786.

239   M. Norberg, *Gihan Numa: Geographia orientalis ex Turcico in Latinum versa*, 2 vols, Lund, 1818, and earlier id., *Specimen academicum geographiae orientalis turcico-latine*, 4 vols, Lund, 1784–86; and like his predecessors id. – W. Faxe (resp.), *Particula operis cosmographici Ibn El Vardi arabice et latine*, Lund, 1786.

240   See e.g. M. Norberg, 'De ingenio Muhammedis', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 1–19 (first Lund, 1793); id., 'Quod Muhammedani de Christo sentiant', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 458–74 (first Lund, 1795); id., 'De templo Meccano', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 284–302 (first Lund, 1798); id., 'Prudentia civilis ottomanica', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 526–82 (first Lund, 1791–92); id., 'De diaeta Turcarum, praecipue Constantinopoli', in

this in relevant disputations.[241] In his wide-ranging interest in the Oriental astral cult, in which he provided almost monographic treatments of the individual heavenly bodies, Norberg was still following the themes prescribed by Peringer.[242] A special study with the title *De fatis linguae Arabicae* was directly modelled on the 1694 *Historia.*[243] In 1811, Fabian Wilhelm Ekenmann's work *De lingua Sanscrit* had made the discoveries of William Jones available to a wider public.[244] Norberg had already matched the new interest in India, which had been an incentive for Hallenberg, with works of his own and responded with a string of disputations that tried to point out connections between the *trimurti,*[245] Indian eschatology and various mythologemes,[246] once again with

       Selecta opuscula, vol. 3, pp. 310–24 (first Lund, 1808); and see id., *Turkiska rikets annaler sammandragne ur dess egna urkunder*, 4 vols, Kristianstad, 1822.

241   M. Norberg, 'De poëmate Jobi', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 17–48 (first Lund. 1786), §§ 6–7, pp. 31–6; and id., *Dissertatio academica de vocabulis Hebraeorum*, 3 vols, Lund, 1784, passim,

242   Norberg took great interest in the celestial cult of the Sabians, see M. Norberg – J. Svenander (resp.), *Dissertatio de templo Solis apud Sabios*, Lund, 1798; id. – A. Collin (resp.), *Dissertatio de templo Lunae apud Sabios*, Lund, 1799; id. – O. Sundén (resp.), *Dissertatio de templo Saturni apud Sabaeos*, Lund, 1799; and id., 'De religione et lingua Sabaeorum commentatio', in *Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis*, 3, 1780, pp. 1–39, and M. Norberg, 'Vierter Brief', in J.J. Björnstahl, *Briefe auf seinen ausländischen Reisen*, vol. 6, Leipzig, 1783, pp. 261–306. It's no miracle, that Norberg also stressed the role of a celestial cult in Zoroastrism, see id., 'De Zoroastro Bactriano', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 579–89 (first Lund, 1799).

243   M. Norberg, 'De fatis linguae arabicae', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 218–54 (first Lund, 1792), see there esp. § 3, pp. 221–24 on the pureness of Arabic, § 4, pp. 224–8, on the value of poetry, comparable to the Icelandic tradition.

244   F.W. Ekenmann – J.O. Grewillius (resp.) – C.A. Wodarg (resp.), *Dissertatio academica de lingua Sanscrit*, Lund, 1810, on Jones esp. Pars II, § 3, pp. 18–22.

245   M. Norberg, 'De trinitate Indiana', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 493–503 (first Lund, 1797). The main source for Norberg remain De Bartholomae's writings.

246   M. Norberg, 'De paradiso Indiano', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 504–38 (first Lund, 1797); id., 'De inferis Indianis', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 538–49 (first Lund, 1802); id., 'De aqua Indianis sacra', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 549–59 (first Lund, 1798); and id., 'De diluvio Indiano", in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 560–7 (first Lund, 1800). The very first dissertation on Indian religion had been supervised by E. Obrecht – A. Gering (resp.), *Brahmanes veteres Indorum philosophi dissertatione graduali expositi*, Uppsala, 1697, see there esp. ch. 4, pp. 70–98. Obrecht of course had no access to Sanskrit at all. The first who had a scientific approach to Sanskrit literature in Sweden, comparable to today, was the ingenious Orientalist and Finno-Ugrist Abraham Herman August Kellgren, see A.H.A. Kellgren, *Mythus de ovo mundano, Indorumque de eodem notio*, Helsinki, 1849, esp. pp. 19–62; and id., *Nala och Damayanti, en indisk dikt ur Mahabharata*, Helsinki, 1852.

the help of Neoplatonism and a patchwork drawn from Arabic and Hebrew tradition.

For Norberg as for Hallenberg, all these syncretistic schemes had to end in a grand comparison of languages, with the help of which the Lund professor, too, wanted to work through to an ultimate Semitic basis of all languages. Whereas Norberg had already attempted to derive Germanic from an archaic Persian language,[247] and Greek from a variant of Hebrew,[248] it was his *Mithradates*, first published in 1827, that drew from this his grand conclusion.[249] Norberg provided a synopsis of the 150 languages known to him, including Chinese and Tibetan, Sanskrit and Mongolian, dozens of Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic and Altaic languages, and above all a large number of native American languages, each of which he was able trace to a substrate of Hebrew and Arabic roots using the example of the Lord's Prayer.[250] The project was never completed, but, as can be discovered in Norberg's unpublished letters, at the end of his life the decisive correspondences between the Semitic and native American languages led him to revive a hypothesis that was in its own way no less Swedish and baroque than his linguistic philosophy: perhaps the submerged continent Atlantis had led the first Semites, the heirs of Japheth, far beyond Sweden to the west, to America.[251]

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247   M. Norberg, 'De origine linguae gothicae', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 288–304 (first Lund, 1804). On the possible skytho-slavonic origin of the biblical Chaldaeans in addition id., 'De Chaldaeis septentrionalis originis', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 3, pp. 145–73 (first Lund, 1787), here esp. § 6, pp. 167–73. On the close relationship between Old Norse and Persian see already with large wordlists O. Celsius – O. Andersson (resp.), *Dissertatio philologico-historica de convenientia linguae persicae cum gothica*, Uppsala, 1723, passim.

248   M. Norberg, 'De origine linguae Graecae', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 354–65 (first Lund, 1808); and id., 'De verbis nudis et auctis Graecorum', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 365–72 (first Lund, 1808). The same could be said also about the letters, see M. Norberg, 'De origine literarum Graecarum', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 372–82 (Lund, 1804). On the close relationship to Persian see in addition M. Norberg, 'De conformatione linguae Graecae', in *Selecta opuscula*, vol. 2, pp. 341–64 (first Lund, 1804).

249   M. Norberg, 'Specimina orationis dominicae linguae Sinensi etc. cum dialectis Hebraea, Arabica etc. collata – Mithradates Pars I', in *Nova Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum Upsalensis*, 9, 1827, pp. 205–90, see e.g. Sanskrit pp. 227–28, Gujarati, pp. 232–3, 'Cingali' pp. 249–51, Yakut pp. 258–9, or the Komi-Zyrian language pp. 269–70.

250   On Norberg's *Mithradates* see Agrell, *Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia*, pp. 179–84.

251   A collection of Norberg's letters is given by Agrell, *Studier i den äldre språkjämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia*, pp. 184–90.

Conclusion

Without Hallenberg's and Norberg's opinionated syntheses, Strindberg's euphoria over the primordial language in the early twentieth century would have been unimaginable; indeed, Strindberg knew both scholars' works at first hand. It was thanks to Peringer's and Celsius's brilliance that the results achieved by Pococke or Hottinger in England and Switzerland were also appreciated in Sweden. Peringer and Celsius had ensured that Arabic studies were able to establish themselves at Swedish universities with equal right as a vehicle of scriptural exegesis, as the heir of humanity's oldest language and as an auxiliary discipline to theology. As has been made clear above, the *Historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum* thus held the status of a model to be emulated, and its influence can be traced in successive works across almost a century. Comparing Europe as a whole, these initial reasons for Arabic studies with their strategies of justification in Sweden probably did not differ much from the developments in the subject in the other countries of central Europe.

Yet Peringer and Celsius had also been ready, if with some reservations, to subordinate the study of Arabic to a further goal, namely verification of the theses maintained by Rudbeck and his followers in Sweden. Arabic studies in this way had to become a piece of a theoretical mosaic in which the glory of Sweden was the ultimate goal of argument and which aimed to understand Arabia from the perspective of the North. Hallenberg's and Norberg's ambitious schemes show that, despite the autonomy of the discipline and its subjects of study, this national motive was still influencing Arabic studies in Sweden into the early nineteenth century. This distinctive path, too, with premises that could hardly have been shared by anyone beyond Sweden, had already been mapped out at the end of the seventeenth century.

Sacred History, Sacred Languages: The Question of Arabic in Early Modern Spain*

Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano

Early Modern Europe was witness to an unprecedented interest in learning the Arabic language. This philological interest was connected to the evidence of Arabic similarity with Hebrew and the usefulness of Arabic grammars and dictionaries for studying the Holy Tongue. A field of knowledge was gradually created in which Arabic detached itself from its use as an instrument of proselytizing or diplomacy. This shift occurred through the translation and citation of Arabic sources, the purchase and cataloguing of Arabic manuscripts in the main libraries of Europe and an attempt to institutionalize the teaching of Arabic at universities. The exhaustive study of the Bible and its various textual traditions, the need to coordinate these with newly acquired knowledge of other languages, including Arabic, and the refinement of historiographic and philological tools which were the accompanying processes all contributed to dismantling the walls between sacred and profane history. This package of new knowledge can be labelled 'Orientalism'. As applied by scholars to this period, the term refers to a crucial moment in the creation of Oriental studies in Europe characterised by the foundational activities of figures like Erpenius, Raimondi or Bedwell. This refers to both their works and their search for new texts with which to learn Oriental languages. Such 'Oriental scholarship' or early 'Orientalism' proved itself capable of creating basic critical, historical and philological tools which were problematic for extant textual and religious authority. The religious dimension was ever-present in a world dominated by polemics with the Europe of the Reformation and by the process of confessionalization.

Ever since James Monroe published his well-known book on Arabic studies in Spain, scholars have argued that Spain played no part in the development of

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Oriental studies in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1] It seems as if Spain was almost an Oriental country rather than a producer of Oriental scholarship. Other European nations characterised Spain as 'Oriental' in an effort to challenge its imperial dominion over other European countries.[2] This interpretation remained the norm in Italy, France, and the Netherlands, and it caused much consternation among Early Modern Spaniards themselves, who acutely resented representation of their country as one embedded in Judaism and Islam. Italians spoke of the 'peccadiglio di Spagna' (not believing in the Trinity) to refer, with irony and disdain, to the mixed origin of Spaniards and their ambiguous religious identity.[3] Erasmus of Rotterdam, in a famous letter to Thomas More in 1517, explained why he had turned down an invitation from Cardinal Cisneros to travel to Spain to work on the Polyglot Bible, writing that he did not like a country that was so deeply semitized.[4] This representation of the country affected the position of Spain in Europe and its aspirations within the Catholic world. In relation to Italy, it was especially painful when Spaniards were living their so-called 'Italian hour'.[5] The disdain provoked in Europe by the mixed origins of Spaniards created a game of mirrors in which Spain displayed a defensive attitude towards all belief deemed deviant within the heart of Hispanic Catholicism.

But it was during this same period that the study of Arabic and other Oriental languages, albeit fraught with difficulties, started to emerge, as we shall show in this contribution: in Spain, Arabic manuscripts were collected for noble or royal libraries, where they were catalogued and studied; chairs of Arabic were created at universities; Arabic sources were used for various scholarly endeavours, and Spanish scholars corresponded with their colleagues in other European countries and became aware of the role played in Rome by members of the Oriental Churches.[6] However, such aspects will only be tan-

1 J.T. Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship* (*Sixteenth Century to the Present*), Leiden, 1970; and R. Jones's PhD thesis as discussed by G. Wiegers, 'Moriscos and Arabic studies in Europe', *Al-Qanṭara*, 21, 2010, pp. 587–610.

2 J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain 1500–1700. The formation of a Myth*, Ann Arbor, 2003, p. 326 et seqq.

3 B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana della Rinascenza*, Bari, 1517, dedicated an entire chapter to the 'peccadiglio di Spagna'. S. Pastore, '"Il Peccadiglio di Spagna": incredulità, scetticismo e política nell'Italia del primo Cinquecento', *Rinascimento*, 53, 2013, pp. 3–38.

4 Cited by M. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Madrid, 1991 [1966], p. 77.

5 'la hora italiana', J.C. Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición*, I, Madrid, 1967, p. 217.

6 F. Rodríguez Mediano, 'Fragmentos de orientalismo español del siglo XVII', *Hispania*, LXVI, 222, 2006, pp. 243–76.

gentially addressed in this paper. We are more interested in certain specificities which characterised the case of Spain. Most importantly, we will be interested, on the one hand, in problems related to the Arabic language itself within the Iberian Peninsula. Until the end of the sixteenth century Arabic was spoken and written in some parts of Spain (mainly Granada, Valencia and some parts of Aragon) by its population of Muslim origin, generally known as Moriscos, who were often crypto-Muslims. The elite of these converted Muslims was also interested in producing and collecting Arabic books and was conscious of the difference between their own spoken dialect and Classical Arabic. This created a context in which Spanish scholars would therefore move between erudite knowledge and practical experience.

On the other hand, the converted Muslims were the remains, and a constant reminder, of the medieval history of Iberia. During the Middle Ages, part of the peninsula had been under Islamic political control, a polity known as al-Andalus, and had later experienced a long, slow and uneven process of Christian conquest that early modern Spaniards perceived in terms of the 'loss and recovery of Spain', or the so-called 'Reconquista'. This would require early modern Spanish historians to make difficult decisions in terms of interpreting continuity or rupture within certain periods of the Iberian past.

The end of the Reconquista was followed at the beginning of the early modern period by a powerful movement towards conversion and expulsion with Messianic and providentialist overtones which affected Jews and Muslims. This movement stressed the need for integration and homogenization, but also argued for expulsion and purification. It was legitimized by a providentialist interpretation of the past of Spain as a 'nation' forged during the struggle against Islam. Arabic was an undeniable part of it all.

The Arabic language in Spain was identified with Morisco Islam, but was also put to practical uses in a complicated contact zone, the frontier with Muslim Granada and with the Maghreb. It was a forbidden language and its prohibition was enforced on the population of Muslim origin, and partially also on all subjects of the Crown of Spain, but the language was considered to be of practical use for dealings with North Africa and of scholarly importance for scientific matters. Especially, it was useful for reading Arabic sources in order to write the history of Spain and know the history of the Spanish language. The presence of an Arabic and Muslim tradition distinguished the Spanish experience from other European regions in such a way as to uniquely affect that nation's undertaking of the study of the Arabic language. Within the broad scope of the scholarly knowledge and use of Arabic in early modern Spain, this brief essay will be focused on the issue of writing Spain's sacred history. Specifically, it will examine the conflict between dialectal Arabic and

classical Arabic, which was simultaneously a conflict between local Morisco culture and the culture of Eastern Arab Christianity prevailing in Rome and other places. The main purpose of this study is to explore why certain individuals varied in their usage between a dialectal Arabic used by the Moriscos and learnt by those who moved among them and a Christian classical Arabic linked to Hebrew which could be used to write sacred history. This became a case of tradition, history, scholarship and local knowledge versus the classical model, and such are the tensions to be addressed here. Additionally, this essay will incorporate discussion of how Moriscos and erudite Orientalism were intertwined, of the ambivalence towards the learning and use of Arabic that it produced and of the attempts made to resolve this ambivalence through efforts to 'de-Islamize' the Arabic language.

In order to contextualize the complex cultural environment which the Arabic language produced in Early Modern Spain, and in order to understand these efforts to de-Islamize it, it is necessary to attend to a series of events which agitated the conflict. Ambivalence towards Arabic did not only come about because of Spain's medieval past, but also because of its early modern present.

Prohibiting, Burning and Keeping Arabic Books

This ambivalence is best exemplified by the following very famous event: in 1500, the Cardinal and Inquisitor Francisco Giménez de Cisneros, in the midst of a campaign to enforce the conversion to Catholicism of the Muslim population of Granada, ordered all Arabic books in the city to be confiscated. He organized a public burning of Qur'āns and books pertaining to religion and ordered all scientific, medical and astronomical books in Arabic to be sent to the library of the university that he had created a few years earlier in Alcalá de Henares, where he initiated the project of compiling the first polyglot Bible, the Biblia Políglota Complutense. The same university of Alcalá was the first to have a chair of Arabic, initially held by Diego de Urrea, an Arabic interpreter of Italian origin who had lived for years as a captive in the Maghrib and had worked in diplomatic missions. Urrea and others like him, including several Moriscos who will be mentioned below, also worked on the cataloguing of Arabic Manuscripts in the Royal Library at El Escorial and as translators in the affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte, also to be covered below. Ambivalence, prohibition, burning, conservation, and the scholarly study of Arabic books thus all come together in the order made by Cisneros.

Forced to convert to Catholicism at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Moriscos kept many of their cultural traditions and practices and were

perceived as inassimilable despite their formal conversion. After the conquest in 1492 of Granada, the capital city of the last Muslim Kingdom in Iberia, and the first decrees of conversion (i.e., between 1499–1502), the first campaigns of evangelization of the Muslim population witnessed the use of Arabic by the missionary priests. Archbishop Talavera took a printing press to Granada and used it to produce catechisms in Arabic, as well as glossaries and small grammars (most famously the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arábiga* of Pedro de Alcalá, published in 1504), and texts written in Arabic but with the Latin alphabet for use by priests who knew little or nothing of the language.[7] These attempts to learn and teach Arabic for missionary activities were short-lived: by the middle of the sixteenth century Arabic, closely identified with Islam, had come to be considered an obstacle for the conversion of Muslims. Church and civil authorities both took the view that in order to uproot Islam as a religion, the language had to be erased.[8] It is worth noting that the *Arte* of Pedro de Alcalá reflected not classical Arabic, but the local, Granadan vernacular: from the beginning of the sixteenth century the diglossia of two different levels of Arabic had become evident, with its effect on the teaching of the language and also on the need for Iberian Arabophones to learn the classical version of the language.

Throughout the sixteenth century, and more intensively from the mid-century, the Spanish crown, local authorities, and the Spanish Inquisition enacted policies to confiscate Arabic books and in general to erase the Arabic language, in line with the policy laid down by Cisneros in the event mentioned above. In 1511 Queen Juana of Castile issued a general pardon to all Moriscos possessing Arabic books if they brought them before the authorities to be examined for the themes they covered: books of philosophy, historical chronicles and texts on medicine would be given back to their owners, but the rest would be burned.[9] In 1564, the *Cortes* of Valencia forbade the Valencian Moriscos to speak or write in Arabic; in 1567, Philip II banned the use of spoken and written Arabic in the territories of the Crown of Castile, and in response, the Inquisition began confiscating, storing or burning Arabic manuscripts. The decree of 1567 produced consternation and anger among Granadan Moriscos (who were still mainly Arabophone) and was the main reason for the ensuing Morisco revolt known as the War of the Alpujarras (1568–70). This war, which lasted two years

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7   M. García-Arenal, 'Granada as a New Jerusalem: The Conversion of a City' in *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*, eds G. Marcocci, W. de Boer et al, Leiden, 2014, pp. 15–43.

8   M. García-Arenal, 'Is Arabic an Islamic language? The religious identity of the Arabic Language and the affair of the Lead Books of Granada', *Arabica*, 56, 2009, pp. 495–528.

9   'Copia del registro indultando a los nuevamente convertidos que tuvieren libros en arábigo', 20 June 1511, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de* España, 39, pp. 447–50.

and was an especially ferocious conflict, led to a new Christian conquest of the Kingdom of Granada and ended with the enforced banishment of Granadan Moriscos to Castile. It changed for ever the relations between Moriscos and Christian society. In 1593, the ecclesiastical authorities in Saragossa announced that Moriscos who owned books in Arabic could hand them in and be pardoned, in an edict very similar to the one mentioned above of Queen Juana. All the above-mentioned measures and many more that insisted on the same prohibitions led Arabic to be identified with Islam and with the secret practice of Islam. The restrictions on Arabic were supposed to uproot the Moriscos' apparently persistent belief in Islam and to complete their conversion to Christianity. Part of the Morisco community continued trying to learn Arabic and kept Arabic books until their expulsion from Spain in 1609: several important hoards of books were found buried or hidden in their houses after they were forced to leave. In sixteenth-century Spain, therefore, Arabic books were written, copied and brought from North Africa by Moriscos. There were also books translated from Arabic by the same Moriscos and written in what is called *aljamía*, the Spanish vernacular in Arabic script, a sort of Islamic version of Spanish. Both Arabic and Aljamiado texts were sometimes destroyed and sometimes kept in secret by the Moriscos but also, after being confiscated by the Inquisition, held in several collections that reached the royal library and the libraries of noble houses, and contributed to the construction of a scholarly discipline. Scholars such as Bernardo de Aldrete looked out for some of those books confiscated from the Moriscos in order to obtain them for their own use.[10]

The bans on Arabic books were directed mainly at the population of Muslim origin. With other aims and for other causes, further prohibitions were imposed on all Spanish subjects in the form of the 'Indices' or indexes of forbidden books that were basically a response to the Protestant Reformation. The famous Valdés Index of 1559 declared that books 'of the Mohammedan sect written in Arabic or in Romance or in any vernacular language' were forbidden.[11] But at the same time as Inquisitors and the Crown sought to purge the public space of Arabic, scholars – some of whom worked with the Inquisition – and the King were collecting Arabic manuscripts for the royal library at El Escorial.[12] The library, today one of the most important repositories of Arabic

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10   M. García-Arenal, F. Rodríguez Mediano, 'Los libros de los moriscos y los eruditos orientales', *Al-Qanṭara*, 31.2, 2010, pp. 611–46.

11   A.S. Corella, *La censura en España. Índices y catálogos de libros prohibidos*, Madrid, 1947, p. 232.

12   D. Hershenzon, 'Traveling Libraries: the Arabic manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 18.6, 2014, pp. 535–58.

books in Europe, was founded by Philip II between 1563 and 1584. Scholars and humanists of renown, the likes of Juan Páez de Castro, Juan Bautista Cardona and Ambrosio de Morales, participated in its creation and endowment. When Páez de Castro died in 1570, his library, which contained several Arabic manuscripts, was sent to El Escorial, as was the library of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.[13] The King had ordered that his library at El Escorial should hold and preserve forbidden books. The tension between the prohibition of Arabic manuscripts and the purchase, collection and study of them is best seen in the person of the renowned Hebraist and humanist, as well as head librarian at El Escorial, Benito Arias Montano, who helped to draw up various indexes of prohibited books for the Inquisition. At the same time Arias Montano was interested in buying Arabic books of all kinds, including Qurʾāns, for the Royal Library. He acknowledged the existence of forbidden books at El Escorial, but argued for the importance of keeping them there.[14] Morisco men of letters also worked at the library. The Granadan Morisco Alonso del Castillo, physician and translator of Arabic ('intérprete real') and an interpreter for the Inquisition, catalogued books and documents confiscated by the Holy Office. He also worked for many months at the library at El Escorial and drew up the catalogue of Arabic books there which Johann Heinrich Hottinger later used in compiling his own Latin catalogue of 1658.[15] Another Morisco physician, Miguel de Luna, also worked in the Royal Library and produced a famous book on the Islamic conquest of Iberia which he presented as the translation of an Arabic chronicle he had consulted at El Escorial. This was his *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*, first published in Granada in 1592, an instant bestseller which was immediately translated into several European languages. The *Historia verdadera* was a well-crafted fake, which cleverly used a supposed Arab chronicle as a means to give authority to its invention. This option taken by Luna indicates a re-evaluation not only of Arab texts as faithful sources for writing the history of Spain, but also the role of Arab culture within Spanish culture. Both Castillo and Luna were part of a small cultivated Morisco minority who read and wrote Classical Arabic, and both were connected with the famous forgery known as the Lead Books of Granada.

13   N. Morata, 'Un catálogo de los fondos árabes primitivos de El Escorial', *Al-Andalus*, 2, 1934, pp. 87–94.

14   'Memorial de los libros vedados que se hallan en la librería de S. Lorenzo el Real' in B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)*, Leiden, 1972, p. 162; and D. Hershenzon, 'Traveling libraries' p. 546 et seqq.

15   M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism*, Leiden, 2013, p. 106.

The Lead Books of Granada

The Moriscos were a complex Islamic group, open to the transmission and translation of religious ideas, images and emotions from the Christian milieu within which they lived. Subjected to the pressure of intense polemic, they could not help but define themselves through their confrontation and interaction with the world around them. Persecuted by the Inquisition and under pressure from the civil authorities they deployed different and highly interesting strategies to try to salvage aspects of their culture, literature and language. The *Memorial* that the Morisco nobleman Francisco Nuñez Muley wrote to the Audiencia (High Tribunal) of Granada in 1567 arguing against the edict prohibiting the use of the Arabic language and written documents, including family names and lineages as well as other customs such as baths, dress, haircuts and music, is one of the best known and moving examples of the efforts of a Morisco elite to defend parts of its own language, tradition and memory.[16]

But by far the most interesting illustration of both the complexity of Morisco elites and their efforts to preserve a part of their culture is the forgery known as the Lead Books, produced in Granada in the late sixteenth century and miraculously 'discovered' in the hills near the city, since known as the Sacromonte. Like the *Memorial* of Núñez Muley, these books can be considered a response to the edict of 1567 and to the ensuing War of the Alpujarras and its consequences. The Lead Books consisted of a series of texts written in Arabic on circular sheets of lead, in a supposedly ancient slanting Arabic script without diacritics or vowels, similar to the kind of writing used in talismans and magical writings. These works claimed to be a text from Christian antiquity, including a gospel dictated in Arabic by the Virgin Mary to a group of Arab disciples who had travelled with Saint James to Spain, where they founded the city of Granada and were martyred. This is a case of an allegedly Christian text constructed from Islamic sources: no references are made in it to any of the aspects of Christianity deemed unacceptable to Islam, such as the divine nature of Christ, the Holy Trinity, worship of images or oral confession. The stories from the life of Jesus which it contains are taken from the life of Muhammad, and its vocabulary and spirituality are clearly Islamic.

The forgery was carried out by Moriscos who had targeted two groups of potential readers: firstly, the Christian Church and civil authorities, to whom

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16   Published fully as an Appendix to B. Vincent's 'Introducción' to the new edition of A. Gallego y Burín and A. Gamir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix (1554)*, Granada, 1996, pp. XXXIX–LII. Translated into English by V. Barletta as *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada, by Francisco Nuñez Muley*, Chicago, 2007.

they wished to prove that Arabic was a Christian language and that there was therefore no reason to ban its use. They also sought to persuade this group of readers that the first Christians in Granada had been Arabs and that the Moriscos were therefore fully-fledged Granadans and not aliens who could be expelled. However, the text could also be read from a Morisco point of view as a text of religious polemic directed against Christianity, as well as a way of upholding an eschatological dissimulation (that is to say, one in force until the End of All Time, an event understood to be imminent) which spoke of a Christianity that had been cleansed and made admissible to secret followers of Islam. The text of the Lead Books showed a profound knowledge of the boxes that had to be ticked in order to guarantee the success which it certainly enjoyed among the Christian authorities of Granada and the Spanish population in general. It provided 'proof' of Saint James's journey to Spain, it spoke of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and it offered up relics ensuring the sacred origin of Granada and the existence of the city before the arrival of the Muslim invaders. The Lead Books were tremendously successful and continued to be deemed genuine even after they were anathematized by the Vatican in 1682, a century after their first 'discovery', when Pope Innocent XI declared them to be false.

What most interests us about this whole affair is the boost it gave to an erudite, philological study of Arabic. From the moment the Lead Books were found, the Church in Granada, through its Archbishop Pedro de Castro, and the Spanish Crown, defended the Books' authenticity with passion; thus the affair of the Lead Books gave rise to a tremendous debate and to a long and varied series of translations and linguistic studies. As our book *The Orient in Spain* shows, the matter went far beyond the confines of Granada's local history and of the Morisco problem in the region.[17] It was to engage the Spanish Church and Crown, the Vatican, the bishops in their struggles with Rome, and the scholars and humanists of half of Europe.

The affair of the Sacromonte Lead Books transformed both the knowledge and the use of Arabic in Spain, at the same time as it provoked an abrupt turn in the historiographical study of the Peninsula's Islamic and pre-Islamic past. Through the study of those who translated and debated the authenticity of this supposed ancient Arabic Christian text we come to know a core group of scholars who counted the knowledge of Arabic and Oriental languages among their principal interests. This group's activities reveal the development of a learned or scholarly use of the Arabic language in Spain. Most interestingly we can see, through the study of the Lead Books, how the interests of these scholars came

17   García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*.

to coincide with the interests of the Moriscos who had forged them. Both groups needed to create a clear sense of separation between the Arabic language and the religion of Islam, a separation that was one of the main aims of the Lead Books. This was a reaction to the prohibition of Arabic in 1567. It also sought to present a very old 'native' population of Arab Christians, the first Christian martyrs in Spain. In this version of events, Arabophones could be Christians, and so old that they could not be expelled.

The Lead Books of Sacromonte show up how the issue of the use of Arabic had become part of the general problem of writing the sacred history of Spain. That a language so strongly identified with Islam and the very recent Muslim past of the Iberian Peninsula should have become part of the history of the evangelization of Spain can only be understood in the light of the complex process of de-Islamization of the Arabic language and the important and audacious programme surrounding that process. This also applies to the idea that Arabic was not introduced into Spain by the Muslims, but was spoken before the conquest of 711 and was a Christian language, as is proved by the existence of the Eastern Arab Christians and their texts.

We have sound evidence that the Morisco Miguel de Luna, the author of the fake *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*, was one of the authors of the forged books as well as an apologist for their authenticity. Alonso del Castillo was another Morisco interpreter who worked on the translation of the Lead Books. Both of these men were physicians educated at the University of Granada and had knowledge of Latin. Both worked at El Escorial, and Castillo even made an inventory of the Arabic manuscripts held there, as was mentioned above. He also transcribed and translated the Arabic inscriptions of the Alhambra, as well as letters sent by the Moroccan sultan Muley Ahmad al-Mansur. To close the circle linking the Moriscos to the erudition of Oriental philologists it is worth mentioning that this same Alonso del Castillo claimed in his diary to have learnt classical Arabic from the Flemish humanist Nicolas Clenaerts.

The Sacromonte forgeries, with their huge corollary of passions, polemics, translations and circulation of books and ideas, help us to think of several crucial processes in the issue of early modern Spain's relationship with Arabic: firstly, the difficult integration, in the history of the Spanish language, of another tongue which, like Arabic, was closely identified with Islam and with the Moriscos suspected of being crypto-Muslims; secondly, the integration of the Arabic past in the writing of the history of Spain and in the construction of a historical narrative and a homogenous cultural model. As we will attempt to show in the pages that follow, these conflicts come together around several problematic issues: the de-Islamization of the Arabic language, the transition

from local Morisco culture to scholarly culture, and from dialectal to classical Arabic. The rest of the article will show that Spain did participate in the emergence of modern European Orientalist culture and will characterise this participation.

Writing History

The writing of history was a problematic and productive endeavour in Early Modern Spain. By the end of the sixteenth century we find a broad and well-founded corpus of historical writing that brought together all that was known about the medieval wars that ended with the final defeat of the Muslims by the Catholic Kings. The theme of Islam and the Arabic language in Spain is ever-present in these early modern historical narratives centred on the problem of integrating the history of al-Andalus into the history of Spain. National history implied a national territory, so was al-Andalus Spain or was it not? Could one trace a continuous thread, in spite of the supposed break that al-Andalus represented in Spain's medieval history? Could the linguistic, communal, or archaeological remains of Arab culture be incorporated into a 'Hispanic' identity? All of these questions underlie early modern Spanish historiography, and emerge in dramatically problematic form at certain moments when the tension between rejection and acceptance of the Muslim past rises to the surface. It is not surprising to find this contradiction expressed in texts about the ancient glories and monuments of Spanish cities, especially cities that had an evident Islamic history. In such works it became necessary to present the conversion of Andalusian cities into Christian ones. The cities of early modern Spain wanted their history written not as a mere process of transformation or creation but as one of restoration. Above all, it affected the scholarly approach to the Arabic language. It was not only the territory and national history that were 'infiltrated' by the Islamic past. Spanish, the language itself, was known to be influenced by Arabic and therefore Arabic was needed to improve knowledge of the history of Spanish. It was not only national history and territory: different scholars identify a significant form of linguistic nationalism in early modern Spain. The idea that there should be one unique national language and that this language was an important unifying characteristic for national identity and was endowed with historical legitimacy was very clearly expressed.[18]

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18   K. Woolard. 'Is the Past a Foreign Country? Time, Language and the Origins of the Nation in Early Modern Spain', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 14, 2004, pp. 57–80.

From the moment in the late fifteenth century when Spanish was studied and historicized, and grammars and dictionaries came to be written, it became clear for a considerable number of scholars that Spanish was a language infused with Arabic forms and vocabulary, i.e., that Arabic was part of Spanish and that this made Spanish different from other Romance languages. There is a rich corpus on the place and role of Arabic in Spanish. Some of these accounts are extremely self-conscious about evincing the role of Arabic in the Spanish culture of the time. Many of the debates about Spanish culture and its relation to the Moors and Islam after the fall of Granada took place around the issue of language. It was not a discussion which concerned only erudite or learned people. We find it in literature, in the Romancero, or in *Don Quijote*.[19] Other vernaculars in the peninsula, competing for prestige, accused Castilian of being the most infused and influenced by Arabic of all the peninsular languages. We will quote only one meaningful example, that of Rafael Martí de Viciana (1502–1574) who, in his *Libro de la alabanças de las lenguas hebrea, griega, latina, castellana, y valenciana* (1574), defended the idea that the Valencian vernacular was superior to Castilian because of the intense linguistic borrowing from Arabic in Castilian and the implications of this borrowing. For example, Castilian territory was contaminated because of its toponymy, with all the names of its rivers starting with the Arabic word 'Guad'. The implications included de Viciana's notion that Castilian incorporation of Arabic words into its lexicon was not inseparable from the religion of Islam and therefore from linguistic and religious corruption.

Toponymy and etymology were necessary, and amply used in works that aimed to discover the origins of peoples and the histories of their regions, and struck at the core of some of the most controversial aspects of Spanish history and self-understanding. In Spain, as in the rest of Europe, etymologies became in the early modern period an important, albeit always contested, pillar of historical writing.[20] In Spain one matter which cropped up constantly in

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19　Toward the end of Part II of *Don Quijote* the protagonist speaks about musical instruments, among them 'albogues': "What are albogues?" asked Sancho "[…] I've never heard of them or seen them in my life." "Albogues" responded Don Quixote "are something like brass candlesticks, and when you hit one with the other along the empty or hollow side, it makes a sound that is not unpleasant […].this word albogues is Moorish as are all those in our Castilian tongue that begin with al, for example: almohada, almorzar, alhombra, alguazil, alhucema, almacén, alcancía and other similar words, […]those which end with the letter í, and are borceguí, zaquizamí, maravedí, alhelí". Quoted in B. Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia, 2009, p. 25.

20　See A. Vine, 'Etymologies, Names and the Search for Origins: Deriving the Past in Early Modern England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 21.1, 2006, pp. 1–21.

historiographical discourse was the position of Jewish and Muslim people and cultures in a Spanish society dominated by the legislation regarding *limpieza de sangre.* In response to concerns over the status of Castile within the peninsula and in relation to other peninsular vernaculars, the loyalty of the recently converted Muslims or the position of Spain within Europe and Christendom, Spanish scholars increasingly placed language at the centre of their historical investigations.

In relation to this 'nationalistic' approach to language, there was also an ongoing controversy that concerned the historical origins of the Spanish language (or Castilian/Romance, the terms being used interchangeably in this period). From the paradigm of the Tower of Babel in the Book of Genesis to theories on the cyclical rise and decline of languages, different strategies appear in these emergent linguistic studies. Juan de Valdés's (1509–1541) well-known *Diálogo de la Lengua* (1535) argued that Castilian emerged from decadent Latin, in which he was following Antonio de Nebrija's theory in his *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* (1492) on the origins of this Romance language. But this explanation did not go unchallenged. No mere matter of a succession and mutation of forms, the attribution of historicity to the Spanish language, with its implications of inconstancy, corruption and human invention, was seen by those opposing the idea that Spanish derived from Latin as an insult to the Spanish nation.[21] One side argued that Castilian was derived from Latin, the other claimed that Castilian had been created by God at Babel and brought to Iberia by Noah's offspring after the Flood, long before the Romans arrived. At the basis of this dispute were two completely distinct approaches to history.[22]

Continuity and Change

The extent to which all of these problems concerning the origin of Spanish, the sacred history of Spain and the presence in it of Arabic culture, come together in the Sacromonte affair, is well illustrated by the correspondence between Bernardo de Aldrete and Archbishop Pedro de Castro, which has been studied by Kathryn Woolard.[23] Archbishop Castro was, as we have said above, the main supporter of the Sacromonte forgeries, according to which the Arabic and

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21   Woolard, 'Is the Past a Foreign Country?', p. 58.

22   K.A. Woolard, '"Bernardo de Aldrete, Humanist and Laminario', *Al-Qanṭara*, 24.2, 2003, pp. 449–76; 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology', *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*; and J.C. Zamora, 'Ideología, filología, y lingüística en la gramática española del renacimiento', *Hispania*, 70.4, 1987, pp. 718–23.

23   See: Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete'.

Spanish languages were both spoken in the Iberian Peninsula in the first century AD. Bernardo de Aldrete (1560–1641) was a leading scholar, a canon of the Cathedral of Córdoba and author of one of the most important books on the origins of the Spanish language, *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana o Romance que oy se habla en España*. In it, Aldrete authoritatively defended the theory that Castilian was corrupt Latin and not a primordial language in itself, and this was the reason why the work had burst strongly into contemporary debates on the origin of Spanish. When Pedro de Castro read Aldrete's book, he immediately realized that it demonstrated that Arabic had been introduced into Spain by the Muslims and that the Spanish vernacular had begun life during the period of the Visigoths as a corrupt form of Latin. Such ideas directly contradicted his own, as well as what seemed to be shown by the Sacromonte Lead Books, namely, that Arabic was spoken by ancient Christian Arab martyrs and arrived in Spain in the first century AD.

The correspondence between Castro and Aldrete is highly interesting for several reasons: their linguistic discussion of the languages of Spain, and of the chronology of the use of Arabic or Spanish, evokes the broader conflict between two opposing models of the history of Spain. It also shows how a scholar like Aldrete could be placed under pressure by a man such as the Archbishop, who did not hesitate to bring his authority, and that of the Church's holy saints, to bear. At the end of the correspondence between the two men, Aldrete was put under considerable pressure by Castro and persuaded to acknowledge the providential nature of the Lead Books, written in Arabic, thereby admitting the pre-eminence of the notion of writing Spain into sacred history over that of carrying out a purely linguistic interpretation of the origins of the Spanish language.

In one of his most important works, *Varias antigüedades de España y África*, Aldrete reproduced, in an anonymous manner, a letter from the Archbishop defending the antiquity of the use of Spanish and Arabic in the peninsula: 'You argue that the Spaniards took the Arabic language from the Muslim Moors, and say that it occurred in only a few years; and in other places you say that in Spain the Phoenician and Carthaginian Punic tongues were spoken, and that these nations or languages entered Spain long before the Romans. I have heard doubts expressed, since these nations entered Spain so much earlier, whether they brought the Arabic language, or whether it was Punic or Phoenician, or another that came in together with them, because it seems to them [the objectors] that the Spaniards had a very long time to take the language of the Carthaginians or Arabs [...]. And it seems to them that this long period was a likelier time for this language to have been introduced into Spain than the moment when the Muslim Moors entered, and for this reason they say that

there are names of rivers, towns and others in Arabic dating from a period long before the entry of the Muslims in Spain.'[24]

As we have seen, all the authors of treatises on the history of the Spanish language had encountered the problem of the existence of a large number of words and place names of Arabic origin, and this problem was discussed within the framework of the broader issue of continuity and rupture in history. In opposition to Archbishop Castro, Aldrete himself devoted a chapter of his *Varias antigüedades* to the issue of 'the great change brought about in Africa by the coming of the Mohammedans', where he explained that 'the change caused in all things by the Mohammedan Saracens when they entered every province was so great that it brought about grave damage in Spain. It was the same or even greater in Africa, where they changed and altered the names of towns, cities, peoples, mountains and rivers, and the vestiges and signs of the originals have scarcely survived'. This was noted by Mármol, the reputed author of a *Descripción de General de África* (1573) who, as quoted by Aldrete said that the Arabs, in order to remove old memories, changed their names and although they left some of them, they changed others at will. 'And the same was done by the Africans after the decline of the Mohammedan tyranny, and in the wars many provinces were destroyed and others re-built. From this great change and alteration it follows that one can learn about antiquity only with great difficulty, that time itself would be enough to erase it even without these accidents, and it is even worse when they have been so violent; and thus it is that we advance more by guesswork and conjecture than along a clear and open path, for even the books which dealt with these events were removed by the Mohammedans'.[25] The idea that the arrival of the Muslims had represented a historical rupture, which was reflected in a massive change in toponymy, was repeated with a certain frequency. For example, the great Jesuit historian Father Juan de Mariana had written of the Muslims: 'There is no doubt that along with the change there was in other things there were changes of name in many towns, mountains, rivers and springs, resulting in great confusion in the memory and ancient names, as the barbarous leaders seem to have wished to perpetuate their memory and to their greater honour found new towns or change the names of others which had stood since ancient times.'[26]

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24   B. de Aldrete, *Varias antigüedades de España, África y otras provincias*, Antwerp, 1614, p. 56.

25   Ibid., p. 452.

26   J. de Mariana, *Historia de España*, in *Obras del padre Juan de Mariana*, Madrid, 1950, I, p. 188.

The discussion between Castro and Aldrete was, then, part of a broader debate about continuity and rupture in history;[27] as was argued in some theoretical treatises on history, this topic was central to constructions of the very concept of 'tradition': '[Tradition] has the same force in the [geographical dimension of History], explaining in which place that which is being told occurred and how the town was founded and who its first inhabitants were and what illustrious citizens it had in it, all is born from the accounts passed on by the elderly to the young, whose memory today serves as history by tradition. How many towns are there in Spain, where even today there is still discussion concerning whether they are or are not what is said in Roman histories?'[28] This quotation from Cabrera de Córdoba places the etymological and toponymic issue on a double plane: that of local knowledge, which was transmitted orally from parents to children and which laid the groundwork of tradition; and that of toponymy, seen as a key to understanding historical forms of continuity.

The Origins of Spanish and the Orient

But what kind of continuity and rupture underlay the discussions between Castro and Aldrete? The idea, defended by Aldrete, that Spanish derived from Latin, and was no more than a corrupt form of Latin, was discussed by several scholars from the moment of his book's first appearance. The example of Archbishop Castro is an indication of how Aldrete's book was received in Granada, i.e., in the Granada of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte, and of how the response to Aldrete's thesis of the historicity of languages and chronological rupture was almost immediate. Thus it was that Francisco de Ulloa Solís wrote a short treatise listing the ways in which Spanish grammar differed from Latin. Ulloa also underlined the points which made Spanish a singular language unlike any other, or, more interestingly, the ways in which it resembled Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic or Greek. He found many such points of similarity: 'h' was a consonant, as in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic; the superlative was formed with 'muy' [very], as in Hebrew; on occasions, as in Hebrew, the gender of masculine nouns could become feminine for reasons of euphony. Ulloa also made reference to several features of verb tenses in which Spanish 'imitates' the holy tongue.[29]

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27   Woolard, 'Is the Past a Foreign Country?'.

28   C. de Córdoba, Luis, *De historia, para entenderla y escribirla*, ed. S. Montero Díaz, Madrid, 1948, p. 65.

29   'Algunas diferencias entre la gramática castellana y la latina de Francisco de Ulloa Solís, enviadas por el padre Cartujo a Aldrete', in J. Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes y su círculo.*

The case of Granada shows the full extent of the problem of the etymology of place names, or of Spanish words derived from Arabic, and which could not be reduced to the simple notion that the Muslim conquest represented a radical rupture in the history of Spain, reflected in the language. The need to establish a border cordoning off the immediate Muslim past, which remained present in a local landscape peopled by Moriscos and dotted with Arabic buildings, coincided with an urge to affirm the Christian nature of the city, its link to a sacred past and the ancient presence of Christians in the region. This urge explains, for instance, the attempt to find extremely ancient Hebrew etymologies for a number of Andalusian place-names, as in the work of the Cordoban painter and humanist Pablo de Céspedes:[30] according to Céspedes, the name of Córdoba itself derived from Hebrew, as did the following names: el arroyo del Moro, la dehesa de Morata y Moratilla, las Quemadillas, el pago de Cozar, el de Hojamaimon, la villa de Adamuz. Other place-names, whose Arabic or Hebrew origin might be considered doubtful, were all inevitably endowed with a Hebrew origin: the pastureland of Albaida, for instance, with its addition of the Arabic article 'al' ('of which the Arabs were so fond, and which during the time they occupied this province they attached to many names, where they remain to this day'); or the Arrizapha, which according to the history of Alfonso x derived from Arabic, was actually of Hebrew origin, as had been confirmed to Céspedes himself by the famous doctor and Morisco translator Miguel de Luna, already mentioned as one of the leading characters in the affair of the Lead Books. In the case of some place-names, such as Córdoba, the Arabic language had served to maintain the pronunciation of some older phonemes; Céspedes was convinced of the 'integrity and faithfulness [of Arabic], so uncorrupted is that tongue, for it preserves itself much more than ours and others in Europe'. The reason for searching out a Hebrew origin for Cordoban place-names was obvious: the first people to settle in Spain had been descendants of Noah and spoke Hebrew. Even the mosque of Córdoba turned out in this view not to be the work of Muslims, but a much older temple, dedicated to the god Janus, who could be identified with Noah.[31] Within this context can also be

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Humanismo y Contarreforma en la cultura andaluza del Renacimiento al Barroco, Granada, 1993, pp. 464–8. In the same volume, see also the anonymous text 'Comentarios sobre el origen hebreo de Granada y cómo la lengua española tiene un principio distinto a la latina, de algún humanista granadino contemporáneo de Bernardo de Aldrete', pp. 473–6.

30   Ibid., 'Tratado de Pablo de Céspedes sobre el topónimo de Córdoba y otros lugares cercanos y sobre hijos ilustres cordobeses', p. 312 and et seqq.

31   Ibid., 'Discurso sobre la antigüedad de la catedral de Córdoba y cómo antes era templo del dios Jano, de Pablo de Céspedes', pp. 325–53.

placed similar efforts to de-Islamize and de-Arabize the peninsula's past in order to re-affirm its biblical antiquity through reference to mythical 'Tubalism' which, following the lead of the influential forgeries of Annio de Viterbo, made Tubal the first settler of Spain; thus, the name of the city of Tarifa was to be derived from Tarsis, the nephew of Tubal, 'however much some moderns with their lack of scholarship wish to derive it from *Tarif* the Arab invader of Spain'.[32]

The same defence of the notion of a Hebrew origin was carried out by other Granadan scholars with reference to their own *patria* or homeland. In this case, however, the problem of the Arabic language became more pressing, as is shown by the affair of the Lead Books, which had turned Arabic into a tool for the early evangelization of Granada and its sacred history. A considerable bibliography grew around the subject of the Granadan forgeries, and it often insisted on the idea of the ancient Jewish foundation of Granada, and the Hebrew origin of part of its toponymy as well as its anthroponymy.[33] One very explicit statement of these ideas is the one made by Pedro Velarde de Ribera, canon of the church of San Salvador in Granada, in his *Historia eclesiástica del Monte Santo.*[34] According to Ribera, Granada had been inhabited since ancient times by the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, who had also settled in America, as was proved by the existence among American Indians of Hebrew words and the practice of circumcision. These Jewish settlers spoke Hebrew; in fact, if Saint Paul went to Arabia (as is stated in a well-known passage of the Letter to the Galatians), it is because he was 'inspired by the Holy Spirit to communicate the language of the Arabs which was so greatly needed for the conversion of the ten tribes that were dispersed among diverse provinces of the world and in order to be able to speak to our holy saints San Cecilio and San Tesifón, disciples of Christ and the Apostle Santiago.'[35] This explanation made a clear distinction between the Arabic Jews, ancient settlers of Granada, and the 'moros' or Moors, i.e., the Muslims who had arrived in the eighth century and who tried to erase all traces of their predecessors and 'to usurp for themselves and attribute to their forebears the foundation of one of the noblest cities in

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32   J.P. de Ossau and J. Tovar, *Población y lengua primitiva de España, recopilada del aparato a su monarchía antigua en los tres tiempos, el adelón, el míthico y el histórico*, Valencia, 1672, fol. 21ᵛ.

33   M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, 'Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the Lead Books of the Sacromonte', in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. K. Ingram, Leiden, 2009, pp. 243–68.

34   Pedro Velarde de Ribera, *Historia eclesiástica del Monte Santo, ciudad y reyno de Granada*, BNE, MS 1583

35   Ibid., fols. 11ʳ–11ᵛ.

Spain'.[36] This distinction between the old 'Arabic Jews' and the 'Moros' was of course reflected in genealogy: surnames from the kingdom of Granada, like that of Zacharías of the Alcazaba, or the Gabanis, of the tribe of Gad, the Judentis or Cudentis, all descended from these old Jewish settlers of Spain and had continued to exist during the time of the Muslims. The proof of the antiquity of these lineages was 'the skill they had in speaking our Castilian tongue, keeping in it the property and pronunciation of terms which it is clear to see that they had preserved as the tongue of their forebears together with the Arabic they spoke as their vulgar tongue, which is no small argument for proving the antiquity of our language'.[37]

Another apology for the Arabic language can be found in the works of the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas, an extremely interesting figure whose reflections on the use of Arabic were closely linked to the problem of evangelizing the Moriscos, with De las Casas going so far as to argue for the establishment of special schools for Granadan Morisco children.[38] In his defence of the Arabic language, De Las Casas stated that the Three Magi were Arabs, and that Prester John in Ethiopia, a potential Christian ally against Islam, was descended from one of those Magi and was himself therefore Arab. In his eagerness to de-Islamize the Arabic language, De Las Casas argued that the enduring use of Arabic over so many centuries was not due to the rule of the Muslims, since the example of the Ottomans showed that, although they held power, they had not managed to enforce the universal usage of Turkish ('on account of its being barbarous and limited and as different from Arabic as broad Basque is from Castilian'); instead, Arabic had spread and survived on account of its elegance and expressiveness, which was comparable to that of Greek and Latin. Arabic grammar followed a series of rules thanks to which it was possible to deduce the entire language from just three radicals, 'and this is where its ease comes from which is consistent with that of Hebrew and there is no other language that has this except these two'. This comparison with Hebrew was traced back as far as the Bible: 'If the Hebrew language is so highly esteemed it is because it is thought that it was spoken not only by our first fathers the patriarchs and prophets but by Jesus Christ our lord, the apostles and disciples, and Arabic is owed no small honour, tracing part of its ancestry back to Ruth the Moabite

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36   Ibid., fol. 24ᵛ.

37   Ibid., fol. 26ʳ.

38   F. de Borja Medina, 'La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545–1614)' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 57, 1988, pp. 4–137. See also Y. Alaoui, *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens. Etude comparative des méthodes d´´evangelisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d' aprés les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d' Ignacio de las Casas (1605, 1607)*, Paris, 2006.

who was a native of Petra […] and for having chosen the nobility of the Three Magi, initiators of the Church and these were Arabs according to most and the best sources'. Arabic, then, was not only the language of Muslims, but that of Jews and Christians.[39]

In this way, the attempt to integrate Arabic culture into the Hispanic world was based on a process of de-Islamization of the Arabic language, disconnecting it from the Andalusi past of the Iberian Peninsula and linking it, at the same time, to an ancient history that was Oriental, biblical and sacred and which gave proof of Spain's role in the economy of salvation. The events of the Sacromonte show that this argument was used by important exponents of the Spanish Catholic clergy of the Counter-Reformation, who were anxious to construct the legitimacy of Spanish sacred history; it was also used by members of the important groups of Hispanic *conversos*, of Jewish and Muslim origin, who were able to claim that Jews or Arabs (or Arab Jews) formed part of that same sacred history as agents of the earliest evangelization process in Spain. Their descendants, it followed, could therefore become part of the early modern Hispanic cultural model.

However, all these problematic and multi-faceted attempts to promote an Orientalizing, Arabic, Hebrew and biblical cultural model revolved around another issue, which related to the tension which existed between local forms of knowledge and the construction of an erudite style of knowledge. As was seen in the quotation from Cabrera de Córdoba, tradition constituted the continuity of a knowledge transmitted from parents to children which was based on several foundations, including toponymy and chronology. From this point of view, the Arabic language harked back to a tradition that had crystallized in local knowledge that could be restored through oral inquiries. Thus, Velarde de Ribera wrote how useful it had been for him to make use of 'the long dealings and communication I had with many learned and ancient Moriscos of this kingdom, having been a priest and beneficiary in my first beginnings in many places where they lived, and I was always curious to inquire about their antiquities, for it is well known that these people are always very keen to uphold their traditions, and in this way I was able to know of the many ancient lineages among them who among the Moors themselves were thought to be descendants of the first settlers of this land […].'[40] It is quite common to find cases of historians, scholars or priests who interviewed elderly Moriscos in attempts to penetrate the murky depths of local history, and tried to reconstruct the toponymic, genealogical and cultural continuities, as in the following quote about

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39   Y. Alaoui, *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens*, p. 592.

40   P. Velarde de Ribera, *Historia*, fol. 25r.

that 'very old Moorish woman in the bishopric of Jaén, who remembered the first war of Granada; and on the very site of the Sacro Monte the Moorish women used to wash clothes for devotion in a nearby spring or stream saying that good health stuck to their clothes, without knowing why [...].'[41] The fact that an Arabic and Muslim tradition existed in Spain constituted, as we have said, a very notable singularity with respect to other European regions and this shaped the way of approaching the issue of Oriental languages, and Arabic in particular. In addition, the tension between local tradition and erudite knowledge was also, in the case of Arabic, a tension between dialectal Arabic and what might be called classical Arabic. This was to be one of the key points in the controversy surrounding the Lead Books of the Sacromonte: its detractors were to say that the Arabic of the Lead Books was dialectal, like the Arabic spoken by the Moriscos, and that this proved that the texts were a forgery, whereas their defenders held that the language used was a very ancient form of Arabic which no Morisco could possibly know. Within the framework of the issue of the writing of the sacred history of Spain, the conflict between dialectal and classical Arabic was also a religious and linguistic conflict between local Morisco culture and the culture of eastern Arabic Christianity. Tradition, history, erudition; an eastern model versus a classical one; dialectal Arabic versus written Arabic – these tensions were reflected in an exemplary manner in the work of Diego de Guadix.

Diego de Guadix

Diego de Guadix was a Granadan priest from Guadix who lived at the time of the discovery of the Sacromonte Lead Books and who worked as an interpreter for the Inquisition tribunal of Granada in 1587. As he himself explains in his work, he had learnt Arabic as a child, as a result of living in an area populated by Moriscos. In the 1590s he travelled to Rome, where he collaborated with the Tipografia Medicea Orientale, forming part of the committee entrusted with the task of preparing an Arabic translation of the Bible under the management of Giambattista Raimondi, the great Roman Arabist of the period. It was in Rome that Guadix wrote his *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los árabes pusieron a algunas ciudades y a otras muchas cosas* (Compilation of some Arabic names that the Arabs gave to some cities and many other

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41   Fernán Pérez de Torres, *Discurso sobre el Monasterio de San Christóval de la ciudad de Córdova en tiempo de los Moros; cuios vestigios se descubrieron con la creciente de Guadalquivir del año 1626 ... Al Ylustríssimo Señor Dⁿ. Christóval de Lobera Obispo de Córdova, del Consejo de Su Mag^d.*, BNE, MS 1742, fols 49^v–50^r.

things).[42] Although it remained unpublished during his lifetime, this work had a considerable influence on other linguists. Guadix was, for example, an informant of Sebastián de Covarrubias, the author of the most important Spanish dictionaries of the sixteenth century and one of the cornerstones of Spanish lexicography.

The *Recopilación de algunos nombres* is an etymological dictionary of place names and Spanish (and non-Spanish) words which, according to Guadix, derived from Arabic. The result is an overwhelming catalogue which in practice amounted to a claim that Arabic was the origin of Castilian Spanish. Of course, the majority of these etymologies are mistaken and are deduced from fortuitous phonetic resemblances. There is nothing in Guadix's work that remotely resembles what might be considered serious etymological research, even by the scholarly standards of his time. However, the massive attribution of an Arabic origin to so many Spanish words is interesting because of the cultural programme which it reflects, and which Guadix himself explains in the fascinating introduction to his work. Guadix wrote that although many Arabic words were introduced into Spain by the Muslims, the Arabic language should not be identified with Islam; on the contrary, it was a very ancient language, practically the same as Hebrew, the original language of mankind. In Guadix's words, 'the Arabic language is the oldest of all the languages in the world, because it is the same as Hebrew – although corrupted – and Hebrew was the tongue that Adam, Noah, Abraham, etc., spoke. Therefore, if we were to find some word or verb that was common both to Arabs and to Spaniards or Italians or other peoples, we could not say that Arabic took it from Spanish or Italian or any other tongue, but rather that Spanish or Italian or any other borrowed and took it from Arabic, that being the oldest language [...]. I, who have some knowledge of this Arabic language, have looked into it with some curiosity and seen that if we examine some verbs and nouns used by the Latin tongue and remove the mask of being conjugated and declined as in Latin, and acknowledging the theft, I can say that I know how they were stolen and taken from Arabic.'[43] In this manner, the Arabic language and its antiquity had to be measured not against the time of the Muslims, 'the sect of the Moors', but against that of the nation of Arabs; for example, the Hebrews who inhabited the

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42   D. de Guadix, *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los árabes pusieron a algunas ciudades y a otras muchas cosas*, eds E. Bajo Pérez and F. Maíllo Salgado, Gijón, 2005; and *Diccionario de arabismos. Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos*, ed. M.Á. Moreno, Jaén, 2007.

43   D. de Guadix, *Recopilación*, pp. 149–150.

Arabian peninsula, who spoke Arabic and were for that reason known as Arabs, 'many centuries before Abraham'.[44]

Guadix takes this idea further in his entry on the word 'algarabía', Arabic.[45] In the period after the destruction of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, there was 'a nation and community of Gentiles whose language was Hebrew and Hebraic, and these Gentiles, living under a natural law and speaking their Hebrew language for many centuries and thousands of years' until the arrival of Abraham, who founded the community chosen by God, who imposed upon him the 'sacrament of circumcision'. These people were called Jews because they lived in Judea. Further thousands and thousands of Hebrews, 'remaining in their gentileness, lived under natural law and spoke their Hebrew language and, taking the name of the province and land where they lived, which was Arabia, were called Arabs.' Thus the Hebrews were divided into two groups, Jews and Arabs, who both spoke Hebrew. The former 'had law, promises and prophesies and thus they had books and scriptures, and, as a political community, they preserved and upheld the integrity of their Hebrew language'; the latter, 'as a people without law, books or scriptures, became barbarous [...], and corrupted their natural and Hebrew language so much that it lost the name of Hebrew and took its name from the provinces where they lived.' The enmity of these Arabs towards the Jews was great and lasted many centuries, during which they turned their backs on the Jewish religion and the integrity of the language, to such an extent that they even changed the characters and invented a new alphabet. From that moment on, the Arabs began to have books and scriptures, and started to bring 'reason and grammatical art' to their language as well as 'cadences of nominatives for which they invented six cases'. However, 'they did not invent or create pronouns because they did not want to lose the affixes of their Hebrew language; [...] and everything that in Latin grammar serves the nominative *quis* vel *qui*, was included by them in the relative particles *aladi, aladina, alati, alatina*; they assigned certain prepositions [...] to the cadences of the nominatives; and from certain particles in their language they made adverbs; and from others, verb participles with another thousand little rules of Arabic spelling and grammar.' These Arabs, 'with this Arabic language of theirs and their smattering of Hebrew grammar', filled the world from the Levant to Guinea, and throughout Europe and the Indies. To such an extent did the Arabic language become universal, that a scholar like Clénard had said *sola lingua arabica facit interpretem*, 'he who knows no more than the Arabic tongue is an interpreter of the world'.

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44   Ibid., p. 151.

45   Ibid., pp. 257–64.

From these basic notions Guadix derived the idea that, contrary to what was believed by many, there were Arabic names even in territories which had not been conquered by the Muslims (in Guadix's circular view, this was excellent evidence of the antiquity of Arabic). One clear example of this, according to Guadix, was America, where not only Arabic words such as *çamí*, *cacique*, *zara* or *caçabe*, were used, but even the place names *México* and *Perú* were of Arabic origin;[46] the same could be said of the words Biscay, Flanders, Italy or France. Indeed, Guadix's catalogue includes explanations of a good many Italian and French place names, such as Asis, Mantua, Angoulême or Ardennes.[47]

In an attempt to explain the linguistic evolution of words since their Arabic origin, at the beginning of his work Guadix gives a series of warnings to be taken into account: some words exist which are compounds of Arabic and Romance elements; some phonemes exist in Arabic but not in Romance and vice versa, e.g. the "p" sound (which despite this assertion was in fact used by Turks and Persians); in Arabic, the assimilation of solar letters to the article, with one important Iberian exception: in the kingdoms of Valencia and Granada, the letter *jūm* functioned as a solar and was assimilated into the article. In this respect, added Guadix, "because to some attentive reader who might know Arabic, it will seem curious to assign or say that there is another letter xemçi or solar apart from those explained above, which are those assigned as xemci in all Eastern grammars, say to me or pronounce for me the names *alchar*, *alchoray*, *alcheuza*, and you will see that in good Arabic pronunciation you must pronounce them *achar*, *achoray*, *acheuza*."[48]

As has already been pointed out, the result of these premises expressed by Guadix is that the problem of etymologies and place names was placed in a broad perspective which harked back to the antiquity and sacredness of Arabic and Hebrew. It is thus hardly surprising that Arabic etymology should be called upon to explain terms as characteristic as 'güelfo', 'gibelino' or even 'Papa' (Pope) which, in Guadix's view, derived from the Arabic *baba*, 'father'. According to Guadix, 'the name of father is well suited to him who is superior to all the prelates of the world, who are the spiritual fathers of their subjects; he is thus a father of fathers [...] and even here, in the Latin and vulgar language, they have always called him *padre sancto* and *padre beatíssimo*; I do not

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46   Ibid., p. 153.

47   It should be noted that Guadix is not always consistent: when he explains, for example, the etymology of Ardena/Ardennes, he writes that no one should be surprised by the existence of Arabic place names in France, given that the Muslims arrived there in the eighth century, Ibid., pp. 332–3.

48   Ibid., p. 156.

know why this Turkish or Arabic word or term, *baba*, has been so well known that almost all the world uses it in this corrupted form, *papa*, who introduced this Turkish or Arabic name, when or where it started to be used can be said by whoever knows more history than I.'[49]

Christian Arabic: The Rise of Arabic Scholarship

There are at least two aspects to remark upon in Guadix's profoundly ahistorical analysis. The first has to do with the issue of religion and its connection with the use of the Arabic language. As has been mentioned already, Guadix wrote his compilation in Rome, where he worked with Giambattista Raimondi and the Tipografia Medicea Orientale on editorial tasks relating to the Arabic translation of the New Testament. When the Tipografia was founded, Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici himself ordered 'that the Holy Bible, in particular, be printed in Arabic in its entirety or part by part at first; and also all the Catholic books of Scripture that could be found in the said language; this is for the benefit of the Arab Christians who are in the East, and the Granadans in Spain'.[50] This quotation seems to suggest that from Rome's point of view there was a certain degree of identification between eastern Arabic Christianity and the Arabic Christians of Granada. This identification was often to be offered as proof during the controversy over the Lead Books, when attempts were made to defend the existence of an ancient Hispanic Arabic Christianity, endowed with a textual tradition equivalent to that of eastern Christians. To cite just one example, taken from an author already mentioned above, Pedro Velarde de Ribera replied to the criticisms made of the authenticity of the Lead Books and the appearance in them of the term 'Trinity'. For critics, this was a clear anachronism, since the Trinity did not make an explicit appearance in the Scriptures, but was a notion that had been established later, by the Fathers of the Church. Ribera responded to such criticism by writing that 'where it says in the name of the highly honoured Trinity it is written in Arabic, and not in Latin, and the Arabic term which in Spanish goes by this name of Trinity is not modern but ancient, as is declared by the Arabs who know of it, and it is clear that the Arab Christians of the early Church believed in the mystery of the Holy Trinity as they had learnt it from Christ and his Apostles, who had in their language a term with which to explain this mystery.'[51] Guadix himself was not indifferent to some important theological issues relating to Arabic, Islam and the Lead Books, such as the crucial matter of the Immaculate Conception:

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49   Ibid., p. 869.

50   A. Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale*, Lucca, 1987, p. 95.

51   P. Velarde de Ribera, *Historia eclesiástica*, fol. 250ᵛ.

in one passage he speaks of how the Moriscos considered Jesus 'a very great prophet' and accepted the virginity of Mary, 'saying that the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady, conceived Christ our Redeemer when the Holy Spirit breathed in her face, so that she was a virgin before giving birth; and they say it on account of these words in Arabic: *maulina mariem bacaadra acalb al-nafiç gua falnafiç guabaa dalnafiç*.'[52] But this problem of the Christian Arabic language was, at this point in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an important one for the Church of Rome. This was a key moment in the establishment of a theological and linguistic canon of Christian Arabic, with a leading role being played by the Maronites who had arrived in Rome and other parts of Europe. One of the results of this interest in Arabic Christianity was a boom in editions of Christian Arabic texts, starting with those of the Tipografia of Raimondi. When the Lead Books arrived in Rome and were studied by Vatican experts, the problem immediately arose of the theological and linguistic gap between those ambiguous products of Morisco culture and the Arabists of Rome, who were trained in the eastern tradition.[53]

A second aspect which can be highlighted in Guadix's work is its peculiar status in the way it considers the Arabic language, influenced as it is both by direct experience of the Morisco community and the problems related to mass conversion and evangelization, and by the rise of a scholarly interest motivated by a concern to write the history of Spain. Guadix sometimes makes allusion to his own life, including both his childhood growing up among Moriscos from whom he learnt Arabic and his experience as a preacher in the kingdom of Granada: 'And I, who, in public and in secret have preached many times in this Arabic language to Moriscos and Arabs, and all the natives of the kingdom of Granada who have grown up among Moriscos know well how we can report and certify the customs and humour of the Arabs or Moors and Moriscos who lived and live in Spain.'[54] But his involvement in the Arabic Bible project placed him in a very different environment. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of Raimondi and his Tipografia for the history of early modern Italian and European Orientalism: learning Arabic, Hebrew and other eastern languages, collecting manuscripts, fixing and printing texts, creating a scholarly body of knowledge, were all activities which defined the construction of a particular kind of knowledge of eastern languages. Diego de Guadix was not an outstanding scholar but his concern, though simple, for

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52   D. de Guadix, *Recopilación*, p. 170.

53   We analyzed this in more detail in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*.

54   D. de Guadix, *Recopilación*, p. 187.

grammar, the reduction of a language to a set of rules, the establishment of criteria for an understanding of the evolution of words of (allegedly) Arabic origin, were all signs that he was moving in a different direction from that which one would expect to be taken by a simple priest from a village in the kingdom of Granada. Although quotations from other works are not common in his work, some can be cited, such as those from Abraham Ortelius, or, as we have seen, Nicholas Clénard or Clenaerts. The latter quotation has a certain significance: we have already seen that one of the main translators from Arabic of the Spanish seventeenth century, the Morisco physician Alonso del Castillo, one of the first translators of the Lead Books, knew Arabic because of his Morisco background but had to learn 'classical' Arabic with the Flemish master, according to contemporary sources. Other learned Moriscos went to study Classical Arabic with Joseph de Herrera, interpreter of Arabic of the Inquisition of Granada.[55]

The story of Clenaerts and Castillo or of the Granadan Moriscos and Herrera, are just examples of an awareness of the gap between the world of dialectal and classical Arabic, definitively illustrated by the significant existence of a version of the *Ājurrūmiyya* in *aljamía*, i.e., Spanish in Arabic script, which shows that it was also an instrument used by Moriscos for the study of Arabic.[56] This leads us to the following question: how could an interested person learn Arabic, whether he was a historian wanting to make use of Arabic sources or a philologist wanting to study Oriental languages because of their closeness to Hebrew, or a learned Morisco wanting to know the Classical tongue and not just the dialect?

Tentative attempts to institutionalize Arabic teaching during the sixteenth century culminated in one significant milestone, the creation of a Chair of Arabic at Alcalá de Henares, first held by Diego de Urrea. Urrea was a fascinating character: a Calabrian captured by North African corsairs who converted to Islam, became a high-level functionary serving various Ottoman lords, then converted back to Christianity under the name Diego de Urrea, became an official translator of Arabic, Turkish and Persian for the king of Spain and, finally, was a member of the Neapolitan branch of the Accademia dei Lincei who sought to collaborate with Cesi and Galileo.[57] During his brief spell as

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55   Velarde de Ribera, *Historia eclesiástica*, fol.182ʳ. See the contribution of Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz to this volume.

56   On the *Ājurrūmiyya* see L. López-Baralt, *"A zaga de tu huella". La enseñanza de las lenguas semíticas en Salamanca en tiempos de San Juan de la Cruz*, Madrid, Trotta, 2006.

57   M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, "De Diego de Urrea a Marcos Dobelio, intérpretes y traductores de los "Plomos"", in *Los Plomos del Sacromonte, invención y tesoro*, eds M. García-Arenal and M. Barrios, València et al., 2006, pp. 297–333.

professor at Alcalá de Henares, Urrea, occupied with other tasks, was unable to attend to his classes as much as he ought, judging by the complaints of students who protested that he never taught them more than the fundamentals. This complaint shows that whoever wished to study Arabic in Spain at that time came up against the gulf between the modern dialect spoken by Moriscos and North Africans and 'ancient Arabic'; furthermore, that basic texts for learning the latter were lacking. Benito Arias Montano, for instance, wrote to Archbishop Pedro de Castro: 'I have put all possible effort into ancient Arabic until I was able to understand the holy books written in it, for which I had some information about grammar, as will be seen one day; but I have not worked on other topics written in the language for lack of time and lack of books, especially good vocabularies. We have none of those here nor have I been able to create any through my inquiries, and the licentiates Luna and Castillo have not told me that they possess them, although I have asked them about it.'[58]

Arias Montano's reference to 'ancient Arabic' shows that as a scholar he was fully aware of the difference between classical and dialectal Arabic, and of the separate spheres of knowledge and activity which they involved.

Other examples could be added to illustrate the two dimensions of the same problem: to learn Arabic in sixteenth-century Spain was to attempt to bridge the gap between dialectal Arabic and written Arabic; it also meant facing up to the lack of suitable grammatical tools to learn it. Again, it is possible to detect an increased interest in Arabic grammar and the collection of textual materials for learning the language at around the time of the Sacromonte findings. It is also possible to detect the production of materials. For instance, a set of manuscripts produced around the Sacromonte provides us with clues about the incipient ways of learning Arabic, in the miscellaneous and disorganized nature of what appear to be notebooks: thus, manuscript 8434 of the Biblioteca Nacional contains, among other things, texts from the epistles of St. Paul in Arabic, with interlinear translations in Latin and Spanish; fragments of the

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58   'En la lengua arábiga antigua he puesto la obra que me ha sido posible hasta entender los libros sagrados que están interpretados en ella, y para esto he tenido noticias de la Gramática, como algún día se verá, pero en las demás disciplinas que en ella están escritas no he trabajado por falta de tiempo y de libros, y sobre todo por falta de buenos vocabularios, que no los hay entre nosotros, ni yo los he podido hacer con diligencia, ni el licenciado Luna ni Castillo me han dado intención de que ellos los tengan por allá, aunque por mi parte se les ha preguntado': *Diario del viaje desde Valencia a Andalucía hecho por don Francisco Pérez Bayer en este año de 1782*, BNE, MS 5953, fol. 174ʳ.

Ājurrūmiyya (i.e. the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Ājurrūm); exercises in Arabic grammar and conjugation; tentative translations of the Lead Books and a Spanish translation of the *Kāfiya*;[59] Manuscript 8432 contains exercises in Arabic conjugation and declination, manuscript copies of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya*, a Spanish translation of the *Ājurrūmiyya*, and exercises with Arabic characters used in the Lead Books.[60] To these examples can be added other especially interesting ones, such as the complex Arabic grammar held at the University of Granada, made up of 253 folios and composed in the early seventeenth century which we have attributed to Marcos Dobelio,[61] a Kurdish eastern Christian who had been a professor of Arabic at La Sapienza and also to Prince Federico Cesi in Rome before arriving in Spain to translate the Lead Books, and whose profound Arabic culture had allowed him to carry out the first scholarly criticism of the Books, in which he identified their Muslim origins.

Conclusion: Orientalist Erudition

This store of grammatical materials constitutes a key step in understanding how Arabic became the object of a particular form of knowledge, a tool for the comprehension of the Spanish past, and not just an alien element to be removed, as the Moriscos themselves had been. To illustrate the distance covered, let us give an example relating to toponymy, taken from the writings of a seventeenth-century Spanish Orientalist scholar: 'As for the etymology of the term *Moncada*, concerning which Your Excellency asks me whether it is Arabic; as Your Excellency assures me with Escolano; it can have very different meanings, depending on the three ways in which it is written, which form different roots: for as Your Excellency knows best, the Arabs have two forms of C. which are the ق Kaf, and the ك Kef: and four forms of D. which are the Dal, the Dhal, Dad, and Da: according to the dictionary of Erpenius, of the Maronites, and other Arab grammars [...]. And because Your Excellency likes to see proof in texts. In the Psalter of the Maronites Arabic psalm. 17. v. 22. Reads أَنْقَدَنِي Ancadhani: liberauit me; quoniam ipse propitiatus est mihi: <u>Ancadhani leannahu taraaf bi</u>. *Ancadhani leannahu taraaf bi*: liberauit me; quoniam ipse propitiatus est mihi [*sic*] : vers. 90: Exaltetur [??] <u>Deus, qui redemit me</u>. in Arabic : Ancadhani. أَنْقَدَنِي. Psalm. 24. v.12. Redime me, o [... ?] : Arabice: <u>Ankedhni</u>. I refrain from

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59   *Del señor Conde de Miranda*, BNE, MS 8434.

60   *Ayurrumía en árabe trasladada en Romance*, del señor Conde de Miranda, BNE, MS 8432.

61   García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 264.

quoting further for I have no more space on this sheet; and Your Excellency will find them in the Pentaglotto, and Polyglotto de Castelo: [...].'[62]

This late seventeenth-century example shows how far removed its author was from the world of local knowledge, from the tradition of an Arabic culture that was sought out by questioning elderly Moriscos; scholars like the one we have cited now looked for the origins of Andalusian place names in the dictionary of Golius, in Erpenius, or in al-Idrīsī's *Geography*. Between one period and the next, a crucial process had taken place: the growing awareness that books written in Arabic were a key source of information for the writing of the history of Spain. This process was a long and painful one: identification of Arabic with Islam was long and deep, and there is no doubt that this was one of the reasons why books were not printed in Arabic in Spain until a very late date by contrast with what occurred in other European countries where Islam did not form part of the historical narrative. However, from the sixteenth century on, a number of significant authors pointed out the need to take into account Arabic sources for the writing of Spanish history, and it is not uncommon to find criticisms like that made by a seventeenth-century scholar, the Marqués de Mondéjar, concerning the work of Father Juan de Mariana, perhaps the most important Spanish historian of the early modern period, in which he reproached Mariana for having written about the Arabs without taking Arabic books into account, for which reason it was impossible for Mariana not to 'make continuous absurd mistakes'.[63] It was not until the eighteenth century, however, that a Lebanese Maronite monk, Miguel Casiri, sponsored by an enlightened Crown minister, the Count of Campomanes, tried to highlight the definitive value of the extraordinary collection of Arabic books at the library of El Escorial.[64] The presence of a Maronite whose role turned out to be crucial in the development of Arabist knowledge clearly does not require us to accept the idea of Spanish singularity. It does, however, reveal other interesting features, such as the difficulty experienced by Spanish scholars in connecting with their own Andalusi past via the extraordinary collection at El Escorial and in systematically recording the items held there. This shortcoming was partly redeemed by having recourse to European Orientalist bibliography.

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62   Letter from Fray Joseph Joy to Marqués de Mondéjar, Alcalá, 25 July 1693, *Varias cartas de erudición*, BNE, MS 9881, fols 190–1.

63   M. de Mondéjar, *Advertencias a la historia del padre Juan de Mariana*, Valencia, 1746, p. 43.

64   M. Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis*, 2 vol., facs. ed. of the edn of 1760–70, Osnabrück, 1969.

The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Salamanca in the Early Modern Period*

Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz

In the foreword to the *Breve compendio de nuestra santa ley y sunna*,[1] a treatise on the Muslim faith written in the early sixteenth century, we are introduced to a Morisco known as the Mancebo de Arévalo. He is 'a young Castilian student, from Arévalo [province of Ávila], very expert and trained in reading Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin; and very skilled in *Aljamía* [i.e. in Spanish]'.[2] On the basis of this description, we might assume that the Mancebo ('Young Man')[3] could have been a student trained in one of the great European universities where the teaching of Oriental languages was supposed to be put into effect in the years following the Council of Vienne (France) in 1311–1312.[4] Or, being Castilian, he could have been an alumnus who attended the courses of the Chair of Arabic at the Trilingual College of the University of Salamanca, which was mainly focused on the teaching of the Biblical languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

The Mancebo, far from being an example of a situation commonly found in Spain, turns out to have been an exception. We actually only know of very few scholars with a fair knowledge of Arabic in early modern Christian Spain and there do not seem to have been any others at an earlier date. None of them appear to have been taught this language at a university.

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1 *'Brief summary of our holy law and sunna'.*

2 'un mancebo escolano castellano, natural de Arévalo [provincia de Ávila], muy e[x]perto y doctrinado en la lectura arábiga, [h]ebraica, griega y latina; y en la aljamiada muy ladino', Aljamiado manuscript, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Dd. 9.49, fol. I^v. For a better understanding of the text, I have standardized the spelling, both here and in the rest of the transcripts of manuscripts or documents of modern times. Here and throughout, unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

3 For further interpretations of the word 'Mancebo', see L.P. Harvey, 'Castilian "Mancebo" as a calque of Arabic *'Abd*, or how el Mancebo de Arévalo got his name', in *Islamic Culture in Spain to 1614: Essays and Studies*, eds N. Martínez de Castilla and T. Dadson, Oxford, 2016, pp. 43–6.

4 For further information, see section 2.2 of this article.

A century later, in an undated letter from the Marqués de Mondéjar, Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia Peralta y Mendoza (1628–1708), to the scholar Tomás de León (1613–1690), we find a clear reflection of the lack of experts in Oriental literature in Spain: 'I confess that I value your opinion more than that of anyone else that I know and communicate with in Spain. I respect them all for their professional knowledge, but it is extremely rare to possess such breadth and depth of understanding of Oriental languages, which is the key to true wisdom'.[5]

The situation of early modern Spain is paradoxical. Throughout the sixteenth century a series of prohibitions concerning Arabic reached a peak with the Pragmatic Sanction of 1567, which decreed that all Moriscos had to stop speaking and writing in Arabic within three years and all books in Arabic had to be handed over to the authorities for inspection.[6] These books seized by the authorities were burned in public bonfires, or simply disappeared in the inquisitorial prisons.[7] However, it was in this very century that, at the oldest universities of the Peninsula, the teaching of Arabic received the strongest support, first in Salamanca and later in Alcalá de Henares. Scholars interested in Arabic and in scientific knowledge transmitted through this language were constantly looking for books in Arabic that could help in their research. This is attested in a letter by the Flemish humanist scholar and traveller Nicolaes Cleynærts Beken (Nicolaus Clenardus or Nicolas Clénard, 1495–1542), professor of Greek and Hebrew, who went to Salamanca hoping to learn Arabic at the university. The letter was written on 17 January 1540 and was addressed to the Emperor Charles V, whom Clénard begged to give him all the Arabic books that were being burned in Spain: 'Because we need books for this purpose, in which the mysteries of the sect are contained, and many that would help us

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5   'venero a todos [cuantos conozco y comunico en España] por doctos en su profesión, pero rarísimos que en todas tengan con extensión la profundidad y la comprensión de las lenguas orientales, llave del verdadero saber'. *Varias cartas de erudición*, Madrid, BNE, ms. 9881, fol. 25, in M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Madrid, 2010, p. 336. (I have modernized the language.) Translation by C. López Morillas in *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, Leiden, 2013, p. 333.

6   N. Martínez de Castilla, 'Hacer libros no tiene fin. Los moriscos y su patrimonio manuscrito', in *El texto infinito. Tradición y reescritura en la Edad Media y el Renacimiento*, Salamanca, 2014, pp. 749–58 (752).

7   'Un rincón donde hay muchos libros sueltos [...], podridos en el aposento'. A. Labarta, 'Inventario de los documentos árabes contenidos en procesos inquisitoriales contra moriscos valencianos conservados en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (legajos 548–56)', *Al-Qanṭara* 1, 1980, pp. 115–64 (125).

very much are being burnt everywhere by the Inquisitors, I have moved every stone to make sure that books of this sort should be of service to me, because I wish to use them to increase the Faith rather than to allow them to perish in the flames'.[8]

We should not forget that in the sixteenth century, in certain parts of Spain, Moriscos were still speaking Arabic and continued to copy books into Arabic, albeit secretly.[9] In spite of this Arabo-Islamic presence in the Peninsula, it was difficult to find an 'old Christian' with a command of Arabic sufficient to enable him to teach. A major problem was the considerable difference between classical Arabic and the spoken language, as shown by Clénard in his comments about the uses of the *Vocabulista arábigo en letra castellana* (1505) by Pedro de Alcalá, or by Arias Montano (1527–1598) when he referred to two Morisco physicians speaking in the Andalusian ('Andaluz') or Modern African ('African modern') language, but completely unaware of the 'grammar'.[10] Consequently there were few individuals capable of teaching at universities, and the chairs available remained vacant or were only occupied temporarily.

1 Why Study Arabic in Medieval and Early Modern Spain?

The study of Arabic has a particular link with the medieval history of Spain for two main reasons. The first is the foreign and domestic missionary projects of the medieval Spanish kingdoms, efforts largely motivated by the presence of Muslim kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula from 711 until 1492. The second is the quest for a better understanding of biblical texts, mainly from the latter half of the fifteenth century onward. The idea that Arabic and Hebrew were closely related – the origins of this can be traced back to the early twelfth century – was highlighted in the selection process of Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán. We shall see how the Professor Arias Barbosa argued in favour of

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8   'Caeterum quia ad hanc rem nobis opus esset libris, in quibus mysteria sectae continen-
       tur, et passim ab Inquisitoribus multi cremantur qui nobis plurimum conducerent,
       omnem lapidem moui ut huiusmodi codices mihi seruirent, quia illis in fidei augmentum
       uti uellem, potius quam ut sinerentur perire flammis', *Nic. Clenardi Epistolarum libri duo.
       Quorum posterior iam primum in lucem prodit*, Antwerp, 1566, in *Correspondance de Nico-
       las Clénard I*, ed. A. Roersch, Paris, 1940, p. 202 (from now on *Correspondance I*).
9   See J. Fournel-Guérin, 'Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque
       aragonaise (1540–1620), *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 15, 1979, pp. 241–59; and C. Bar-
       celó and A. Labarta, *Archivos moriscos: Textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana
       1401–1608*, Valencia, 2009.
10   García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 342.

Hernán Núñez' application for the Chair of Languages of Salamanca on the basis of his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek.[11]

Clénard too made his début in the study of Arabic through the collation of an Arabic text with Hebrew and Greek. He describes this process in great detail in the already-mentioned letter which he wrote at the end of his life to the Emperor Charles V.[12] But if the perfect understanding of Hebrew was his main aim when his interest in Arabic began, later in life, having read the Qur'an with an emancipated Muslim slave in Granada,[13] Clénard showed an acquired understanding of the uses of the knowledge of Arabic for missionary purposes.[14] As we shall see below, the use of Arabic for missionary purposes was nothing more than the continuation of a process begun in Christian Europe in the twelfth century, even if Clénard saw his project as something exceptional.[15]

These reasons, to which must be added the understanding of scientific texts (especially medical ones) and commercial objectives,[16] do not seem to have been sufficient to establish an effective institutionalized teaching of Arabic. In spite of various attempts to set up chairs of the language at different universities, these frequently remained vacant for many years, since it was impossible to find teachers competent enough to occupy them. This, however, does not mean that there was no interest – quite the opposite.

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11   See the section 2.3 of this article.

12   'Linguae Arabicae […] affinem esse Hebraicae et alteram alterius iuuari praesidio' (The Arabic language is close to Hebrew and one is helped by the support of the other'); 'maximam esse Arabicis cognationem cum Hebraicis' ('The closest relation is between Arabic and Hebrew'); 'eam mirifice conferre censerem rectius intelligendis Hebraicis' ('I would judge that [the study of Arabic] contributes wonderfully to the understanding of Hebrew'), *Correspondance I*, pp. 200–2.

13   See n. 91 of this article.

14   'Cum Machometistis in arenam dogmatum descendere […] hac mente ut etiam in Africam ipsam disputaturi et morituri non reformident proficisci' ('to descend to the followers of Muhammad into the arena of beliefs […] with this intention: that [the missionaries] do not fear to advance into Africa in order to dispute with them, and to die), *Correspondance I*, p. 202.

15   'Quamuis enim haec mea de iuuanda Religione sententia plerisque uideatur noua, non est tamen eius generis, a quo Caesar qui continenter bellum gerat cum Machometo, ulla ratione debeat abhorrere' ('Although my opinion concerning helping the Religion seems new to most people, it is not of the same kind as that which the Emperor, who wages war with Muhammad all the time, should shy away from in any way'), *Correspondance I*, p. 204.

16   With the religious and territorial unification reached after the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, Spain radically changed its foreign policy and focused much of its efforts on the New World, but without losing its interest in the Western Mediterranean.

1.1 *A New Way of Using Arabic: The Erudite Approach*

In both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a small number of scholars had a great interest in Arabic, as was the case with the Hebraist and director of the library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), the translators of Arabic Diego de Urrea (c. 1559–1616) and Marcos Dobelio (c. 1575–?), or the Jesuit specialist in Oriental languages, born in Ireland, Tomás de León (1613–1690). But this interest was not shared by most of the Spanish population. All these scholars had an 'erudite' approach to the use of Arabic, different from the purely religious identification that had been common in the Middle Ages. This new approach is reflected by Arias Montano in a letter about the books which could be bought in Rome for the library of El Escorial. He here emphasizes two fundamental points: the usefulness of Arabic for the understanding of scientific books and for remaining in contact with Christians living in the Middle East.[17]

We can therefore observe in the sixteenth century a trend that will become more entrenched in the seventeenth century: an intellectual movement, which is entirely distinct from missionary processes and which shows a deep interest in the Arab Muslim world based on the reading of original texts and on editions and translations of them. The aim of the study of Arabic from that moment on veers towards objectives of scientific humanism and communication with the Christian communities of the Middle East – new goals that are directly linked to the European Orientalist movement.

In the seventeenth century a great interest in Oriental studies was developed by a Spanish scholarly circle centred round the figure of the Marqués de Mondéjar, Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia. The members included the theologians and Jesuits Tomás de León (1613–1690) and Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705); the precursor of the modern bibliography Nicolás Antonio (1617–1684); or the chaplain to the King Martín Vázquez Siruela (1600–1664).[18] In their daily social gatherings in the library of the Marqués de Mondéjar, they discussed literature, politics and other relevant issues.[19] They deplored the lack of sources

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17 'Cuanto se sabía y estudiaba en Europa […] mana de libros arábigos, y así hay tesoro encerrado en ellos, el cual podrá ser que se halle en nuestro tiempo a lo menos en edad que los estudiosos quieran emplearse en trasladar los libros, y para esto aprender el arábigo, que también es provechoso para comunicarse las disciplinas entre los latinos y una innumerable muchedumbre de cristianos de Asia que usan aquella lengua', G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* v, Madrid, 1910–1923, p. 16, in L. García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina en la España de los siglos XIII al XVI*, Madrid, 1976, p. 83.

18 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, passim.

19 Ibid., p. 335.

or editions in Arabic and studies in this field, and thus paid special atten-
tion to what was published abroad. A good example of their acquaintance
with foreign publications is reflected in the Marqués de Mondéjar's work, the
Examen chronológico del año en que entraron los moros en España (1687), which
refers to 'Jacobo Golio', 'Abrahan Eccelense', 'Juan Seldeno', 'Gabriel Sineita'
[*sic*], 'Guillermo Pocokio', 'Juan Enrique Hotingero', 'Thomas Erpenio', 'Juan
Hesronita', 'Josepho Scaligero', 'Gigeo', and many others.[20] While we know that
members of this group around the marquis, such as Tomás de León, spoke and
read Arabic, we do not know where they studied, the names of their teachers,
or the books used for this purpose. But this lack of information is not excep-
tional since there is very little specific material on the teaching of Arabic in
Spain before the nineteenth century.

2   Teaching of Arabic in Salamanca

2.1   *Antecedents*

The teaching of Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula started in the thirteenth cen-
tury, when King Alfonso X created a few *studia* or schools to teach Latin and
Arabic in Seville.[21] In Mallorca, the Miramar monastery was founded in 1276 at
the request of Ramón Llull (1232–1316) with one principal aim: to learn Arabic
in order to convert infidels (i. e. the Muslims).[22] The interest in setting up these
new schools for the teaching of Arabic (among other languages) seems to have
been part of the Llullian critical programme directed against the Dominicans.[23]
Indeed, a few years earlier the Dominican Raimundo de Peñafort (d. 1275) was
commissioned to establish a Hebrew (sic) school, with the support of the Kings
of Castile and Aragon where at least twenty friars of his order were trained. The
aim was to acquire enough Arabic to convert Muslims, and these Dominicans
did it well. They allegedly converted more than ten thousand Muslims, both in
Spain and in Africa, and they propagated the Christian faith in such a way that

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20   Since they are referred to in a Hispanicized form it is sometimes difficult to identify them.

21   P. Linehan, *History and Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford, 1997, p. 451.

22   'in eodem tredecim fratres Minores institui, qui linguam ibidem discerent arabicam pro
       conuertendis infidelibus (ROL VIII, 282)', in R. Szpiech, 'La disputa de Barcelona como
       punto de inflexión', *Studia Luliana*, 54, n. 109, 2014, pp. 3–22 (6), and the bibliography
       given there for the Monastery of Miramar.

23   'Se puede entender que una parte de esta justificación del método fue para distanciarse
       de los métodos misioneros opuestos, sobre todo del preconizado por los dominicos'.
       Ibid., p. 5.

many others were also willing to convert.[24] However, Robert I. Burns notes that the students of the *studia linguarum* already knew Arabic beforehand, probably as a result of working with colleagues in the Middle East. He consequently emphasizes that the purpose of these centres was not to teach the rudiments of Arabic, but to strengthen them.[25] Yet, as indicated by Antonio Giménez Reíllo, it would be surprising if the Spanish friars had had to go to the Middle East in order to learn Arabic, with so many Arabic-speaking Muslims present in different parts of the Iberian Peninsula.[26]

Despite all the initiatives related to the teaching of Arabic in various Iberian kingdoms during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the results do not seem to have always been satisfactory, and the communicative competence of the missionaries can be questioned in many cases.[27] It is within this context of missionary objectives that we have to locate the teaching of Arabic in Salamanca. As mentioned before, the idea of this pedagogical experiment goes back to the Council of Vienne.[28] The proposal of the Majorcan Ramón Llull to create colleges to teach Oriental languages at the best European universities was approved by Pope Clement V. From that moment on, the University of Salamanca – along with those of Bologna, Oxford and Paris – was obliged to include the teaching of Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in its curriculum, in order to get access to the literature in those languages and to promote the Christian faith among the infidels.

Thus Salamanca was the first university where Arabic was taught in Spain, followed by Alcalá de Henares. The surviving sources are sparse and leave many questions open: was Arabic actually taught in the courses at Salamanca? If so, what was the quality of the teaching? There are two conflicting views: one

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24   A. Giménez Reíllo, 'El árabe como lengua extranjera en el S. XIII: medicina para convertir', in *El saber en al–Andalus. Textos y estudios* IV, Sevilla, 2006, pp. 147–87 (151). As the author states, in the Peña (1601) and Balme and Paban (1898) editions, it does not read 'Hebrew', but '*studium lingue arabice*'. See *Diplomatario* (*Documentos, Vida antigua, Crónicas, Procesos antiguos*), ed. J. Rius Serra, Barcelona, 1954, p. 271, in Giménez Reíllo, 'El árabe', p. 151, n. 12.

25   R.I. Burns, 'Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion', *The American Historical Review*, 76, n. 5, 1971, pp. 1386–434 (1402).

26   Giménez Reíllo, 'El árabe', p. 159, n. 40.

27   See examples indicated by Giménez Reíllo ('El árabe', pp. 66–7), illustrating the lack of knowledge of Arabic among missionaries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

28   C. Fasolt, 'The Manuscripts and Editions of William Durant the Younger's Tractatus de modo generalis concilii celebrandi', in id. *Past Sense: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern European History*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 109–51.

by Marcel Bataillon[29] (followed by most scholars) who denied the existence of a true Chair of Arabic at Salamanca; and the other by Luce López-Baralt, who focused one of her studies on the teaching of Arabic by the *maestro* Cantalapiedra.[30]

Both positions seem to have grounds. While no formal and systematic courses appear to have been taught at Salamanca, we know of teachers who sporadically gave courses of Arabic at the University, but also provided private tuition, using the knowledge and the apparently scarce bibliographic resources at their disposal. However, this should not lead us to think that specialized teachers of Arabic, both spoken and written, with a good grammatical training, were ever active at Salamanca: those who came to occupy the Salamanca Cátedra de (tres) lenguas (Chair of (Three) Languages) – also known as the Cátedra Trilingüe (Trilingual Chair) – were above all Hellenists or Hebraists with some basic knowledge of Arabic that allowed them to teach the rudiments of the language.

2.2   *The Trilingual Chair*

In spite of the resolution of Vienne, a Chair of Arabic at the University of Salamanca is not documented until a century later, when Pope Benedict XIII renewed the university statutes in 1411. At that point, the Trilingual Chair – Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic – appears explicitly.[31] The theologian Juan de Segovia (1395–1458), student and teacher at Salamanca, strongly supported the inclusion of Arabic in the university syllabus.[32] Juan, who conducted the

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29   M. Bataillon, 'L'arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance', *Hésperis*, XI, 1931, pp. 1–17.

30   L. López-Baralt, with the collaboration of R. Iversen, *'A zaga de tu huella'. La enseñanza de las lenguas semíticas en Salamanca en tiempos de san Juan de la Cruz*, Madrid, 2006.

31   *Constituciones y bulas complementarias dadas a la Universidad de Salamanca por el pontífice Benedicto* XIII (*Pedro de Luna*), eds P. Urbano González de la Calle and A. Huarte y Echenique, Saragossa, 1932, p. 39. L.E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. II: Estructuras y flujos*, Salamanca, 2004, p. 563. However, M.ª Concepción Vázquez de Benito indicates that the Trilingual Chair is established on 1381, see her 'El inicio de la enseñanza del árabe en Salamanca y la Cátedra de Avicena', in *Séptimo Centenario de los Estudios Orientales en Salamanca*, eds A. Agud et al, Salamanca, 2012, pp. 321–329 (322). She adds that the teachers of Arabic in the language schools of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Spain, but also in North Africa and the Middle East, had taken courses of this language at the University of Salamanca. See M.ª Concepción Vázquez de Benito, 'Prólogo', *Actas XVI Congreso UEAI*, eds C. Vázquez de Benito and M.Á. Manzano Rodríguez, Madrid, 1995, pp. 7–9 (7). However, this claim seems difficult to prove.

32   See the recent book by A.M. Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace: Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century*, Notre Dame, 2014, and the bibliography given there.

project of the trilingual Qur'an (Arabic, Latin, and Spanish) in 1462,[33] bitterly lamented the situation of Arabic at Salamanca in the deed of donation of his personal library to the University.[34]

Mention is made, therefore, of the Trilingual 'Chair'. As suggested by the name in the singular, there was not a single chair for each of the three languages; and of course, it was not two teachers who were hired for each of the languages, as had been agreed upon by the Council of Vienne, but only one. However, in the sixteenth century, at a time of economic prosperity, the attribution of the posts remained unchanged. This situation arose from the difficulty in finding someone capable of teaching the three languages, Arabic and Aramaic in particular. Since it was easier to find a scholar with a good command of Greek and Hebrew (fundamental to the study of the Bible), the Chair would be entrusted to a specialist in one of these two languages, rather than to someone with a comparable command of Arabic. The result of this general ignorance of Arabic was that the Chair remained vacant for extended periods, or was occupied only temporarily with a proportionate salary.

2.3   *Teachers*

In 1406 a Chair of Hebrew and Aramaic was established at the university of Salamanca, although there was no notable increase in interest in biblical studies until the second half of that century. Throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century we know the names of some teachers of Hebrew, but they do not seem to have taught any Arabic.[35]

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33   This was a synoptic edition of the Qur'anic Arabic text with Latin and Spanish translations. The latter was provided by the *faqih* of Segovia, 'Isā de Jābir. The text is now lost: only the Latin prologue is preserved. See J. Martínez Gázquez, 'El prólogo de Juan de Segovia al Corán (Qur'an) trilingüe (1456)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 38/1–2 (2003), pp. 389–410, and U. Roth and R.F. Glei, 'Die Spuren der Koranubersetzung des Juan de Segovia – alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 11, 2009, pp. 109–54.

34   Salamanca, University Library, mss. 211, 3ᵛ, in V. Beltrán de Heredia, 'Nebrija y los teólogos de San Esteban de principios del siglo XVI', *Ciencia Tomista*, 61, 1941, pp. 37–65; 46, n. 28. See also B. Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia. Edición y comentario de su escritura de donación*, Madrid, 1984, p. 82.

35   'Sunt praeterea in Salmanticae gymnasio et graecae et hebraicae linguae professiones. Chaldeam autem et arabicam aliasque barbaras linguas, veluti non necessarias, penitus contempsit' ('There are moreover in the University of Salamanca Chairs of Greek and Hebrew, but [the university] completely despised Aramaic and Arabic and other barbaric languages, as being unnecessary'). M. Siculus, *De laudibus Hispaniae*, Burgos, [c. 1497], pp. 20–1.

In 1508 Father Peñafiel left the Chair of Hebrew and in the same year the Chair of Languages was advertised. The Italian Jaime or Diego de Populeto, the priest Juan Rodríguez de Peralta, the Dominican Juan de Vitoria, the *bachiller* Parejas, the *licenciado* Juan de Ortega and the convert and Hebraist Alonso de Arcos or Alfonso de Zamora applied for it.[36] Among these candidates the main competition was between Rodríguez de Peralta and Populeto, the latter of whom would occupy the position for two years, 'and not with full wages,[37] but with a part for himself and a part for the person lecturing with him' who is one of the turncoats well-versed in Hebrew, one being the shoemaker [Alfonso de Zamora] and the other Diego Lopes, a minstrel'.[38] Finally, Populeto was appointed to the post.

Some members of the board disagreed with this decision, claiming that Populeto did not know Hebrew. The Chair of Languages of the University of Salamanca consequently remained vacant for a while. On 2 October 1511 Alfonso de Zamora was hired as professor of Hebrew for two years. In the same year, however, the Rector of the University was replaced, and his successor preferred the *Comendador griego*, Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán, '*el Pinciano*' (c. 1475–1553), as professor of the Chair of Languages.

The Rector said about Hernán Núñez that he was 'a person-well versed in the grammar of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, and who has teaching skills'.[39] However, most of the board opposed this choice and Fray Alonso de Valdivieso said that 'it is quite possible that he knows the languages he says he knows, but he does not speak any of them',[40] an aspect corroborated by Clénard when

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36   Bataillon also refers to Diego López de Vera, who submitted an application for the chair of Arabic. We have not found any other information about this demand ('L'arabe', p. 3).

37   This half salary indicates that he only taught Hebrew: 'Mientras no se hallare persona con las calidades de la dicha constitución y que tenga y sepa todas tres lenguas, que todo el salario de la dicha cátedra sin quedar cosa alguna se divida e distribuya entre dos o más personas que sepan las lenguas que la dicha constitución requiere, aunque ninguna de las tales personas tengan juntamente todas las dichas tres lenguas'. A.U.S., lib. 13, fol. 17, in *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1218–1600) II*, ed. V. Beltrán de Heredia, Salamanca, 1970–1972, p. 605.

38   ['y no con todo el salario, salvo con parte de ello, y que parte se dé a quien platique con él, que sea uno de los tornadizos que saben bien el hebraico: uno el zapatero [Alonso de Zamora] y el otro Diego Lopes, tañedor'], Beltán de Heredia, 'Nebrija', p. 48.

39   'persona dotta en lo de la gramática de las lenguas en griego, arábigo e hebraico e caldeo, e que tiene maña de enseñar'. Ibid., p. 51.

40   'bien puede él saber las lenguas que se dice saber, pero que en ninguna de ellas habla' Ibid. This lack of conversational ability is stressed by Clénard who describes in his letters the way in which he learned Arabic with Hernán Núñez, always on the basis of the grammar and word lists. He would only acquire training in spoken Arabic later in Granada

he was his student.[41] But this was of no concern to the Portuguese Hellenist Arias Barbosa, who had been educated in Italy. For him, teaching Arabic was a strictly philological matter that could be approached through the deductive method, based on the knowledge of the classical languages.[42] He added that nobody in the whole university was conversant enough with these three languages to judge whether a prospective teacher was competent or not.

However, some members of the board defended the application of Hernán Núñez, such as the grammarian Antonio de Nebrija or the doctor Salaya. For the latter it was essential that an Arabist be appointed, because, he argued, there was a great need of Arabic, especially for doctors.[43]

The friction between these opposing forces did not benefit the University of Salamanca, since neither the convert Alfonso de Zamora, nor the *Comendador* Hernán Núñez was elected, leaving the Chair of Languages vacant once again.[44] Shortly after these events, '*el Pinciano*' and Zamora met once more at Alcalá de Henares, but this time working on the Cisnerian project of the Polyglot Bible, for the Greek and Hebrew respectively.[45] Some years later, in 1522, '*el Pinciano*' left Alcalá and returned to Salamanca, but not as a teacher of Arabic.

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      thanks to his classes and conversations with the emancipated slave found for him by the Marqués de Mondéjar.

41   See the section 2.3 of this article.

42   'cuanto al arte de las lenguas e sentir sus primores e dar razón de las partes de la oración para mostrar correspondencia del arábigo e hebraico al latín [...], el Comendador tenía mucha ventaja, porque sabiendo muy bien latín y convenientemente el griego, podría hacer comparación de las lenguas'. Ibid. p. 52.

43   García Ballester, *Historia social*, p. 84.

44   Lucio Marineo Sículo, who had been the royal historian at the court of the Catholic Kings, lamented this in a letter to Hernán Núñez in 1512–1513. J. Signes Codoñer, C. Codoñer Merino and A. Domingo Malvadi, *Biblioteca y epistolario de Hernán Núñez de Guzmán* (*El Pinciano*). *Una aproximación al humanismo español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 2001, p. 260.

45   Alfonso de Zamora takes over the Chair of Hebrew at the University of Alcalá in July 1512, see AHN, lib. 1093, fol. 11ᵛ, in A. de la Torre, 'La Universidad de Alcalá, datos para su historia: cátedras y catedráticos desde la inauguración del Colegio de S. Ildefonso hasta San Lucas de 1519', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 21 (1909), pp. 261–85 (284), and Hernán Núñez is incorporated in 1519 as a professor at the University of Alcalá in the Chair of Greek, see Signes et al, *Biblioteca*, p. 226, but he had gone to Alcalá earlier at an uncertain date around 1512–3. For the suggested dates, see A. de la Torre, 'La Universidad', p. 274. In Alcalá, four chairs of languages were scheduled – Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic – but only two were provided; Greek and Hebrew. See A. de la Torre, 'La Universidad de Alcalá, datos para su historia: cátedras y catedráticos desde la inauguración del Colegio de S. Ildefonso hasta San Lucas de 1519', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 21, 1909, pp. 405–33.

We know virtually nothing about the childhood and early youth of Hernán Núñez, not even the place and date of his birth. Nor, of course, do we know where he learned Arabic, though it is likely to have been in Italy. In 1494, his family had settled in Granada, just after the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom, but it took Hernán Núñez two more years to move there from Italy. It seems likely that he was trained at the University of Bologna, although the dates of his stay there are not known with certainty. Much of his library was acquired in Italy, containing books of various kinds, including several volumes of a scientific nature by Arab authors. However, it is doubtful whether the collection contained any books in Arabic, since the list of the extant books of '*el Pinciano*'s collection[46] (over two hundred volumes, some of which are composite, preserved in the library of the University of Salamanca and other Spanish public libraries) only mentions manuscripts and printed works in Latin, Greek and Castilian.

When Hernán Núñez returned from Italy, he became part of the intellectual circle of Íñigo López de Mendoza, 3rd Marqués de Mondéjar and 4th Conde de Tendilla (1512–1580). With such a patron the *Comendador* could improve his knowledge of the classical languages and expand his library, which meant another trip to Italy for the acquisition of new volumes. The Count's confidence in the *Greek Comendador* was such that he entrusted him with the education of his son, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, later governor of the Alhambra and commander in chief of the army in Andalusia. So Hernán Núñez was not hired as a professor of Arabic at the University of Salamanca, but acted as private teacher of the young Nicolas Clénard in 1532.[47]

A single candidate did apply for the Chair of Hebrew and Aramaic on 21 October 1521, Gerónimo San Heliz,[48] but there is no evidence that he ever took possession of it.[49] In 1530, the *licenciado* Fidelfo or Filelfo resigned. Although his name already appears in Salamanca in 1518, we do not know when he started teaching as professor of languages; nor whether he taught anything other than Hebrew.[50]

In the second half of the sixteenth century Hebrew studies flourished in Spain, but Arabic remained neglected. In fact, during a meeting of the teachers

46   Signes et al, *Biblioteca*, pp. 445–66.

47   See below, section 2.3.1.

48   Bataillon, 'L'arabe', p. 7.

49   There are many gaps in the archives of Salamanca for these years; data from this period need to be handled with caution.

50   E. Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. II. La Universidad de Salamanca: maestros y alumnos más distinguidos*, Salamanca, 1917, p. 315.

on 7 May 1543, Juan de la Puebla protested that the Chair of Languages had not been fully occupied for the last 35 years, and, as a consequence, that some classes were usually taught over short periods. According to Bataillon a reader of Arabic was active until 8 September 1542 in Salamanca, but we do not know his name: 'It was decided to give a salary of eight ducats "to the one was at the time teaching Arabic, that he should teach Arabic here on the day of our Lady of September".[51]

In 1542, the name of Fray Pedro de Salazar is suggested as the next professor. His exam had to be sent to Granada since, as indicated by Arias Barbosa years earlier, there was still nobody at the University who would have been able to evaluate the candidates' performance.[52] The exam consisted of the translation of two texts, one a fragment of the second chapter of the Gospel of Saint John from Arabic into Latin, the other, a translation of a small text in Spanish into Arabic.[53] Unfortunately the content of this Spanish text is unknown. The choice of the Arabic text was made by the rector and the members of the board, from books in Arabic and Hebrew that Salazar himself had brought with him.[54] From this we can infer that the candidates owned some books in Arabic, or at least had them at hand.

Salazar's appointment was questioned because of his limited knowledge of Arabic. In the board meeting of 31 August 1543, the *maestro* San Millán argued in favour of a double appointment to this Chair, to be divided between the *bachiller* Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra and Fray Pedro de Salazar. But Hernán Núñez de Toledo objected to this solution. He argued for a single salary, apparently without realizing that no one scholar was prepared to provide teaching in all three languages. Finally, it was suggested that Pedro de Salazar, commander of the order of the Vera Cruz, should be paid 20,000 *maravedis* due to his experience in the job and his humble background, and Martínez de Cantalapiedra 10,000 *maravedis*.[55] Despite this arrangement Pedro de Salazar never seems to have succeeded in getting the job.

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51   'mandaron que se den ocho ducados de salario al que ahora lee arábigo porque lea el arábigo de aquí al día de Nuestra Señora de septiembre'. Register of University, 13 May 1542. Spanish text and French translation in Bataillon, 'L'arabe', p. 14.

52   *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca* (*1218–1600*) II, pp. 597–605.

53   'Claustro de diputados "para proveer cosas tocantes a la cátedra de Tres Lenguas"' ['Board meeting "to provide things pertaining to the Chair of Three Languages"']. AUS, lib. 12, fols 236–7. Salamanca, 6 May 1543, ibid., pp. 597–598.

54   'Trajo ciertos libros de hebraico y arábigo y otros libros para que los dichos señores averiguasen en cualquier libro de ellos que a sus mercedes les paresciesen cerca de lo que se debía de hacer para mostrar cómo era hábil para la oposición'. Ibid., p. 597.

55   Ibid., pp. 600–61.

In 1543 Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra (1519–1579), Hebraist and expert in Biblical studies with some knowledge of Arabic,[56] began to teach as professor of the Chair of Languages in Salamanca, but without having tenure. At the teaching board of 29 January 1545, it was decided that this Trilingual Chair should be vacated, because it was impossible to find a person with a good command of Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, neither in Salamanca, nor in Alcalá or Granada.[57] But Cantalapiedra continued teaching until 1561, the year he received tenure with the support of the *Comendador griego*, until his death in 1579. Although he primarily taught Hebrew, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra also taught Arabic, as Hernán Núñez did to Clénard, from the grammar known as *Ājurrūmiyya*, that is to say, the *Muqaddima* by Ibn Ājurrūm al-Ṣinhājī (d. Fez, 722/1322). In spite of this he is unlikely to have had much knowledge of this language since he compiled a grammar of Hebrew and one of Aramaic, but not of Arabic. Moreover, in his courses, he usually spent more time teaching Hebrew than Arabic[58] – as confirmed by the statements of the *visitadores* during the years 1563 and 1564. He read Isaiah and Job and taught the grammar by Ibn Ājurrūm,[59] following the orders of the Rector, but in 1563 it was stated that Arabic was only to be taught in alternate years:[60] '[Cantalapiedra was

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56   As well as Cristóbal de Madrigal, Martínez de Cantalapiedra 'conocían hebreo, caldeo y algo de árabe', L.E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca, I. Trayectoria histórica y vinculaciones*, Salamanca, 2002, p. 121.

57   'se vaque la dicha cátedra de Tres Lenguas [...ya que] ha tratado de ello en Alcalá y en Granada y aquí en Salamanca y no hay persona en quien concurran todas las calidades de las tres lenguas que requiere la constitución.' Ibid., p. 602.

58   'el dicho maestro Martínez comenzó a leer por el San Lucas en esta lección al profeta Isaías en hebreo [...] Después que ha leído media hora, poco más o menos, en hebreo, lee otra lección en arábigo en lo restante de la hora, que se llama *Jurrumía*. Y que de esta lengua habrá las más veces nueve oyentes, poco más o menos. Y que originariamente lee más de hebraico que no de arábigo', AUS 940, 1562, fols 204^r–205^v, in López-Baralt, *'A zaga de tu huella'*, p. 26.

59   Ibid.

60   However, the Libro de claustro reads: 'en la cátedra de Tres Lenguas d'esta universidad, que al presente tiene y posee el maestro Martín Martínez, sería bien que en ella se leyese lo que manda la constitución d'esta universidad; conviene a saber: un año hebraico, y en otro caldeo, y en otro arábigo'. Libro de claustro, fol. 107, in López-Baralt, *'A zaga de tu huella'*, p. 38, n. 59. The position expressed in the Libro de claustro is different from what had been agreed on according to the Libro de visitas (see the note below). In any case, we have been unable to find the reference of the book or the date of this meeting, because it is not fully identified in López-Baralt's work.

ordered] to give always a lesson of Hebrew until the same time, and the next hour, one year a lesson of Aramaic and the following one of Arabic'.[61]

What seems clear is that the teaching of Hebrew was much more prevalent than Arabic. This is also reflected in the way in which the Chair was referred to. In many cases the Chair is indistinctly called 'Trilingual' and 'of Hebrew'. Thus, in the list compiled by Esperabé, we read: 'Chair of Hebrew: due to the lack of competent people, according to the statement in the Libro de Claustro, this Chair was not given in tenure until 1561'.[62] In that year, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra was hired and, as we have seen before, he also taught some Arabic. Other teachers are listed up to 1600 under the Chair of Hebrew: Cristóbal Madrigal, Diego González Aguayo, Fidelio or Filelfo, Pablo Coronel, *licenciado* Sánchez, Diego Sánchez de la Fuente, Fray Pedro de Salazar and Fray Juan Beltrán, Gerónimo Muñoz, and Fray Alonso de Montemayor.[63] Shall we then assume that those teachers also taught Arabic? Or does it depend on the case? Due to the lack of information it is difficult to suggest a reliable hypothesis.

At the board meeting of 11 December 1568 the teaching of Arabic was assigned to the Vice-rector of the Trilingual College, José Fajardo, who had to provide 'a class of Arabic every school day'.[64] The Trilingual College was founded in 1550, an entirely separate entity from the Chair of Languages, although the similarity in their names is somewhat confusing. Fajardo's proficiency in Arabic was apparently high, since he wrote in this language and translated texts into it.[65] However, the *maestro* Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra argued against his appointment because he was already professor of languages at Salamanca where one of his tasks was to teach Arabic[66] and thus no other professor was needed. He held that the money could be better spent investing in books since there were not enough books in Arabic to teach the language and for students to learn it.

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61   'mandaron [a Cantalapiedra] que lea siempre hasta la misma hora lectura de hebreo, y la otra hora un año de caldeo y otro año de arábigo', AUS 940, 1561, fol. 39ʳ, in López-Baralt, *'A zaga de tu huella'*, p. 38.

62   'Cátedra de Hebreo: Por falta de persona suficiente, según expresión de los Libros de Claustro, estuvo esta cátedra sin proveer en propiedad hasta 1561', Esperabé, *Historia de la Universidad II*, pp. 314–5.

63   Ibid.

64   'una lección de ordinario de arábigo cada día lectivo en escuelas', AUS lib. 37, fols 8–9, in *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1218–1600) IV*, ed. V. Beltrán de Heredia, Salamanca, 1970–2, p. 245.

65   Ibid., p. 246.

66   'tiene obligación de leer [árabe] en cierto tiempo'. Ibid.

The teaching of Arabic in Salamanca did not last long. After Cantalapiedra's death in 1579, Cristóbal Madrigal held the Chair from 1580 to 1592, after which the teaching of Arabic disappeared from the University.[67]

2.3.1   The Case of Nicolas Clénard

A separate section should be dedicated to the theologian and Cardinal Nicolas Clénard (1495–1542) and his enthusiasm for the study of Arabic, especially at Salamanca. The young and restless Clénard had travelled to Spain hoping to find someone who could help him learn Arabic since he could find no one able to do so in his hometown or in Paris.[68]

The opportunity to go to Spain was offered to him by Fernando Colón (Christopher Columbus's son) who was looking for someone to help him organize the library he wanted to open in Seville. Both Clénard and his college classmate Johannes Vasaeus were hired by Columbus for three years, but Clénard asked to terminate his contract earlier in order to study Arabic at Salamanca. Clénard chose this city because he had heard that there were many notable scholars specialized in different fields, and among them a teacher of Greek, of Hebrew, of Aramaic and even of Arabic.[69]

When Clénard arrived in Spain he already knew some Arabic. He had learnt the alphabet by himself before leaving Leuven, because 'no one knew a single letter of Arabic [...] or could even teach me the alphabet'.[70] He studied at the Collège de l'Écolâtre, or Houterlé College, and one of his schoolmates, a philology student, showed him the *Psalterium Nebiense*, the first Polyglot Psalter, edited by Agostino Giustiniani in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Aramaic,

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67   Rodríguez-San Pedro, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca I*, p. 121.

68   'inter Hispanos augurarer posse me feliciter Arabicari' ('I guessed that among the Spanish I could happily "Arabize"'). *Correspondance I*, p. 201.

69   'Ex instituto Franciscanorum, Rochus Almeida [...] nunc attollendis in coelum Cathedris Academiae Salmanticensis, siquidem et ipse multum etiam uiae permensus fuerat studiorum causa. [...] Postquam autem de Salmanticensium Professoribus fabulari coepisset, et tam optimos prouentus doctis uiris constitutos affirmaret, nullamque partem disciplinarum quae non honorem suum sortita esset Salmanticae. [...] est Professor Graecus, est Hebraeus, est Chaldaeus, atque etiam Arabicus' ('Rochus Almeida of the Franciscan Order [thought that] the professors of the University of Salamanca should be raised to the sky, and he himself had spent much of his pursuing studies. But after he had begun to talk to the professors in Salamanca, he could affirm that the very best results had been established by these learned men, and that there was no part of the disciplines which had not received its due honour in Salamanca [...]. There is Greek, Hebrew and Syriac professor, and even an Arabic professor.'), *Correspondance I*, pp. 215–6.

70   'Ne literam quidem ullus nouerat Arabicam [...]; tametsi nihil adesset quod saltem alphabetum commonstraret', *Correspondance I*, pp. 199–200.

and printed in Genoa in 1516 by Petrus Paulus Porrus. In Psalm 82, several names are listed, and through the comparison between the Arabic version and those in languages he had already mastered, Clénard began to identify the letters of the Arabic alphabet.[71] From that date on he dreamt of going to Spain to study Arabic.

Not long after his arrival in 1532 he realised that there was no teacher of Arabic at the University of Salamanca. However, he heard from a student that Hernán Núñez had studied there and so Clénard contacted him.[72] The *Comendador* Hernán Núñez '*el Pinciano*' was indeed his first teacher of Arabic. With him Clénard learnt the rudiments of the language, and until the end of his life he remained grateful to him and praised him.[73]

As previously mentioned, however, the *Comendador* relied on written texts, following the *Ājurrūmiyya*. Clénard was especially interested in the oral aspect of the language, but there was no speaking practice in the *Comendador*'s courses, and his knowledge of Arabic did not progress much. Nonetheless, Clénard still went to see the *Comendador griego* every day, out of gratitude for his efforts to teach him Arabic. While he considered that his progress was insufficient, he recognized that after six months of studying Arabic he had learnt enough for him to be able to teach it himself.[74] As it turned out, in the spring 1537, Leopold of Austria, the Emperor's uncle, offered him the Chair of

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71 It is Psalm 82, not 83, as indicated by Ronny Vollandt. 'Similar testimonies have come down by Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), Guillaume Postel (1510–1581), Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) and Etienne Fourmont (1683–1745). Moreover, it was in these printed Arabic versions of the Bible that early dictionaries, such as Bedwell's unpublished dictionary, Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton* and Duval's *Dictionarium Latino-Arabicum*, found much of their lexicographic material', in R. Vollandt, 'Some Historiographical Remarks on Medieval and Early-Modern Scholarship of Biblical Versions in Arabic: A Status Quo', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 1, 2013, pp. 25–42 (32).

72 *Correspondance I*, p. 220.

73 'Optimus uir alphabetum postremo depinxit […]. Discrimina praeterea docuit inter nonnullas […]. Hic mihi in Arabis primus inuentus est praeceptor […] ut quemadmodum literas Graecas tibi debet uniuersa Hispania, sic et omnes quotquot Arabicantur nomen celebrent Fernandi Nunii' ('The excellent man finally wrote the alphabet […]. He taught us the differences between a few [letters…]. This was the first teacher of Arabic that I found […] so that, just as the whole of Spain owes to you Greek letters, so all those who Arabicize celebrate the name of Hernán Núñez'), *Correspondance I*, pp. 221–2.

74 'spacio sex mensium sic promoui ut non formidassem profiteri linguam Arabicam' ('within six months time, I made such a progress that I would not have been afraid of teaching Arabic'), *Correspondance I*, p. 201. On p. 230, he refers to nine months as the period that he has been in Salamanca.

Languages.[75] Clénard was reluctant to accept the post since he had wanted to return to his own country to publish some books which would help to develop Arabic studies there.[76] He did begin to teach Greek and Latin, but twelve days later he went to Portugal to work for the King and his brother D. Henrique. Clénard spent five years there (1533–1537), during which time he did not hear a single word of Arabic.[77] And yet he continued working on the language: he finished his glossary, and he compiled a small grammar, *Rudimenta Linguae*, in 1535. This he lent to Philippe, the doctor who initiated him into Arabic science, because Clénard deemed it necessary for a professional physician to know some Arabic. Thus, in February 1537, he gave him some lessons in the hope of enabling him to read Avicenna. They only spent thirteen hours together, but this was apparently enough for the doctor to read Avicenna with some ease.[78] After Philippe's departure Clénard could compare the Greek and Arabic *Commentaries* on the Hippocratic Aphorisms. His knowledge was still limited to written Arabic, and, with an increasing desire to speak Arabic he decided to find a teacher. After having been authorized to leave Evora, he began a journey that led him to Braga, Coimbra, Seville and Granada. Once in Granada, and thanks to the support of the Marqués de Mondéjar, Íñigo López de Mendoza, Clénard was able to read the Qur'an with the help of an emancipated slave.[79] It was the first time he had the chance to converse in Arabic, and his linguistic competence soon improved considerably – so much so that Juan Martínez Silíceo, the tutor of Charles V's son, pressed him to open a School of Languages in Granada. Clénard refused, arguing that if he ever would teach Arabic he

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75   'Patruus Caesaris Leopoldus ab Austria, qui nunc Rectorem agit Salmanticae, missis literis honestissimis, ad Cathedram Linguarum me uocauit' ('Leopold of Austria, the uncle of the Emperor, who now is Rector of the University of Salamanca, having sent a very kind letter, invited me to the Chair of Languages'), *Correspondance I*, p. 116.

76   'Cupere enim me patriam, et ea illic typis mandare, quae prouehendis studiis faciant' ('[I said that] I desired my homeland and to commit those things which would advance knowledge to type there'), *Correspondance I*, p. 117.

77   'Nam hactenus uiuam uocem non audieram' ('Up to this moment, I had not heard a voice [in Arabic]'), *Correspondance I*, p. 202.

78   'Traditis rudimentis linguae, quae iam ante biennium conscripseram, enarraui caput primum III. libri Canonis' ('After having taught the rudiments of the language, I had written down more than two years before, I explained the first chapter of the third book of [Avicenna's] *Canon*'), *Correspondance I*, p. 117.

79   'si [...] ut doctissimum multis aureis emptum Alfakium donaret. Cuius consuetudine dum utor, et lectitando simul cum ipso Alcorano [...]' ('to such an extant that he [the Marqués] presented me with very learned fakih bought for many gold coins. While living with him and reading with him the Qur'an [...]'), *Correspondance I*, p. 202.

would do so in his native Louvain.[80] His primary concern was to acquire books in Arabic, not only with the aim of learning the language, but also to be able to learn more about Muslim traditions and institutions. With this purpose he travelled to Fez but, fifteen months later, he was unable to bring any manuscript with him on his return to Spain. During his stay there, he discovered that there were no book shops in the city and that it was only possible to buy books on Fridays in the vicinity of the Great Mosque. Soon, Clénard also realised that the manuscripts were not only few, but also unavailable for him as a non-Muslim. However, in spite of all these difficulties, Clénard succeeded in purchasing a few volumes, but reached Spain without them since he was assaulted on his way back and was robbed of everything in his possession. Although he claimed that he wanted to open a language centre in Louvain, he never went back there and died in Granada. It was probably Clénard's unfulfilled desire of acquiring books in Arabic that prevented him from leaving southern Spain or Morocco.

2.4   *The Instruction Books*

In almost two centuries of the history of Arabic studies at Salamanca – from 1411 (when for the first time the Trilingual Chair at Salamanca was mentioned explicitly in the statutes of the University), until 1592 (when the teaching of Arabic seems to have disappeared completely until long after) – we only know of a handful of teachers of Arabic. The problem was not only to find specialists who were also competent in Hebrew and Aramaic, but the lack of books with which to learn and teach Arabic also hampered the development of its study.

If we know little about teachers of Arabic at the University of Salamanca during the early modern period, we know even less about the books used during the courses. What is clear is that the educational interests revolved around two types of books: Christian religious books, especially the Gospel, and grammars, mainly the *Ājurrūmiyya.*

As we have seen, Clénard had deplored the lack of Arabic books in Spain, and he was well aware that it was impossible to learn any language, let alone Arabic, without a supply of books.[81] Other scholars too, were frustrated by this

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80   'Ego uero tenebar desiderio patriae, et nusquam uidebam me commodius hanc professionem inuecturum quam Louanii' ('As for myself however I was longing for my homeland and I was not conceiving that I would introduce this career anywhere more easily than in Lovain'), *Correspondance I*, p. 203. 'iam abunde me paratum crederem, ut redditus patriae professionem hanc instituerem' ('I believed myself to be well prepared to establish this career once I would be back in my homeland'), *Correspondance I*, p. 230.

81   *Correspondance I*, p. 202.

situation. Arias Montano is reported to have said that, apart from the grammar, 'I have not worked in the other disciplines written [in Arabic] because of the lack of time and books'.[82] So books were the first thing Clénard asked Hernán Núñez for when they met in Salamanca. He repeated the same request to the Emperor Charles V shortly before his death: 'oro ut libri qui per Hispaniam comburuntur meis studiis posthac seruiant'.[83]

2.4.1   Christian Religious Books

In response to Clénard's request to provide him with books in Arabic, Hernán Núñez presented him with a copy of the printed Gospels:[84] 'Look, he said, the four Gospels in beautiful writing are for you! I have not been able to find the rest, even though I have looked for them for a long time'.[85] Thanks to this text, especially to the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, the 'Liber generationis Iesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham', Clénard started learning the vowels in Arabic, a task which was made easier by the fact that the vowels were written in red.[86] Did Hernán Núñez add the vocalization in red for his own studies? Was it specifically done in order to help Clénard? Or were the vowels already present on the copy he had? In any case, they must have been added by a later hand, for pedagogical reasons, since there is no evidence of any Arabic printed book of that period in which the vowels are printed in red; a technically very complicated process. Whoever added the red vowels played a decisive role in Clénard's study of Arabic, and, as Hernán Núñez later recalled, he was extremely pleased about having access to such a text.[87]

The Gospels in Arabic were well known in Salamanca at that time. In 1542, as we have seen, Salazar had to bring his own books and papers in Arabic when

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82 'en las demás disciplinas que en ella están escritas no he trabajado por falta de tiempo y de libros', *Diario del viaje desde Valencia a Andalucía hecho por don Francisco Pérez Bayer en este año de 1782*, BNE 5953, fol. 174ʳ, in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 341.

83 *Correspondance I*, p. 204.

84 'Cras, inquit [Hernán Núñez], redibis, et ex aceruo meorum codicum eruemus Arabica; siquidem in praesentia ubi lateant ignoro, tam in obliuionem abierunt mihi chartae Machometicae' ('Return tomorrow, he said, and you will unearth some Arabic things from the heap of my manuscripts. At the moment I do not know where they are hidden: so much have the Muhammadan sheets fallen out of my mind!'), *Correspondance I*, p. 221.

85 'En tibi, inquit, quatuor Euangelia, pulcherrimis characteribus. Alia reperire non potui, etsi diu quaesita'), *Correspondance I*, p. 220.

86 'minio depictis uocalium notis' ('with vowels in red'), *Correspondance I*, p. 222

87 'O te felicem Clenarde, qui conspecturus sis uocales' ('Happy you, Clénard, who will see the vowels'), *Correspondance I*, p. 221.

he applied for the Trilingual Chair. Unfortunately, we have no information about the books Salazar brought with him, but we know that the Gospel of John was chosen for his exam and that one of the exercises that Salazar was confronted with was to translate a fragment of this Gospel into Latin. It is remarkable that a translation of an excerpt of the Gospel of John instead of a text from the Qur'an should have been chosen as a test in order to evaluate the candidates' level of proficiency in Arabic. Since most of the students in Salamanca were clerics, with an outstanding knowledge of Scripture, it was certainly easier to translate an excerpt from the Bible than an excerpt from the Qur'an. However, the Arabic Psalms were commonly used to learn Arabic; and with the translation of the Gospels, they were a mandatory reading for the first level of tuition in this language in Rome,[88] at least until the eighteenth century.[89] The Qur'an, nonetheless, was never directly read, because of his possible negative influences on the students.

In Spain, in spite of the sixteenth-century prohibition of the Sacred book of Islam, copies of the Qur'an, with or without a translation, were circulating not only among Spanish Muslims,[90] but also among Christians.[91] As we have seen, Clénard too, while in Granada, succeeded in learning Arabic with the help of the Qur'an. Moreover, the Iberian Peninsula was the place where the Qur'an was first translated, not only into Latin, but also into a vernacular language. In 1462, the trilingual Qur'an (Arabic-Latin-Castilian) was completed. No copy of it has been preserved, although one was presented to the University of Salamanca by the patron of this venture, the theologian Juan de Segovia. We have seen above that Clénard had consulted the *Polyglot Psalter* in Louvain, having been able to identify the consonants, but there is no record of the use of this book in Salamanca for the teaching of Arabic.

2.4.2   Grammars

In addition to the Gospels, grammar books are known to have been in use. Hernán Núñez also provided Clénard with a copy of the already mentioned *Muqaddima* of Ibn Ājurrūm, 'a book of rudiments, without which you could

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88   See A. Girard, 'Teaching and learning Arabic in early modern Rome: Shaping a missionary language', in this volume.

89   A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIIIe siècle', pp. 216–7.

90   N. Martínez de Castilla, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de la Sierra', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 16.2, 2014, pp. 89–138.

91   N. Martínez de Castilla, 'Traduire et commenter le Coran dans la Péninsule Ibérique (XIIe–XVIIe s.)', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie de Novembre et Décembre 2013*, 4, 2013 [2015], pp. 1723–39.

not achieve anything'.[92] This Grammar, widely used in the Maghreb and al-Andalus until Morisco times, is very basic,[93] and Clénard seemed to have profited much more from his readings of the Gospels in Arabic.[94] Nevertheless, this work must have been of some importance for Clénard's studies since he later suggested that it should be printed. After he convinced a Flemish colleague to carve the wooden Arabic characters required for the edition, he entered into negotiations with Juan de Junta, the son of the famous Florentine printer Filippo di Giunta and nephew of Lucantonio di Giunta – the prolific and extremely successful Venetian publisher of liturgical and legal works. Juan de Junta (he changed his name when he reached Spain) settled in Salamanca in 1531–1532 after a period in Burgos.[95] He must have become acquainted at that time with Clénard who was about to convince him to carry out such an undertaking. But Juan de Junta changed his mind, probably because he thought that the study of Arabic only had a limited appeal, and did not want to lose money.[96] How right he was. The students of Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, who read the *Ājurrūmiyya* as a textbook during the Arabic courses, do not seem to have been numerous enough to make the publication of this text a success.

Clénard got hold of the grammar of Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista arábigo en letra castellana. Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arábiga* (1505), but he questioned its usefulness for the learning of classical Arabic.[97] He began

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92   'libellum rudimentorum, sine quo nihil queas efficere', *Correspondance I*, p. 223.

93   See López-Baralt, *'A zaga de tu huella'*, and J. Zanón, 'Los estudios de lengua árabe entre los moriscos aragoneses a través de los manuscritos de la Junta', *Sharq al-Andalus* 12, 1995, pp. 363–74 (370).

94   'Iussit ut [...] ad ipsum commearem, [...] et *Gurremiam* interpretaturum. [...] domi uero tractandis Euangeliis, uere discendi rationem meditabar' ([Núñez] told me to go to his own place [...] and he would explain the *Jurrumiyya.* [...] however, at home, I was working with the Gospels, and trying to conceive a learning method'), *Correspondance I*, p. 223.

95   W. Pettas, *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Bookstore: The Inventory of Juan de Junta*, Philadelphia, 1995 (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 85.1).

96   *Correspondance I*, p. 226.

97   'Sed antequam pergam, obiter hic admonitos uelim quotquot Arabicari decreuerint, ne quem dico librum eo numero ponant quasi faciat ad tradendam linguam Arabicam. Iis modo conducit, qui uernaculum gentis sermonem expetunt; a quo tam dissidet Arabismus, quo sapientum et eruditorum monumenta sunt prodita, quantum interest discriminis inter dictionem Homeri et istorum mercatorum qui hodie negociantur in Graecia' ('But before I go on, I want to warn in this place however many have decided to Arabicize, that they should not add this book [of Pedro de Alcalá] to that number, as if it can transmit the Arabic language. It is useful only to those who seek to know the vernacular speech of the people, from which that Arabic in which the monuments of the wise and learned

to work with the Grammar of Abulcasim, an author who has been identified recently as al-Zamakhsharī.[98] But can we be certain that Abulcasim is al-Zamakhsharī?[99] There are actually two authors of grammars known by the *kunya* Abulcasim who enjoyed much success in the Western Islamic world: Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b.ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143), known for his *tafsīr*; and Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī (d. 337/949). In the library of the Escorial approximately the same number of codices of both grammars are preserved. This indicates that they were both well-known and widespread in the Muslim West, especially in Morocco, until the early seventeenth century.[100] On the other hand, two copies of the *Kitāb al-jumal fī l-naḥw*, by the Basra grammarian al-Zajjājī survive among the grammical manuscripts found in Almonacid de la Sierra, which belonged to an Aragonese Morisco community of the sixteenth century – but there is no copy of al-Zamakhsharī's work.[101] Taking into account the diffusion of these two works in the West, Abulcasim could refer to either of the two authors cited. We only know that 'everything in Abulcasis is about syntax, i.e. what enjoys being in what cases"[102] and that the copy he used conveyed a large amount of text in Latin and Spanish.[103]

Clénard apparently did not consult the *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* by al-Zamakhsharī, since this is a highly erudite work, an extensive grammatical explanation of classical Arabic. Thus, if this Abulcasim has to be identified with al-Zamakhsharī, we should rather think of another text by this author, *al-Unmūdhaj fī l-naḥw*, which is an abridged version of the *Mufaṣṣal*.[104] The compendium focuses on

are handed down, differs as much as the language of Homer differs from that of those merchants who barter in these days in Greece'), *Correspondance I*, p. 209.

98   Bataillon was the first scholar who identified Abulcasim as al-Zamakhsharī ('L'arabe', p. 11). So did later Roersch in his translation of Clénard's letters (*Correspondance I*, p. 189), as well as more recent authors.

99   *Correspondance I*, p. 189.

100   H. Derenbourg; H.P. Renaud and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Paris, 1884–1928, 3 vols.

101   Zanón, 'Los estudios de lengua árabe', p. 370.

102   'Abulcasim [...] omnis res in eo de Syntaxi, hoc est quae quibus gaudeant casibus', *Correspondance I*, p. 224.

103   'Interpretamentum Grammatici Latinum erat, et iuuare poterat, in progressu autem nihil repperi nisi linguam Hispanicam, quam aeque ignorabam atque Arabicam' ('The interpretation of the grammar was Latin, and could be useful. In the following however I found nothing except in the Spanish language, which I was just as ignorant of as I was of Arabic'), *Correspondance I*, p. 224.

104   D. Kouloughli, *Le résumé de la grammaire arabe par Zamaḵšarī*, Lyon, 2007, p. 7.

the morphosyntax (*naḥw*), and is clearly theoretical.[105] However, despite the brevity of the work – it is only twenty pages long –, its eminently theoretical nature does not make it suitable for someone beginning to learn Arabic, although its use was quite widespread in the schools of Arabic in Damascus at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[106]

These considerations make it more probable that the grammatical text Clénard was consulting is the short and accessible work of al-Zajjājī's, which was circulating in the Iberian Peninsula as demonstrated by the presence of copies of this treatise in the Morisco trove in Almonacid de la Sierra.

2.4.3   Glossaries

In addition to these two kinds of books (grammars and multilingual texts) glossaries are also needed to study a language properly, but there were none, as is again corroborated by Arias Montano, who complained about the lack of this kind of resource.[107] We can assume that there were no Arabic glossaries in the classrooms or libraries of Salamanca, since Clénard would certainly have mentioned them had they existed. In fact he prepared one when he was in Portugal, and we can imagine that if he could have referred to an existing one, he would not have needed to compile his own.[108] Nowhere else in Europe were glossaries such as that produced by Clénard available during the sixteenth century:[109] the first great Arabic-Latin dictionary would not appear until the publication of Raphelengius's work in 1613.

By the mid-seventeenth century, bookstores and libraries in Salamanca had not increased their Arabic holdings – quite the contrary: there were no books in Hebrew or Arabic in the bookstores of the city of Salamanca. Actually, the traces of Arabic seem to have been deleted from the classrooms as well as from

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105   Ibid., p. 13.

106   Talal al-Azem, 'Nuʿaymī's (d. 927/1521) Educational Milieu', unpublished presentation at IMPAcT Colloquium on Late Medieval and Early Modern Islamicate Intellectual History, University of Oxford, St Cross College, Oxford, 25 July 2015.

107   'falta de buenos vocabularios, que no los hay entre nosotros', *Diario del viaje desde Valencia a Andalucía hecho por don Francisco Pérez Bayer en este año de 1782*, BNE 5953, fol. 174ʳ, in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 341. However, as S. Brentjes pointed out in her article published in this volume, 'several anonymous Arabic-Latin or Arabic-Castilian dictionaries were compiled [in Spain] much earlier than in other European regions', but they were apparently unknown in Spain in the sixteenth century.

108   'Lexicon rude contraho, hinc inde arreptis uoculis, quae saepius obuiae mihi essent familiares' ('I have compiled a rough glossary, taking words from here and there, whenever I came across words which I was familiar with'), *Correspondance I*, p. 200.

109   See S. Brentjes' article in this volume.

the University Library, because from 1690 onward no book in Arabic can be found in it.[110]

3　Conclusion

From 1411 (when, for the first time, the Trilingual Chair at Salamanca was mentioned explicitly in the statutes of the University), until 1592 (when the teaching of Arabic seems to disappear completely for a long time), we only know a handful of names of teachers of Arabic. Of these scholars most knew more Hebrew than Arabic, but there are indications that some of them taught a few hours of Arabic. Diego de Populeto (strangely criticized because he did not know Hebrew) was appointed to the Chair of Languages that had just been left vacant by Peñafiel in 1508. In 1511, he was replaced by Alfonso de Zamora who only taught Hebrew. Shortly afterwards Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán was offered the Chair in order to replace Zamora as professor of Hebrew; but neither of them were kept by the University of Salamanca, because they did not know all three of the languages, and both went to the University of Alcalá around 1512. Núñez de Toledo did return to Salamanca and he was Clénard's first professor of Arabic. In private lessons he taught him the rudiments of the language, providing him with some books in Arabic.

A few years later, in 1537, Clénard was offered the Trilingual Chair, but he refused to take it, apparently because he was planning to be back in Belgium by the summer of 1538 (although he ultimately died in Spain in 1542). In the same year of 1542, the Trilingual Chair was offered to Pedro de Salazar, who did not get the job owing to his ignorance of Arabic. In 1543, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra was hired to take the Chair of Languages, but he would have to wait until 1561 to obtain tenure. His teaching of Arabic in this position does not seem to have been adequate, since in 1568 the University took the step of proposing José Fajardo to teach this language, while Cantalapiedra was still active. Cristóbal de Madrigal then held the Chair of Languages in 1580, a year after the death of Cantalapiedra. After 1592, the year of Madrigal's death, we lose track of the teaching of Arabic at the University of Salamanca until many years later.

For their teaching, they primarily used two kinds of books: religious books, especially the Gospels, and grammars, mainly the *Jurrumiyya.* Evidently, these were not enough to learn Arabic properly. However, we know that there were books in Arabic in Spain in that period, both in Christian libraries and in

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110　Á. Rodríguez Cruz, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca, 1990, in Vázquez de Benito, 'El inicio', p. 324.

Morisco hands. Some of the Moriscos were still copying manuscripts, because in many cases they knew Arabic. But since this ran contrary to the various prohibitions enforced by the authorities, this segment of Spanish society could not provide the universities with the teachers they needed. When the Chair of Salamanca was occupied, its holder proved either unable to give lessons in Arabic, or could offer nothing more than introductory courses of a very low level. Even if some circles may have been aware of the value of the knowledge of classical Arabic, unfortunately these were too small in number and could not affect a change in the situation.

Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome: Shaping a Missionary Language*

Aurélien Girard

The teaching of Arabic in Rome was primarily guided by Catholic missionary activity. The rise of the study of the languages, and especially eastern languages, was promoted by the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, a pontifical congregation founded in 1622 in order to coordinate missionary activities under the direction of the Pope. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Roman officials attributed a special importance to the mission of the Middle East. After the abandonment of major crusading projects the belief developed that the conversion of Muslims would be possible by pursuing a policy of cultural influence. Above all, it was hoped that the return of the 'schismatic' or 'heretical' Eastern Christian Churches into the Catholic fold would be quick and easy.[1] This optimism with regard to missionary activities in the Levant, which faded in the second half of the seventeenth century and even more during the century that followed, led in Rome to the encouragement of institutions preparing members of the religious orders for the mission in these lands.

Ever since its foundation, the *Propaganda* had been deeply committed to the study of languages on the part of the missionaries, for whom it was vital to be prepared to disseminate the principles of the Catholic faith in the tongues of the intended recipient populations. The *Propaganda* explicitly recovered

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1 On the Roman politics in the Near-East, see B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique*, Rome, 1994; A. Girard, 'Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant: Rome et l'union des chrétiens syriens (première moitié du XVIIᵉ siècle)', in *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, ed. M.A. Visceglia, Rome, 2013, pp. 419–37. For an introduction to the history of learning Arabic, see J. Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1955; A. Hamilton, 'Arabic Studies in Europe', in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. K. Versteegh, Leiden, 2006, vol. 1, p. 166–172; B. Heyberger, 'L'Orient et l'islam dans l'érudition européenne du XVIIᵉ siècle', in *Connaître l'Orient en Europe au XVIIᵉ siècle*, ed. A. Girard, special issue of *XVIIᵉ siècle*, 268, 2015, pp. 495–508 (499–502).

the tradition of the medieval missionary methodology propounded by Ramon Llull and the decrees of the Council of Vienne from the fourteenth century on.[2] The developments in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Rome provide unique insight into the relationship between mission and language. This essay will explore the political promotion of the teaching of Arabic in the pontifical capital and examine its consequences.[3]

Thanks to the quality of the Roman bureaucracy in the post-Tridentine era, the archives of the Congregation are extremely rich and especially where the Arabic language schools are concerned, provide material for a detailed study of the early modern period. In the last fifteen years Roman intellectual life in the post-Tridentine era has received new attention from historians, also thanks to a novel interest in the links between missions and the circulation of knowledge. Giovanni Pizzorusso in particular has focussed his research on Oriental studies and on the intellectual environment around the Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide*,[4] a milieu qualified as 'a scholarly complex with a universal vocation' by Antonella Romano.[5]

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2   J. Richard, 'L'enseignement des langues orientales en Occident au Moyen Âge', *Revue d'études islamiques*, 44, 1976, pp. 150–64; Cl. Kappler, 'Les voyageurs et les langues orientales: interprètes, traducteurs et connaisseurs', in *Routes d'Asie. Marchands et voyageurs XVᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle*, eds M. Debout, D. Eeckaute-Bardery, and V. Fourniau, Istanbul and Paris, 1988, pp. 25–35.

3   In recent years the historical study of linguistics has concerned itself increasingly with missionary linguistics, thanks especially to the Oslo Project on Missionary Linguistics and the International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics, organized and published since 2003. On the agenda of this research, see O. Zwartjes, 'The Historiography of Missionary Linguistics. Present state and further research opportunities', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 39, 2012, pp. 185–242.

4   G. Pizzorusso, 'Tra cultura e missione: la Congregazione "de Propaganda Fide" e le scuole di lingua araba tra XVII e XVIII secolo', in *Rome et la science moderne entre Renaissance et Lumières*, ed. A. Romano, Rome, 2008, pp. 121–52; id., 'La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente islamico: scuole, testi, insegnanti a Roma e in Italia', in *L'Islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, eds B. Heyberger et al., Milan, 2009, pp. 253–88; id., 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste autour de la congrégation *de Propaganda Fide* au temps d'Abraham Ecchellensis', in *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664)*, ed. B. Heyberger, Turnhout, 2010, pp. 59–80.

5   A. Romano, 'Rome, un chantier pour les savoirs de la catholicité post-tridentine', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 55.2, 2008, pp. 101–19 (108). She also writes: 'Ici [in Rome] la trilogie accumulation-formation-diffusion dit le caractère organique du projet intellectuel, dessiné en fonction des nouvelles aspirations et des nouveaux besoins de l'État pontifical, rarement reproduit avec une même systématicité dans la ville'.

Roma Arabica in the Early Seventeenth Century

The first major figure in the dawn of seventeenth-century Roman Oriental studies was Giovanni Battista Raimondi (ca. 1536–1614), a mathematician and linguist who had directed the Typographia Medicea, funded by the Medici family, under the papacy of Gregory XIII. Raimondi had planned to produce a Polyglot Bible and published works in Arabic. He had also collected Oriental manuscripts and exhibited a humanist interest in the texts. On the one hand Raimondi marked the beginning of the humanist Orientalist tradition in Italy, but he also revolutionized this approach by combining it with missionary objectives. Resurrecting the medieval tradition of the Council of Vienne of 1311, Pope Paul V vigorously supported the cultivation of Oriental languages in 1610, making their study mandatory in all regular religious orders. Under the influence of Raimondi, the *Caracciolini* were particularly active in the teaching of Oriental languages, and founded a college in Rome for instruction in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac and Persian. Meanwhile, at the University of *La Sapienza*, Eastern Christians such as Marco Dobelio and Vittorio Scialac began to teach Arabic in 1605. There was also an Arabic teacher at the *Collegio Romano*, an alumnus of the Maronite College founded in 1584, which had hitherto been the most important centre for Arabic studies in the city. This first generation of Roman Orientalists established a fundamental link between linguistic knowledge, theological controversy, and anti-Islamic controversy.[6]

The foundation of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* in 1622 by Gregory XV was a critical step that favoured the development of Oriental studies in the pontifical capital. At the same time it institutionalized and incorporated them into the activities of the curial bureaucracy (as well as in its missionary policy). Repeating the appeal of Paul V for the study of Oriental languages within the religious orders, the initiative succeeded in establishing schools. The *Propaganda* endeavoured to provide instruction in the most diverse languages, since, for the secretary of the organisation Francesco Ingoli, they constituted one of the main means of conversion. However, in a report dating from 1631,

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6   R. Jones, 'The Medici oriental press (Rome 1584–1614) and the impact of its Arabic publications on northern Europe', in *The "Arabick" Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds G.A. Russell, Leiden et al., 1994, pp. 88–108; A.M. Piemontese, 'Leggere e scrivere "Orientalia" in Italia', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, ser. III, 23, 1993, pp. 427–53; M. Casari, 'Eleven Good Reasons for Learning Arabic in Late Renaissance Italy: a Memorial by Giovanni Battista Raimondi', in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, eds M. Israëls and L.A. Waldman, Florence, 2010, vol. 2, pp. 545–57; S. Fani and M. Farina, eds, *Le vie delle lettere. La Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente*, Florence, 2012.

the secretary specified the special status of certain languages to meet the objectives of the Congregation. These were mostly Oriental: Hebrew, the language of the Scriptures; the literary and vulgar Greek of Orthodox Christianity; the languages spoken in the Levant, Arabic and Syriac, or the language of Illyria, where Slav Catholics had enjoyed the freedom to celebrate the mass in their old tongue ever since the Middle Ages;[7] as well as Persian. Giovanni Battista Raimondi had already been interested in this language in the sixteenth century, and it had assumed some importance at the time of Paul V with the efforts of the papacy and various religious orders to dispatch missions to the Shah.[8] In the definition of his language policy, Ingoli made a distinction between 'literary' languages, which were dead and linked to the tradition of the sacred texts, and 'living' languages, which were useful for missionary communication and especially for doctrinal controversy. Arabic fell into both categories at a time when there was already a great interest in Rome in Arabic versions of the Scriptures.

The study and practice of Oriental languages took place in several cultural institutions. With the polyglot printing press founded in 1626, the *Propaganda* started printing books in the most diverse languages, including Arabic, in order to proselytise amongst Muslims and schismatic Christians. It stimulated the learning of languages and led to the presence of foreign scholars who collaborated in the preparation of editions as proof-readers or editors.[9] The Vatican Library was also in perpetual need of specialists in Arabic to supervise the manuscript collections.[10] Furthermore, in the bureaucratic activity of the

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7   F. Ingoli, *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*, ed. F. Tosi, Rome, 1999, pp. 281–2.

8   A.M. Piemontese, 'La "Grammatica persiana" di G.B. Raimondi', *Rivista di Studi orientali*, 53, 1979, pp. 141–50; C. Windler, 'La curie romaine et la cour safavide au XVIIe siècle: projets missionnaires et diplomatie', in *Papato e politica internazionale*, ed. Visceglia, pp. 505–23.

9   Z.R. Andollu, 'La Sagrada Congregación frente al Islam: apostolado de la Prensa en lengua árabe', in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, ed. J. Metzler, Rome, Fribourg and Vienna, 1971, vol. I, 1, pp. 707–31; B. Heyberger, 'Livres et pratique de lecture chez les chrétiens (Syrie, Liban), XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles', in *Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman*, ed. F. Hitzel, special issue of the *Livres et lectures dans le monde ottoman*, ed. F. Hitzel, special issue of the *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 87–88, 1999, pp. 209–23; G. Pizzorusso, 'I satelliti di Propaganda Fide: il Collegio Urbano e la Tipografia Poliglotta. Note di ricerca su due istituzioni culturali romane nel XVII secolo', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome Italie et Méditerranée*, 116–2, 2004, pp. 471–98.

10   G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della BibliotecaVaticana*, Vatican City, 1939; I. Fosi, 'Usare la Biblioteca: la Vaticana nella cultura europea', in C. Montuschi éd., *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vol. III, *La Vaticana nel Seicento (1590–1700): una Biblioteca di biblioteche*, Vatican City, 2014, pp. 761–98.

pontifical government, linguistic expertise was invaluable. The *periti linguarum orientalium*, experts in eastern languages, could make use of their linguistic competence at routine levels of bureaucracy, translating letters, identifying places, names etc. Their services were mainly requested by the Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide*,[11] but also by the Holy Office and the *Index*.

For Roman Orientalists one of the major challenges of the seventeenth century was the examination of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada' on behalf of the Holy Office. The Lead Books, a group of circular lead plates which appeared in the caves of the Sacromonte (near Granada) in 1595, bore texts in a pseudo-archaic form of Arabic which seemed to constitute a new Gospel that presented a vision of Christianity reconcilable with Islam. The aim of these Morisco forgeries was to establish a common historical origin for Spanish Christians and Arabs.[12] The transfer of the Books from Spain to Rome took place in 1645, after which six experts laboured for fifteen years on a transcription of the text for the legal proceedings which led to its anathematization.[13] The team of experts included the Jesuits Athanasius Kircher and Giambattista Giattini, the Franciscans Bartolomeo da Pettorano and Antonio dall'Aquila, the Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli and the rising star of Roman Oriental studies, Ludovico Marracci (a member of the order of the Chierici regolari della Madre di Dio, established by St Giovanni Leonardi).[14] As early as 1622 the Congregation of the *Propaganda* prepared the publication of a Bible in Arabic, a project that would only be concluded in 1671. The commission brought together Ecchellensis, Guadagnoli, Marracci, and also Athanasius Kircher,[15] the Capuchin Brice de Rennes, as well as the Arabic translator of Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici*,[16] the Dutch Carmelite Célestin de Sainte-

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11   For examples of this work of translation in the congregation of *Propaganda*, see ACPF, SOCG, vol. 180 and 181.

12   M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Madrid, 2010.

13   ACDF, St. St., R6–a, R6–b, R6–c, R7–a, R7–b, R7–c, R7–d, R7–e, R7–f.; BAV, Ott. Lat. 1112.

14   A. Bevilacqua, 'The Qur'an Translations of Marracci and Sale', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 76, 2013, pp. 93–130; G. Pizzorusso, 'Ludovico Marracci tra ambiente curiale e cultura orientalista a Roma nel XVII secolo', in *Il Corano e il pontefice. Ludovico Marracci fra cultura islamica e Curia papale*, ed. G. L. D'Errico, Rome, 2015, pp. 91–118.

15   D. Stolzenberg, *The Great Art of Knowing. The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, Fiesole 2001; id., *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity*, Chicago 2013; P. Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher. The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, New York and London, 2004.

16   A. Trentini, 'Baronio arabo: vicende e tematiche dell'*Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Arabica Epitome*', in *Baronio e le sue fonti* (*Atti del convegno internazionale di Studi Sora 10–13 ottobre 2007*), ed. L. Gulia, Sora, 2009, pp. 719–42.

Ludwina (the brother of Jacobus Golius), the Franciscan Antonio dall'Aquila, the Jesuit Giambattista Giattini and the Maronite bishop of Damascus Sergio Risi.[17] These great collective undertakings stimulated and affected the Roman Arabist milieu.[18]

Schools of Oriental Languages before the Propaganda

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, even before the creation of the *Propaganda*, Arabic was being taught and practised in Rome. At the Collegio Romano directed by the Jesuits, Pius IV entrusted with the teaching of Arabic Giovanni Battista Eliano (1530–1589), a Jewish convert who also taught Hebrew. He was initiated into Arabic in the Jewish community of Cairo where his father was a merchant. A cultured man of learning and a missionary, Eliano knew numerous languages and published several books: the first illustrated catechism written in Italian (*Doctrina christiana nella quale si contengono li principali misteri della nostra fede rappresentati con figure per istrutione de gl'idioti et di quelli che non sano legere…*, Rome, 1587), an Arabic translation of the profession of faith promulgated by Pius V for the Eastern Christians who claimed to be united with the Catholic Church (*I'tiqād al-amāna al-urtūduksiyya kanīsa rūmīya* [sic] – *Fidei orthoxae brevis et explicita confessio quam Sacrosanta Romana Ecclesia docet*, Rome, 1566), and an Arabic catechism, *al-Ta'līm al-masīḥī* (Rome, 1580). Other works remained unpublished. For his first mission, Eliano was dispatched to the Coptic patriarch in Egypt to promote union with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1564 he was entrusted by Pius IV with the acquisition of Oriental types at the expense of the Vatican for the *Tipografia del Collegio Romano*, the Jesuit press in Rome (1556–1615). In 1578 he left Italy again for the first Jesuit mission to the Maronites of Mount Lebanon where he was able to collect manuscripts to be brought back to Rome. In 1580 he returned to the East to organize with the Maronite patriarch a synod in the monastery of Qannūbīn in an endeavour to impose Tridentine legislation and to increase Roman influence on Lebanese Christianity. In 1582, while in Aleppo, he was asked by the Roman authorities to go to Egypt, again to promote the union of the Coptic patriarchate with the Roman Church, although without

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17   ACPF, Acta vols. 3, 4, 6, 8 and 37, SOCG vols. 180, 181, 293, 312 and 382, CP vols. 1 and 6, SC Stamperia vol. 1, Fondo di Vienna vol. 22. See also R. Vollandt, 'Che portono al ritorno qui una Bibbia Arabica integra: A History of the Biblia Sacra Arabica (1672-73)', in *Graeco-Latina et Orientalia. Studia in Honorem Angeli Urbani Heptagenarii*, eds J.P. Monferrer Sala and S.K. Samir, Beirut, 2013; id., *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch. A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*, Leiden, 2015, pp. 129–132.

18   G. Pizzorusso, 'La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente'.

any success.[19] The Maronite Jesuit Peter Metoscita also taught Arabic at the *Collegio Romano* before being sent by Paul v to Baghdad and Chios. Confessor to the Maronite college since 1622, he published a manual of Arabic in the year of his death, 1624, the *Institutiones linguae arabicae ex diversis arabicis monumentis collectae.*[20] The library of the *Collegio Romano* kept Oriental printed books in addition to Arabic manuscripts.[21] Students of the 'national' colleges in Rome attended courses there.[22]

The *Collegio Romano* was not controlled by the *Propaganda fide*, any more than was the University of *La Sapienza*. Arabic courses were given at *La Sapienza* by Maronites such as Vittorio Scialac or Abraham Ecchellensis. The latter was employed in 1636 to teach Arabic and Syriac until he relinquished the chair and went to France in 1640. At the *Sapienza* Arabic was not only taught by foreigners, but also by Italians: Filippo Guadagnoli replaced Ecchellensis in 1640 and held the position until his death in 1656. He was replaced in his turn by Ludovico Marracci, who retained the post until the end of his long life in 1699.[23] Both Guadagnoli and Marracci were authors of works which were widely disseminated. Marracci, from Torcigliano near Camaiore in the Republic of Lucca, was the famous translator of the Qur'an and the author of refutations of Islam. Both men were living examples of the close relationship between language and controversy.

Guadagnoli was a member of the order of the *Chierici regolari minori* called *Caracciolini*, derived from the name of their founder, St. Francesco Caracciolo. In 1595 this little order, consisting mainly of theologians, founded a school in

19 J.C. Sola, 'El p. Juan Baptista Eliano. Un documento autobiográfico inédito', *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, 4, 1935, pp. 291–321 (Edition of Elia's autobiography, written in 1588 at the request of Claudio Acquaviva, Superior General of the Society of Jesus); A. Hamilton, *The Copts and the West 1439–1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford 2006, pp. 59–71; A. Girard, 'Giovanni Battista Eliano', in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 7: *Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500–1600)*, eds D. Thomas and J. Chesworth, Leiden, 2015, pp. 724–731.

20 G. Pizzorusso, 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', p. 67.

21 I. Guidi, 'Catalogo dei codici siriaci, arabi, turchi e persiani della Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele', in id., *Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia*, Florence, 1878, vol. 1, pp. 5–38; A. D'Ottone, *Catalogo dei manoscritti arabi della Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Rome*, unpublished PhD diss., Università di Roma-La Sapienza, 2006. Most of these Arabic manuscripts come from the Roman College and the Professed House of the Jesuits.

22 P. Broggio, 'L'Urbs e il mondo. Note sulla presenza degli stranieri nel Collegio Romano e sugli orizzonti geografici della "formazione romana" tra XVI e XVII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 56, 2002, pp. 81–120.

23 E. Conte, *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787 : i rotuli e le altre fonti*, Rome, 1991, *passim.*

the church of Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona for the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, first Hebrew and Greek, and later Arabic, Syriac and Persian. After a suspension of this activity due to the fear that the study of languages might distract its practitioners from devotion, the *studium* was transferred to the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Alfonso Manco, general of the order, decided to organize a public 'festivity of languages' (*solemnitas linguarum*) on the day of the Pentecost, celebrating the miracle of understanding tongues for the promotion of the Christian faith. On this occasion, the *Caracciolini* students of the school (Italian and Spanish) pronounced sermons in the five languages (which were subsequently translated into Latin by their teacher), for an audience consisting of 22 cardinals and members of the Roman nobility. Even if the order did not have any mission outside Europe and did not recruit missionaries, its members nonetheless presented a missionary and universalist orientation in the context of the papacy of Paul V. The order formed linguists and controversialists, with three Arabists distinguishing themselves in spite of the limited material available. First, in the early seventeenth century, the mathematician Andrés de León, from Zamora, contributed to the preparation of a polyglot version of the Bible under the supervision of Cardinal Bellarmin. Francesco Martellotto, from Martinafranca (Apulia), taught Arabic in his community and wrote the *Institutiones linguae arabicae*, published in 1620 after his death (1617). Finally, Filippo Guadagnoli, from Magliano dei Marsi in Abruzzo, an expert consulted in connection with the Lead Books and many other cases by the Roman congregations, compiled an Arabic grammar, the *Breves Arabicae Linguae institutiones* (Rome, 1642), and a book of controversy against Islam first published in Arabic in 1637 by the *Propaganda Fide* press[24] with a new version in 1649.[25] After his death in 1656, the Oriental studies that had been so prevalent within the order of the *Caracciolini* came to an end.[26]

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24   F. Guadagnoli, *Pro christiana religione responsio ad objectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahanensis*, Rome, 1637.

25   F. Guadagnoli, *Considerationes ad Mahomettanos cum responsione ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahanensis*, Rome, 1649.

26   Z.R. Andollu, 'Un saggio bilingue, latino e arabo di controversia islamo-cristiana nella Rome del sec. XVII', *Euntes Docete*, 22, 1969, pp. 453–80; N. Malcolm, 'Comenius, the Conversion of the Turks, and the Muslim–Christian Debate on the Corruption of Scripture', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 87, 2007, pp. 477–508; G. Pizzorusso, 'Filippo Guadagnoli, i caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l'Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo', in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini): religione e cultura in età postridentina* (Atti del Convegno, Chieti, 11–12 aprile 2008), eds I. Fosi and

The 'national' colleges, mainly founded before the creation of the *Propaganda*, were submitted to its jurisdiction from the start of its activity. In these colleges (English, Scottish, German, Greek, Maronite, Irish etc.), usually directed by the Jesuits, the students were trained to return to their country as missionaries. Even though the training was mostly in Latin, the students also used their mother tongue. Founded in 1584 by Pope Gregory XIII, the Maronite College was intended to welcome young Maronites, near-eastern Catholics from the patriarchate of Antioch whose mother tongue was Arabic. In this institution, the Maronite scholar Abraham Ecchellensis[27] was appointed in 1629–1630 as a teacher of Arabic and 'Chaldean' (Syriac) by the *Propaganda*, against the will of the general of the Jesuits, Muzio Vitelleschi, who claimed that Maronite students should only speak Latin and Italian, and who remained very doubtful about the teaching of Arabic. Vitelleschi may have wished to impose a strictly Roman formation on the missionary clergy since the Society of Jesus at the time was very suspicious about the formation of native clergy. By the end of the 1620s, the Roman authorities also had their doubts about the Maronite liturgical rite and hoped for a smooth transition to the Roman rite.[28] Only at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when new rules were established in the Maronite college, was the teaching of Arabic institutionalized so that the young Maronites would not forget their mother tongue during their stay in Italy and would be able to speak and preach in Arabic when they returned to their country.[29]

G. Pizzorusso, special issue of *Studi medievali e moderni*, 14, fasc. 1, n. 27, 2010, pp. 245–78; A. Trentini, 'Guadagnoli controversista e islamologo. Un'analisi delle edizioni dell'*Apologia* (1631, 1637) e della *Confutatio* (1649)', in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori* (*Caracciolini*), eds I. Fosi and G. Pizzorusso, pp. 297–314; A. Girard, 'Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientaliste au XVIIᵉ siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des Caracciolini', in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori* (*Caracciolini*), eds I. Fosi and G. Pizzorusso, pp. 279–96; D. Halft, 'Hebrew Bible Quotations in Arabic Transcription in Safavid Iran of the 11th/17th Century: Sayyed Aḥmad 'Alavī's Persian Refutations of Christianity', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 1, 2013, pp. 235–52 (Sayyed Aḥmad 'Alavī is "Alabedin", the author refuted by Guadagnoli).

27   On Abraham Ecchellensis, see B. Heyberger, ed., *Orientalisme, science et controverse*.

28   A. Girard, '*Nihil esse innovandum?* Maintien des rites orientaux et négociation de l'Union des Églises orientales avec Rome (fin XVIᵉ – mi–XVIIIᵉ s.)', in *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident, XIIIᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles*), eds M.–H. Blanchet and F. Gabriel, Paris, 2013, pp. 337–52 (342–43).

29   B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 412; G. Pizzorusso, 'La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente islamico', pp. 264–5; A. Girard and G. Pizzorusso, 'The Maronite college in early modern Rome: Between the Ottoman

In 1627 the Pope founded the *Collegio Urbano* which would be attached to the *Propaganda* in 1641 – an international seminar for the training of missionary clergy located in the building of the Congregation, where young aspirants from various parts of the world lived and studied together, preparing to evangelize their compatriots. Here there were also courses in Arabic for students from the East. In both educational institutions the teachers were always Eastern Christians.[30]

Schools Founded by Religious Orders after 1622

Among the eastern languages, the *Propaganda* focused particularly on Arabic in the early seventeenth century. The Congregation first aimed at stimulating the resources in the religious orders. It recalled the constitution *Apostolicae servitutis onere*, promulgated by Paul V in 1610 in order to encourage the regular orders to open language schools. On 6 June and 23 July 1622 the Congregation asked the superiors of the religious orders to establish schools and language courses in the convents of Rome and the provinces. According to the archives, the orders generally seem to have followed this request, possibly because the *Propaganda* threatened them with visits to check the implementation of the instructions. Some orders reacted quickly: the Theatines, for example, announced that they had organized the study of Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic in their institutions in Italy, also recruiting teachers from outside the order. On the whole, however, these responses of the superiors were very bureaucratic and seem to have been intended merely to placate the Congregation. The archival evidence also highlights some resistance from the superiors, who were not enthusiastic about the plan and raised several practical problems. Twenty years later, when the Congregation recommended sending some of their members to the courses in Oriental languages at the *Sapienza*, this negative attitude was confirmed.[31]

Despite the reluctance of most of the religious orders to respond to the instructions of the *Propaganda*, schools of eastern languages for the mission-

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       Empire and the Republic of Letters', in *Collegial Communities in Exile*, eds L. Chambers and Th. O'Connor, Manchester, 2017 (forthcoming).

30   A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIIIᵉ siècle', in *Maghreb-Italie. Des passeurs médiévaux à l'orientalisme moderne*, ed. B. Grévin, Rome, 2010, pp. 209–34, (212–14, 219–20).

31   ACPF, CP vol. 1, *passim*; J. Metzler, 'Orientation, programme, premières décisions', in *Sacrae Congregationis*, ed. J. Metzler, vol. I/1, pp. 146–96, (173–4); G. Pizzorusso, 'Tra cultura e missione', pp. 127–8.

aries, and in particular of Arabic, were established in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, and some of them had a long life. The Discalced Carmelites were very active in the study of eastern languages in the seventeenth century: in the Near East, they had convents on Mount Carmel, in Aleppo, in Tripoli and on Mount Lebanon. The expert consulted in connection with the Lead Books, the Dutch Carmelite Celestin de Sainte-Ludwina (1604–1676), taught for an extended period in Rome at the training-seminary for missionaries of San Paolo (founded in 1613), located in Santa Maria della Vittoria (Quirinale), and then in San Pancrazio. Converted from Protestantism, he was the brother of the famous Dutch Orientalist Jacobus Golius (his name before entering the Carmelite order was Peter Golius – Peter van Gool). He had translated the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis into Arabic, published by the polyglot press of the *Propaganda* in 1663, with the approval of the Maronite Abraham Ecchellensis. He taught at San Paolo from 1653 until 1669, before coming back to the Netherlands to try to convert his family with the approval of the *Propaganda.*[32]

At San Paolo students were not only Italians, but also French, Dutch and German who normally stayed for three years. Lessons were organized in Arabic and in controversy, with two different lecturers. On several occasions in the seventeenth century, however, the Roman authorities considered transferring the college to Malta for linguistic reasons (the unsuccessful teaching of Arabic), but also because of the internal politics of the order. The island-outpost of Christendom near the Italian peninsula was a crossing point for missionaries on their way to the Middle East. Even if the quality of the Maltese Arabic was criticized as a corrupt form of Arabic, the island was considered a good place to learn the language. In 1626 a seminar was founded in Cospicua (Bormla) on the model of the *Collegio Romano*.[33]

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32   ACPF, SOCG vol. 376, fol. 129 and ACPF, SC Congressi Collegi Vari vol. 59 (S. Pancrazio), fols 198ʳ–199ᵛ; S.K. Samir, *Le P. Célestin de Sainte-Ludwina, alias Peter van Gool (1604–1676), missionnaire carme et orientaliste. Etude historico-littéraire*, Beirut, 1985; A. Fortes, *Las misiones del Carmelo teresiano 1584–1799. Documentos del Archivo General de Roma*, Rome, 1997, pp. 34–8; G. Pizzorusso, 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', pp. 73–4; A. Girard, 'Une traduction arabe pour la Propagande (1663)', in *Un succès de librairie européen: l'Imitatio Christi 1470–1850*, eds M. Delaveau and Y. Sordet, Paris, 2012, pp. 150–52.

33   ACPF, Acta vol. 14 (1640–1641), fols 2ᵛ–5ʳ; ACPF, SOCG vol. 364, fols 116ʳ–122ᵛ; ACPF, SOCG vol. 364, fol. 343ʳ. and ACPF, SOCG vol. 376, fols 40ʳ–40ᵛ; ACPF, SC Congressi Collegi Vari, vol. 59 (S. Pancrazio), fols 198ʳ–199ᵛ; A. Cremona, 'L'antica fondazione della scuola di lingua araba in Malta', *Melita Historica. Journal of the Malta Historical Society*, 1, 1953, pp. 87–103, and 2, 1954, pp. 141–59; A. Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté (1530–1670)*, Rome, 2006;

Ever since 1622 the Franciscan convent of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome had been the main centre of the teaching of Arabic under the supervision of the Congregation of the *Propaganda*. The promoter was Tommaso Obicini da Novara, a former missionary in the Holy Land and in Aleppo, and representative of Pope Paul V to the Chaldeans, who returned to Rome in 1621. Tommaso was also interested in Hebrew and Coptic, as well as in manuscripts and inscriptions in these languages. He published a *Grammatica arabica. Agrumia appellata. Cum versione latina ac dilucida expositione* in 1631, with the polyglot press of the *Propaganda Fide*, where he was also responsible for the setting and printing of Arabic. He travelled in Italy until his death in 1632, especially to Venice and to Milan, where Cardinal Federico Borromeo consulted him in connection with the study of Oriental languages at the Ambrosian library.[34]

A total of twelve students could be accommodated by the College at any one time, but their number was often much smaller. When they entered the College, students were frequently already relatively old, aged between 25 and 35. Despite their short time at school, some of them made their careers not only as missionaries in Arab lands but also as Arabic scholars: the Franciscan friar Bartolomeo da Pettorano, came back to Rome after a missionary activity, and replaced Ecchellensis in the committee for the Arabic Bible. An expert consulted in connection with the Lead Books, he became a translator for the Holy Office as well as a teacher at *La Sapienza*. Teachers at San Pietro in Montorio such as Domenico Germano da Silesia and Antonio dall'Aquila were normally former missionaries who had withdrawn to Rome. Because of its responsibility for the custody of the Holy Land, the Franciscan order was obviously very

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G. Pizzorusso, 'Tra cultura e missione', pp. 147–9; id., 'La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente islamico', pp. 272–8; id., 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', pp. 73–4; A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIIIe siècle', p. 217.

34   G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City, 1951, vol. 4, pp. 174–6 (hereafter *GCAL*); A. van Lanschoot, *Un précurseur d'Athanase Kircher: Thomas Obicini et la "Scala" Vat. copte 71*, Leuven, 1948; Id., 'Lettre inédite de Thomas Obicini à Pietro Della Valle', *Rivista degli Studi orientali*, 28, 1953, pp. 119–29; R. Sbardella, 'Tommaso Obicini da Novara, O.F.M. e il cardinale Federico Borromeo', *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, 56, 1963, pp. 71–90; G.-C. Bottini, 'Tommaso Obicini (1585–1632) Custos of the Holy Land and Orientalist', in *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, ed. A. O'Mahony, London, 1995, pp. 97–101; C. Balzaretti, 'Padre Tommaso Obicini: un mediatore nel vicino Oriente all'inizio del Seicento', *Novarien*, 32, 2003, pp. 183–97.

sensitive to Arabic studies. The Franciscans had tried to spread their schools in Italy ever since the foundation of San Pietro.[35]

With regard to the question of the schools' ideal location we can discern two opposing opinions. On the one hand, *Propaganda* officials were trying to develop linguistic studies in Rome. From their point of view, the local education of missionaries was more likely to guarantee their orthodoxy. They followed the same centralizing policy in the training of their native clergy in the papal capital, a place where students could 'imbibe the milk of the faith to transfuse it into the Infidels'.[36] On the other hand there were opinions that favoured the establishment of schools in the lands of the mission, as a response to the disappointing results of the Roman schools. In 1660, the Secretary of the Congregation of the *Propaganda* Alberizzi, less enthusiastic and more realistic than Ingoli, supported the plan to install the school in Arabic-speaking countries and not in Rome: 'As for the Arabic language, experience demonstrates that you learn more during fifteen days on the spot than in a year here, and the same thing applies to the controversies [...]'. Writing this report to the pope at the very beginning of his mandate in the hope of achieving a reform of the Congregation, Alberizzi explained that the members of the religious orders came to Rome with purposes other than the study of Arabic. Such criticisms reflected the doubts of the *Propaganda* and the missionary milieu about Orientalist studies in the middle of the seventeenth century. These doubts were fuelled by difficulties in translation projects (the Bible, liturgical books etc.) and new discoveries of eastern manuscripts, and by the disappointing results of the missions to eastern Christians and Muslims. Meanwhile, Filippo Guadagnoli had failed in his efforts to proselytise amongst the Muslims. Written in Arabic in the 1640s and published in 1649, his *Considerationes ad Mahommettanos cum responsione ad objectionem Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin* contained a chapter entitled 'The Qur'an does not contradict the Gospels' which provoked a furore and incurred a ban of publication by the Roman Inquisition. This condemnation was to weigh heavily on future editorial and polemical choices.[37]

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35   A. Kleinhans, *Historia Studii Linguae Arabicae et Collegii Missionum*, Florence 1930; G. Pizzorusso, 'Tra cultura e missione', pp. 136–42; id., 'La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente islamico', pp. 268–72; Id., 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', pp. 69–73; A. Girard, 'Impossible independence or necessary dependency? Missionaries in the Near East, the "protection" of the Catholic States and the Roman arbitrator', in *Papacy, Religious Orders and International Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeeth Centuries*, ed. M.C. Giannini, Rome, 2013, pp. 67–94.

36   ACPF, SOCG vol. 364, fol. 25ʳ.

37   ACPF, SOCG vol. 376, fol. 40ʳ; G. Pizzorusso, 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', pp. 74–5; id., 'Filippo Guadagnoli'; A. Trentini, 'Guadagnoli controversista e

Despite the problems about where the schools should be and the doubts about the success of the teaching, schools were retained in Rome and new schools were actually created: in the early eighteenth century, a chair of Arabic was founded at the Franciscan convent of San Bartolomeo all'Isola (on the Isola Tiberina) in Rome for the Friars Minor of the Observance. Generally, however, the teaching of Arabic was in decline: in most of the colleges less hours were devoted to it and sometimes it even disappeared. Under the Roman Republic, the *Propaganda* and its colleges were suppressed, and when the Roman authorities wondered about the necessity of reorganizing the teaching, a report written in 1828 referred to its uselessness and superficiality.[38]

Language and Controversy: Entangled Teachings

The study of the languages encouraged by the *Propaganda* was inextricably linked to the missionary activity. This is why, following a tradition already established by the earlier missionary literature, the Congregation decided to combine the study of languages with the study of controversy, in other words of dialectical theology, by which missionaries would be able to convince the Muslim infidels and Eastern Christian heretics by refuting the principles of their religion or beliefs. Languages and controversies were two inseparable elements in the preparation of the missionary: Guadagnoli, owing to his career and his intellectual production, was a brilliant example of this double Orientalist activity in Rome. The training took place under the supervision of masters who ensured that the translation of concepts and principles was comprehensible to the recipients of the apostolate. The translation had to be correct and precise – an increasing source of anxiety for the Roman authorities, especially in the wake of the Chinese rites controversy. However, the aim was not to train and form theologians: it stressed, rather, the importance of maintaining controversy at a basic level. Indeed, the missionary, in his daily practice of preaching, should not oppose the learned heretic – it was prudent to avoid arguments with educated unbelievers – but especially 'objectionibus rudiorum et muliercularum' ('the objections of the simple and little women'). The silence or embarrassment of a missionary when confronted with objections from simple people would have undermined the authority of the Church in the minds of both the heretics and the newly converted. It could also have

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islamologo'; A. Girard, 'Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientaliste'; A. Bevilacqua, 'The Qur'an Translations', p. 5–6.

38   ACPF, SC Collegi Vari vol. 55, San Bartolomeo all'Isola dal 1728 al 1845, fols 194ʳ⁻ᵛ; A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIIIᵉ siècle'.

prompted the charge of dispatching missionaries who were unprepared or even ignorant of fundamental theological principles.[39]

The simultaneous learning of languages and the rudiments of controversy had consequences for the didactic organization of the language teaching for missionaries. In order to learn and to teach Arabic, future missionaries used grammars and vocabularies, but also theological treatises or abstracts of refutations of other religions, written in the vernacular and prepared by reliable authors of the Church, mostly former missionaries or foreign scholars who were themselves teachers at universities or colleges. The Congregation suggested addressing doctrinal issues directly in the vernacular, even during the training of the missionaries which was performed in Italy before departure. In the *Antitheses fidei* (Rome, *Propaganda Fide*, 1638), Domenico Germano published the exercises of nine students (whose names are on the front-page) of the College of San Pietro in Montorio, which he directed and which were held before the 'visiting' cardinal of the College. Born in Schnurgast in Silesia in 1588, he became a Franciscan in 1624. He studied in Rome with the Arabist Tommaso Obicini da Novara and lived in Palestine for four or five years from 1630. In 1652, after other journeys to the Middle East, he became librarian of the Escorial where he performed a remarkable, but until recently unpublished, translation of the Qur'an. In his *Antitheses*, dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, written in Arabic and in Latin (as an aid to learning the language through controversy), the Franciscan attempted to refute four *difficultates contra religionem Christianam ex Alcorano desumptae*: 1. *de directione supernaturali* (p. 15); 2. *de actibus religionis, qui sunt oratio et devotio* (p. 19); 3. *de Creatione et Creatore et attributi eius essentialibus* (p. 25); 4. *de Deo Salvatore et eius attributis extrinsecis* (p. 35). This short book opens with the publication of a brief Arabic letter (also translated into Latin), (already lost and probably forged by the author), attributed to a Muslim writing to Rome (*ilā madīna rūmiyya*). The pseudo-author addresses Christians in order to reveal to them the testimonies of the Mosaic Law concerning the prophet Muḥammad (p. 2–5): for example, he uses the prophecy of Isaiah (21:7) to interpret the rider on the donkey and the rider on the camel as Jesus and Muḥammad. Then, in each *antithesis*, he

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39   ACPF, CP vol. 1, fols 349ʳ–354ᵛ.'Rationes proponendae coram Sanctissimo et Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide ob quas necessarium est legi controversias fidei in Urbe'; ACPF, Lettere vol. 2, fols 10ʳ, 15ʳ⁻ᵛ; G. Pizzorusso, 'Tra cultura e missione', pp. 129–31; id., 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', pp. 65–6.

starts by quoting a verse from the Qur'an about Jesus or Christianity and a verse from the Bible, to create the contrast to be discussed.[40]

As always, the ambitions of the Congregation for the study of controversy were scaled down: orders limited themselves to providing the basic controversial tools for their missionaries. In 1646, for example, the Franciscans of San Pietro in Montorio, the main *studium* of Arabic in Rome, said that a thorough knowledge of controversy was unnecessary for the missionaries in the Levant and preferred to confine themselves to a few disputes on general topics. In the same document, the Franciscan fathers also point out that the students were already too busy because of their Arabic courses. From their point of view, it would be sufficient for the Arabic teacher to introduce the subjects of controversy twice a week during the Arabic classes.[41]

Experience of Former Missionaries and Diglossic Language

Finally the Roman officials determined two different objectives which these colleges should achieve: to provide the missionary with a basic knowledge of Arabic, a language which would be properly learned afterwards, as a living language, mainly in the Levant or in Malta, and to prepare the missionary to read Islamic texts under the supervision of the Roman masters, and to refute them. There were therefore two levels in these studies: the language of theologians studied in Italy, and the language of communication learnt on the spot. There thus arose the problem of teaching the missionaries 'vernacular' Arabic, the language used in the countries they would visit, a language that would be very different from the literary Arabic of the Qur'an. As would happen in the nineteenth century with the creation of a chair for 'vernacular' Arabic,[42] Eastern Christians were naturally invited to teach their native language, but it was not always a success. In 1722 four German priests who came to San Pietro in

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40   D. Germano da Silesia, *Antitheses fidei ventilabuntur in Conventu S. Petri Montis Aurei Fratrum Minorum S.P. Francisci Reformat.*, Rome, 1638; A. Kleinhans, *Historia Studii Linguae Arabicae*, pp. 75–87; G. Graf, GCAL, vol. 4, pp. 176–8; Z.R. Andollu, 'La Sagrada Congregación frente al Islam', pp. 715–16, 721; F. Richard, 'Le franciscain Dominicus Germanus de Silésie, grammairien et auteur d'apologie en persan', *Islamochristiana*, 10, 1984, pp. 91–107; Germán de Silesia, *Interpretatio Alcorani Litteralis, Parte 1: La traducción Latina; introducción y edición crítica*, ed. A. García Masegosa, Madrid, 2009; G. Pizzorusso, 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', pp. 66–7, 71.

41   ACPF, CP vol. 5, fol. 376ʳ; G. Pizzorusso, 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', p. 66.

42   A. Messaoudi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale 1780–1930*, Lyon, 2015, pp. 55–91.

Montorio with a great missionary fervour, were sickened by the extent of their professors' ignorance and their heretical teaching. In a letter to the *Propaganda*, they denounced the lector of Arabic, who apparently did not know Latin and had not studied enough Arabic grammar to teach the language. In that year the lector was Antonio da Gerusalemme, possibly a Melkite from Palestine, who probably knew the local dialect, his mother tongue, but had no knowledge of the grammar of classical Arabic or how to teach it to European students. Defending himself in a letter to the Congregation, he explained that foreigners ought to teach their own language, particularly in the case of native Arabic speakers.[43]

In the pontifical capital, professors and students could use Arabic textbooks published out of Rome, especially the grammar written by Thomas Erpenius first appeared in 1613 in Leiden unsurpassed until the nineteenth century. The book was even edited in Rome, by the *Collegio Urbano* of the congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* in 1829.[44] But Rome was probably the place in early modern Europe where most Arabic textbooks were published. Before the foundation of the *Propaganda*, there were editions and sometimes translations of early Arabic grammars. Inspired by Ingoli's policy, the polyglot press printed textbooks better suited to explain Arabic to prospective European missionaries according to the system of Latin grammars. There were also allusions to the grammar of Hebrew, considered to be the mother tongue, but far fewer than in textbooks written by Reformed authors.[45] Among these linguistic productions two former missionaries wrote textbooks of 'vernacular' Arabic: the Franciscan Domenico Germano published an introduction to the 'lingua volgare arabica'

43   ACPF, CP vol. 105, fols 141ʳ–151ᵛ; A. Kleinhans, *Historia Studii Linguae Arabicae*, pp. 104–05; A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIIIᵉ siècle', esp. p. 216.

44   T. Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica*, Leiden, 1613. On this grammar see R. Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)*, unpublished PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1988, pp. 187–212; A. Girard, 'Les manuels d'arabe en usage en France à la fin de l'Ancien Régime', in *Manuels d'arabe d'hier et d'aujourd'hui (France–Maghreb, XIXᵉ–XXIᵉ siècle)*, eds S. Larzul and A. Messaoudi, Paris, 2013, pp. 12–26, here pp. 16–19. On the Dutch context, see A. Hamilton, 'Arabic Studies in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Philologia arabica (arabische studien en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw)*, Anvers, 1986, pp. 94–113; A. Vrolijk, 'The Prince of Arabists and his many errors: Thomas Erpenius's image of Joseph Scaliger and the edition of the Proverbia Arabica (1614)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 73, 2010, pp. 297–325; A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, Leiden, 2014. On the use of this Erpenius's textbook in Rome, see ACPF, Miscellanee variee, vol. 14, fols 66ʳ–69ʳ.

45   J. Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 64–5; A. Girard, 'Les manuels d'arabe en usage en France'.

in Italian,[46] while in 1649, another Franciscan, Antonio dall'Aquila, former cus-
todian of the Franciscan convent in Aleppo, composed a short grammar for his
students of San Pietro in Montorio. Antonio argued that his work, developed
according to a new methodology, would offer an easy way to teach the 'vernacu-
lar' but also to provide 'the means to understand and explain any Arabic book'.
The work of Antonio dall'Aquila was the first to present a truly diglossic vision
of the forms of Arabic, one of which was called 'vulgaris', the other 'doctrina-
lis'. Like his predecessor Domenico Germano, he wanted to devise an easier
method of learning the language. In the 'address to the reader', the Franciscan
divided the students into four groups according to their need for one or other,
or for both, sorts of Arabic. The 'vernacular Arabic' was considered by these
authors as a spoken and written language. In order to explain the relationship
between the two forms of Arabic to their students, they also referred to the par-
allel between Latin and Italian. This 'vernacular Arabic' seems to be a hybrid
language, mixing up the characteristics of standard Arabic and specificities of
the Near Eastern dialects: a form of the language known as 'middle Arabic',
widely used in the Near East until the *Nahḍa* (Arabic awakening).[47]

Before publication, the *Propaganda* submitted Antonio dall'Aquila's text-
book to Brice de Rennes and Filippo Guadagnoli for doctrinal and linguistic
approval. After its publication in 1651, the French Capuchin Brice de Rennes

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46   D. Germano da Silesia, *Fabrica, overo Dittionario della lingua volgare arabica*, Rome, 1636
      and 1639.

47   ACPF, SOCG vol. 182, fols 72ʳ–79ᵛ; A. dall'Aquila, *Arabicae Linguae Novae et Methodicae
      Institutiones Non ad vulgaris dumtaxat Idiomatis; sed etiam ad grammaticae doctrinalis
      intelligentiam, per Annotationes in Capitum Appendicibus suffixas, accomodatae, Authore
      F. Anthonio ab Aquila Ord. Min. Sancti Francisci strict. Obser. Teologo, atque in Collegio
      Sancti Petri Montis Aurei à Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide Arabicae linguae
      deputato Lectore Opus Tum omnibus Arabicae Linguae studiosis, tum potissimum Apostoli-
      cis Viris, per Asiam, & Africam Fidem propagaturis, utile & necessarium*, Rome, 1650;
      A. Kleinhans, *Historia Studii Linguae Arabicae*, pp. 92–5; G. Graf, GCAL, vol. 4, p. 179;
      J. Lentin, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue arabe au Proche-Orient à l'époque moderne*,
      Lille, 1997; id., 'Middle Arabic', in *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*,
      Leiden, 2008, vol. 3, pp. 215–24; K. Versteegh, *The Arabic Language*, Edinburgh, 2001 (1st
      edn, 1997), pp. 114–29; P. Larcher, 'Diglossie arabisante et fuṣḥā vs ʿĀmmiyya arabes. Essai
      d'histoire parallèle', in *History of Linguistics 1999. Selected papers from the Eighth Interna-
      tional Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, 14–19 September 1999, Fontenay-
      St.Cloud*, ed. S. Auroux, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2003, pp. 47–61 (52–3); id., 'Al-luġa
      al-fuṣḥā: archéologie d'un concept "idéolinguistique"', *Revue des mondes musulmans et de
      la Méditerranée*, 124, 2008, pp. 263–78; B. Grévin, *Le parchemin des cieux: essai sur le
      Moyen Âge du langage*, Paris, 2012; A. Girard, 'Les manuels d'arabe en usage en France',
      pp. 23–5.

was outspoken in his criticisms, mercilessly denouncing grammatical mistakes and even mistakes in the transliteration of Arabic words, and asserting that the publication could put the Church in an embarrassing situation with regard to Protestants and Muslims. Guadagnoli said that he did not know vernacular Arabic and had to rely 'on those who are in the country or have visited it'. This daring approach did not meet with unanimous approval in the Roman Orientalist milieu. But Sansone Carnevale reported that, in his Congregation of apostolic missions in Naples, he had used this method and that the students were enthusiastic (which is not always a good sign).[48]

Inventing a Christian Arabic?

The missionary orientation and the clear links with controversy had another consequence for Arabic in early modern Rome since the language was Christianized. The Arabic grammatical tradition had taken as its linguistic criterion the Qur'an and archaic poetry.[49] Some Roman Arabists knew early grammars and used classical examples such as 'ḍaraba Zaydun'.[50] However, the authors of seventeenth-century textbooks of Arabic had a polemical attitude to the Qur'an[51] and preferred to give examples of Christian origin. In his *Fabrica*, Domenico Germano introduced some quotations from the Qur'an without any translations, so that the student would be unable to understand the meaning of the verse, but, immediately following it, he gave a translated example from an Arabic version of the Bible.[52] If Martellotto never quoted the sacred book, his audacious successor, Filippo Guadagnoli, used quotations from the

48 ACPF, SOCG vol. 182, fols. 2ʳ, 19ʳ–46ᵛ, 152ʳ–153ᵛ.; G. Pizzorusso, 'Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste', pp. 76–7.

49 See the essays by Alastair Hamilton and Jan Loop in this collection.

50 F. Martellotto, *Institutiones linguae arabicae, tribus Libris distributae, in quibus uberrime quaecumque ad Litteras, Dictiones, et Orationem attinent, explicantur*, Rome, 1620, p. 97.

51 On the prohibitions of reading the Qur'an, see A.Hamilton, 'The Study of Islam in early modern Europe', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 3, 2001, pp. 169–82; id. *The Forbidden Fruit: the Koran in the Early Modern Europe*, London, 2008.

52 For example, see D. Germano, *Fabrica overo Dittionario*, pp. 92–3 : 'E quelle dell'Alcorano, nel cap. Mensae medinae. جعل الله الكعبة البيت الحرام قيامًا للناس و الشهر الحرام و الهدىّ والقلايد. بسورة المايدة مدينة. L'Autor delle regole dell'ortografia dice, che qui il nome sostantivo doppo l'altro per special privilegio piglia la natura d'adiettivo, parla della Mecha. E quella del Salmo V. Virum sanguinum et dolosum abominatur Dominus. السافك الدما والغاش يرذله. الرجل الرب ''. The quote from the Qur'an is the verse 98 from surat 5.

Qur'an, which were also translated. But the Caracciolino exemplifies most of the grammatical rules with typically Christian sentences.[53]

This switch to Christian examples occurred in the 1620s and 1630s when, with Ingoli as its secretary, the Congregation *de Propaganda* insisted on the missionary orientation of Arabic teaching. In his *Institutiones*, Antonio dall'Aquila used the Christian names Buṭrus and Būlus (Peter and Paul) instead of traditional first names in Arabic grammars (Zayd and 'Amr). In Domenico Germano's *Fabrica*, the first reading exercises of Arabic were the sign of the cross, the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave Maria*, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the *Salve Regina* and the *Confiteor*, entirely vocalized, with interlinear transliteration and Latin translation.[54] These exercises were very common in Roman manuals. In his courses for the Collegio romano the Maronite Jesuit Peter Metoscita employed a language imbued with Catholicism. He gave some examples to illustrate the presentation of proper names: مُوسَا Mūsā, *Moyses*, عِيسَا 'Īsā, *Iosue*'. Regarding the way to form the masculine singular adjective from the substantive, he wrote: 'Ita ex يِسُوعٌ Iesu, fit يِسُوعِيٌّ iesuion, Iesuita. Et ex المَسِيح almasihhi, Christo fit المَسِيحِيُّ almasihhio Christianus, etc.'. He added quotations from the Gospel, and ended his textbook with Psalm 33 in Arabic, where he commented on every linguistic element to explain the form of the text.[55]

Besides the textbooks, the archives give information about learning methods which were quite similar in the different colleges. The organization of teaching by Tommaso da Novara at the college of San Pietro in Montorio aimed not only at teaching Arabic to missionaries, but also at training teachers who could then be sent to other institutions. The lector began to teach the students to read unvocalised Arabic versions of the *Psalter* and Bellarmin's *Doctrine* (the first part of the first year). Ever since the Middle Ages, the Arabic Psalms were a common text used for the teaching and learning of the language. There were two Roman editions: the first was prepared by the Maronite scholars Vittorio Scialac and Gabriel Sionite, and the second, printed in 1744, was by a Copt converted to Catholicism, Raffaele Tuhi. The Bellarmin catechism was also translated by the same two Maronites and printed in 1613. For the second

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53 F. Guadagnoli, *Breves arabicae linguae institutiones*, Rome, 1642; A. Girard, 'Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientaliste', pp. 287–8. See also Alastair Hamilton's article in this collection.

54 D. Germano, *Fabrica overo Dittionario*, pp. 9–23.

55 P. Metoscita, *Institutiones linguae arabicae, ex diversis Arabum monumentis collectae et ad quam maximam fieri potuit brevitatem atque ordinem revocatae, quibus addita est exercitatio grammatica in Psalmum XXXIV*, Rome, 1624, pp. 40–41, 43, 229–30.

part of the year, the students had to learn to read the Gospel in Arabic[56] and the lector taught the grammatical rules. At the end of the first year an exam assessed the pronunciation and the general level, and decided whether the student could pursue his studies or whether he had to return to his province. In the second year, the students were required to talk to one another in Arabic and, by the end of it, were expected to hold public disputations. Tommaso da Novara had also prepared bilingual abstracts of the texts to be submitted to the students. It seems that they never studied the original texts, but rather adapted versions prepared by the teacher, nor did they read the Qur'an directly. The fathers wanted to filter or control access to the sources of the aspiring missionaries.[57]

Lexicographical works too tried to distinguish a 'Christianized' Arabic language from a vocabulary which would sit hand in glove with Islam. For example, the Maronite scholar Abraham Ecchellensis, in his unpublished *Nomenclator arabico-latinus* (written between 1646 and 1651), wanted to safeguard the language and the culture of the Christian Arabs, describing the Arabic language without any reference to Islam. Islamic terminology was intentionally removed. Thus, under the root *qara'a*, the derivative *qur'ān* was only presented as a synonym of *qirā'a*, with the Latin translation of *Lectio*, but without any reference to the Qur'an. For *rasūl* (*apostolus*), or *nabī* (*propheta*), no allusion to Islam was made. In contrast, the lector could find the Arabic words of Christian feasts, the sacraments and dogmas (Trinity, incarnation etc.).[58]

It is also necessary to view these Orientalists in the context of Arabic studies in contemporary Rome. Some of them prepared an edition of the Arabic Bible. Marracci translated and refuted the Qur'an, and six experts worked on the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada'. In these three areas the Orientalists were forced to reflect on the relationship between language and religion. For the Lead Books, the experts concluded that the documents contained many

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56   Thanks to the Medicean typography, an Arabic version of the Gospel was printed in 1590 and in 1591 (with Latin translation). The whole Bible was also printed in Rome in 1671.

57   A. Kleinhans, *Historia Studii Linguae Arabicae*, p. 13; for the Carmelite seminar: ACPF, SOCG vol. 364, fols 3ᵛ–4ʳ.; Z.R. Andollu, 'La Sagrada Congregación frente al Islam', pp. 715–16. See also A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIIIᵉ siècle', pp. 224–33.

58   BnF, MS Arabe 4345: *Nomenclator arabico-latinus*; M. Moubarakah, 'Le "Nomenclator arabico-latinus" d'Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibrahim al-Haqilani) (BnF, MS Arabe 4345)', *Parole de l'Orient*, 22, 1997, pp. 419–39; A. Hamilton, 'Abraham Ecchellensis et son *Nomenclator arabico-latinus*', in *Orientalisme, sciences et controverse ...*, ed. B. Heyberger, pp. 89–98; B. Heyberger, 'L'Islam et les Arabes chez un érudit maronite au service de l'Église catholique (Abraham Ecchellensis)', *Al-Qantara*, 31.2, 2010, pp. 481–512, (500).

'Mahometan' terms, prompting Marracci's continued endeavours to separate a Christian Arabic from Islamic contamination:

> The Koran and other books of the Mahometans use these words and others of the same kind,: Arabic-speaking Christians never use them, or very rarely, and only for conversation and business dealings with Muslims: on the contrary, they avoid and curse them as profane and impious.[59]

The same fear was expressed by Marracci while he was working on the Arabic Bible.[60]

There were three reasons for this attempt to emphasise a 'Christianized' Arabic. First, Roman Orientalists underestimated the ancient and profound Arabization of the Middle Eastern Churches.[61] They had no knowledge of Arabic Christian literature and did not recognize its significance for the Eastern Churches, while the Syriac legacy was better known. Secondly, ever since the revival of missionary activities in the East, doubts, fears, and criticisms were expressed about the *accomodamento* and the translation of Christian doctrine into local languages.[62] Finally, for Roman Orientalists, Arabic had a controversial image: on the one hand, it was believed to be the language of an ancient and venerable version of the Bible, which was very interesting for philologists, but at the same time a battlefield of denominational conflicts. On the other hand it was the language of the Qur'an, the sacred book of the Muslims. However, the missionary concerns, of central importance in Rome, made the situation more complex: on the one hand the Arabic version of the Bible used by Eastern communities could be full of heresies, so a 'good' version had to be published in Rome, and on the other, the Qur'an, dangerous and forbidden, had to be known and refuted in order to convert Muslims.

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59   ACDF, SO, St. St., R6–a, fol. 1127ʳ; M. García-Arenal, 'The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada', *Arabica*, 56, 2009, pp. 495–528; B. Heyberger, 'L'Islam et les Arabes', p. 501.

60   ACPF, SC Stamperia vol. 1, fol. 225ᵛ.

61   S. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque. Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, Princeton, 2008; *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700, An Anthology of Sources*, eds S. Noble and A.Treiger, DeKalb, 2014.

62   G. Pizzorusso, 'I satelliti di Propaganda Fide', pp. 493–5; A. Girard, 'Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant', pp. 431–6.

Conclusion

The teaching of Arabic in Rome was shaped by the need to prepare missionaries to converse with Arabic-speaking Christians and Muslims in the Middle East. These language schools were situated in an Orientalist milieu: the presence of these institutions stimulated the production of books, including textbooks for the teaching of Arabic, which were printed by the polyglot press. Volumes of eastern manuscripts filled the specialized libraries of convents and colleges: missionaries contributed decisively to the collections of books and original manuscripts. Another characteristic of Roman intellectual life was the polycentrism of places of knowledge, and in our case, the multiplicity of schools. Each religious order – the Jesuits, but also reformed and conventual Franciscans and Carmelites – had its own language school, in addition to the academic chair at the *Sapienza*. This partial institutionalization of Arabic teaching contributed to the organization of the academic field of Orientalism as a discipline.[63] However, the difficulty in recruiting good teachers, the low level of pupils and the decline in the eighteenth century also shows its limitations.

The initial enthusiastic inspiration and the policy of Ingoli, secretary of the *Propaganda Fide*, contributed to the development of a network of schools and of a specifically Roman approach to the language, even if the teaching of Arabic was soon confronted with many problems. Students, teachers, and the Roman authorities wondered about the location of these schools: should they stay in Rome or should they be in Arabic-speaking countries? With regard to Arabic itself, the Roman Arabists, sometimes former missionaries, conceived a diglossic language 'vernacular' and 'doctrinal' and, with the support of Maronite scholars, an Arabic that was clearly distinguished from Islam. In the early seventeenth century this particular orientation of Arabic studies in the papal city contributed to making Rome the centre of an original production of printed textbooks which would be used and commented on in

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63   D.R. Kelley, 'Introduction', in *History and Disciplines. The Reclassification of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. D.R. Kelley, Rochester, 1997, p. 1: 'What may be regarded as marks of disciplinarity include a characteristic method, specialized terminology, a community of practitioners, a canon of authorities, an agenda of problems to be addressed, and perhaps more formal signs of a professional condition, such as journals, textbooks, courses of study, libraries, rituals, and social gatherings [...].'; D. Stolzenberg, 'Les "langues orientales" et les racines de l'orientalisme académique: une enquête préliminaire', in *Connaître l'Orient en Europe au XVIIe siècle*, ed. A. Girard, special issue of *XVIIe siècle*, 267, 2015, pp. 409–26.

Catholic Europe, especially Italy and France, until the end of the eighteenth century.[64]

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64   For the French case, see: *Manuels d'arabe*, eds Larzul and Messaoudi; *Silvestre de Sacy: le projet européen d'une science orientaliste*, eds M. Espagne et al., Paris, 2014; P. Ageron and M. Jaouhari, 'Le programme pédagogique d'un arabisant du Collège royal, François Pétis de La Croix (1653–1713)', *Arabica*, 61, 2014, pp. 396–453; A. Messaoudi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale*, pp. 23–54. See also: R. Jones, 'The Medici oriental press (Rome 1584–1614)'.

The Qur'an as Chrestomathy in Early Modern Europe*

Alastair Hamilton

One of the more mystifying aspects of the grammars of ancient and Oriental languages produced in the West during the Renaissance is how students were expected to proceed. They were obviously intended to memorise the tables and there seems to have been an assumption that to advance any further the help of a teacher was essential. But what about the chrestomathies, the texts frequently added to the grammars as linguistic exercises? In his study of early Greek grammars Paul Botley wrote that 'the language was approached through Greek texts that the pupils already knew by heart in their Latin translations: the Greek Scriptures and the liturgy.'[1] In the case of Arabic a similar approach seems to have been adopted, particularly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Lord's Prayer remained a favourite text, together with Arabic versions of the Psalms. Thanks to the manuscripts which Guillaume Postel had pawned with the Elector Palatine in Heidelberg, the German authors of early Arabic grammars who frequented the Palatine library – Jacob Christmann, Ruthger Spey and Peter Kirsten – could use the Arabic versions of the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles. Otherwise knowledge of Arabic literature was highly limited, and the most obvious text to choose, the one regarded as the perfect expression of the Arabic language, was the Qur'an.

Postel, who compiled the first proper grammar of classical Arabic to appear in the West, set a precedent.[2] His *Grammatica arabica*, published in about 1539,[3] gave as reading material, in Arabic and Latin, the Lord's Prayer and the

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* In writing this article I depended heavily on the help and advice of Jan Loop at the Warburg Institute, Arnoud Vrolijk at Leiden University Library, and Alasdair Watson at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

1 P. Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529. Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*, Philadelphia, 2010, p. 75.

2 [J.] R. Jones, 'Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)', unpublished PhD dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1988, pp. 149–53.

3 C. Fr de Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle, 1811, pp. 18–19, no. 38.

fātiḥa, the first sura of the Qur'an. To the *fātiḥa* he added his own translation[4] which is striking for the rendering of the Arabic *iyyāka*, often rendered as 'thee alone', as 'o vos omnes', 'oh ye all', and *ṣirāṭ*, 'path', as 'punctum', 'point'. Although these translations gave rise to a prolonged debate among scholars and cast doubt on Postel's competence as an Arabist,[5] his version was added by Theodor Bibliander to the medieval Latin translation of Robert of Ketton[6] and another

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4   G. Postel, *Grammatica Arabica*, Paris [c.1539], sig. E10ʳ: 'In nomine Dei misericordis, pii. Laus
    Deo, regi seculorum misericordi et pio. Regi diei iudicii: O vos omnes illi serviamus certe
    adiuvabimur. Dirige nos domine in punctum rectum, in punctum inquam illorum, in quos
    tibi complacitum est, sine ira adversus eos, et non errabimus.'

5   The debate can be said to have started in the eighteenth century with the publication of Jacob
    Christof Wilhem Hoste's *Dissertatio inauguralis de prima Alcorani sura*, Altdorf 1743, in which
    a detailed comparison was made between all the translations of the *fātiḥa* to date. It was re-
    vived in the early twentieth century when E. Nestle, 'Geschichtliches zur ersten Sure',
    Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 60, 1906, p. 246, pointed to Postel's
    mistranslations and wondered to what they were due. This drew a sharp reply by A. Fischer,
    'Miszellen', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 60, 1906, pp. 245–54,
    esp. pp. 249–50, who said that they were simply due to Postel's limited knowledge of Arabic
    which had already been observed by Scaliger. Three years later the debate was resumed by
    C.F. Seybold, 'Kleine Mitteilungen', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*,
    63, 1909, pp. 625–6, who suggested that *punctum* was a misprint of *pontem* and that Postel was
    referring to the bridge to hell stretching from the Temple of the Mount to the Garden of Olives
    over the valley of Jehosophat, over which all souls will have to pass on their way to the Last
    Judgement. J. Fück, 'Die Arabischen Studien in Europa vom 12. Bis in den Anfang des 19.
    Jahrhunderts', in *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft*, eds R. Hartmann
    and H. Scheel, Leipzig, 1944, pp. 85–253, esp. p. 125, agreed with Fischer that Postel's transla-
    tion 'zeigt, daß die arabischen Kentnisse Postels einer soliden Grundlage entbehrten.' In his
    De orbis terrae concordia libri quatuor, Basel, 1544, pp. 157–8, Postel repeats the translation
    punctum and translates *ayāk* as *heus* or 'hail', while in his *De la République des Turcs*, Poitiers,
    1560, pp. 50–51, he translates *ayāk* as 'O bons humains' and *al- ṣiraṭ al-mustaqīm* as 'le point
    ou certitude'. More recently, however, Postel has been reassessed as an Arabist by H. Bobzin,
    *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und
    Islamkunde in Europa*, Beirut, 1995, pp. 447–75. Bobzin argues (p. 451) that some Muslim in-
    terpreters explain *al- ṣiraṭ al-mustaqīm* as referring to the Qur'an. 'Von hier aus wird auch
    Postels Textauffassung erklärbar: durch die Gleichsetzung von صراط مستقيم mit قرآن wird den
    "Weg" auf den einen "Punkt" des Korans reduziert.'

6   *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina, ac ipse Alcoran ...*, ed.
    Th. Bibliander, Basel, 1543, p. 8: 'Misericordi pioque Deo, universitatis creatori, iudicium cuius
    postrema dies expectat, voto supplici nos humiliemus, adorantes ipsum: suaeque manus
    suffragium, semitaeque donum et dogma, quos nos ad se benevolos, nequaquam hostes et
    erroneos adduxit, iugiter sentiamus.'

anonymous rendering probably of Mozarabic origin[7] in the edition of the entire text of the Qur'an which appeared in Basel in 1543. Postel, like his successors in the early modern period, provided no more than a translation of the first sura in his grammar. He made no attempt to elucidate any linguistic problem or to explain to students how they should apply to it the knowledge they had acquired from the rest of his *Grammatica arabica.*

Other compilers of Arabic grammars and type specimens in the sixteenth century avoided the Qur'an as a linguistic exercise, preferring, as we saw, Biblical texts. Jacob Christmann, in his *Alphabetum arabicum* of 1582, chose the Lord's Prayer and the Epistle to the Philippians; in the following year Ruthger Spey preceded his *Compendium grammatices arabicae* with the Epistle to the Galatians, and added the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer; Franciscus Raphelengius gave the text of Psalm 50 (51) in the type specimen he published in 1595; Bartholomeus Radtmann used Psalm 146 (147) in his Arabic grammar of 1590; and Giovanni Battista Raimondi has the texts of the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, Psalms 112 (113) and 116 (117) and John 1:1–9 in his *Alphabetum arabicum* of 1592. But this approach changed with the author of the best Arabic grammar of his day which was to remain unsurpassed until the nineteenth century – Thomas Erpenius in Leiden. It was not, however, in his Arabic grammar, the *Grammatica arabica* which first appeared in 1613,[8] that he provided any chrestomathy, but in his edition of the twelfth sura, *Yūsuf*, the *Historia Iosephi Patriarchae*, published in 1617,[9] one of the first products of the new 'Oriental' press he had just set up in Leiden with his own Arabic types. Printed together with his *Alphabetum arabicum*, it was indeed intended for students of Arabic who had used his grammar.

Erpenius had long been interested in the Qur'an. We can follow this concern in his correspondence with Isaac Casaubon.[10] In 1610 he was still trying to procure a copy of the Arabic Qur'an and Casaubon generously decided to present him with one of his own. Casaubon also seems to have transmitted to

7   Ibid.: 'In nomine Dei misericordis, miseratoris. Gratias Deo domino universitatis misericordi, miseratori, iudicii. Te adoramus, in te confidimus: Mitte nos in viam rectam, viam eorum quos elegisti, non eorum quibus iratus es, nec infidelium.' See Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, p. 235; M. d'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen-âge', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge*, 22–3, 1947–1948, pp. 69–131, esp. p. 101.

8   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, *pp*. 28–9, no. 49; Jones, 'Learning Arabic', pp. 187–212.

9   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, pp. 30–31, no. 52.

10   For their friendship see A. Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: "Video longum esse iter"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72, 2009, pp. 143–68, esp. pp. 150–51, 158–9.

him the notes made by Adriaen Willemsz, the former student at Leiden who had joined him in Paris in 1602. These consisted of an index of suras and marginal notes giving variations with respect to another manuscript in the French royal library.[11] Erpenius became aware too of the importance of the *tafsīr*, the Islamic commentaries, and seems to have discovered one at the library of the Sorbonne in 1611.[12] His acquaintance with the Qur'an led him to dismiss out of hand Peter Kirsten, the Arabist and physician from Breslau. Kirsten had given his own translation of the *fātiḥa* in the type specimen he published in 1608,[13] but Erpenius claimed that he had not so much as read the entire text.[14] Despite his discovery in Paris, Erpenius's subsequent search for *tafsīr* proved vain, and his death in 1624 put paid to further plans to edit parts of the Qur'an.

In the *Historia Iosephi* Erpenius added to the Arabic an interlinear word by word Latin translation. In the margin he gave a more fluent and readable Latin rendering intended to explain the obscurities entailed by a literal version.[15] The bilingual text of the sura is then followed by Robert of Ketton's Latin translation. By far the largest part of the book is devoted to notes which clarify the

11   A. Hamilton and A. Vrolijk, 'Hadrianus Guilielmi Flessingensis. The Brief Career of the Arabist Adriaen Willemsz', *Oriens*, 39, 2011, pp. 1–15, esp. p. 5.

12   I. Casaubon, *Epistolae*, ed. T.J. van Almeloveen, Rotterdam, 1709, p. 661: 'Sed nihil est Alcoranus absque suo commentario, et libris سنه, qui continent acta, dicta et responsa Muhammedis [...] Commentariorum autem in Alcoranum pars quaedam etiam extat in Bibliotheca Sorbonica, ubi non singulae solum sententiae, sed et verba familiariter explicantur.'

13   P. Kirsten, *Tria Specimina characterum arabicorum*, Breslau, 1608, pp. 9–10: 'In nomine Dei misericordis miserantis. Laus ad Deum Dominum seculorum Misericordem miserantem. Regem diei Judicii. Eho serviamus, et eho adjuvabimur. Deduc nos viam rectam. Viam [sc. Illorum] quibus delectaris super eos. Sine, [sc. Illis quibus] irasceris, super eos, et non errantes.' But here the interjection 'eho', 'hail!', is a mistaken translation of 'ayāk'.

14   Ibid., p. 662: 'Petrus autem Kirstenius nuper reliquos duos Grammaticae suae libros evulgavit; qui quales sint, vis uno verbo dicam? Non merentur legi. O inscitiam homines et audaciam! Nec نص quidem conjugare scit, nec Alcoranum nunquam legit (quod certo scio) et tamen Grammaticam Arabicam audet edere [...] Quater hac aestate Alcoranum perlegi, singula accuratissime expendens; sed semper nova adhuc multa in Grammatica observatu digna occurrerunt [...]'

15   T. Erpenius, *Historia Josephi Patriarchae*, Leiden, 1617, sig. D1ᵛ.: 'Cum phrasis Arabica tantopere a Latina distet, ut de verbo ad verbum aut verti vix possit, aut si vertatur, adeo sit dura, et insolens, ut a linguae Arabicae imperitis intelligi plerumque nequeat: visum nobis fuit, interlineari versioni nostrae, aliam Latiniorem Paulo, et phrases Arabicas obscuriores explicantem in margine adijcere: quanquam nec ea apposite, ubique mihi licuit verba singula Arabica singulis Latinis, et aequipollentibus exprimere, ne plane absurda, et non cohaerens oratio videretur.'

grammatical forms. Erpenius ends the book with the *fātiḥa*. In addition to his own interlinear Latin translation[16] he gives Robert of Ketton's Latin version, then Postel's, and finally one he describes as 'closer' to his own but which in fact is the Mozarabic version added by Bibliander. Here too he adds notes explaining both grammatical points, for example that *maghḍūb* is the passive participle of *ghaḍiba*,[17] and the significance of the Arabic. The note to 'creaturarum', *'ālam*, is of particular interest since it raises the question of a Muslim belief in a plurality of worlds suggested by the plural *rabb al-'ālamīn*, sometimes translated as 'lord of the worlds'. Erpenius points out that it does not refer to worlds in the plural but to the creatures of which the world consists.[18]

Erpenius opens his explanatory notes with a brief essay on the Qur'an and the terms used – *qur'ān* itself, *sūra*, *āya*. The choice of sura 12 was a sensible one. It contains remarkably few obscurities. If we look at Ludovico Marracci's later translation and explanatory notes (to which we shall return) we see that his quotations from the *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī and al-Jalālain do not illustrate arcane linguistic points but simply expand the more or less obvious meaning of the passage in question. Erpenius limits himself almost entirely to pointing out grammatical constructions. These range from the simple indication of a broken plural, as in the case of *aḥādīth*, the plural of *ḥadīth*,[19] or a comparative (*akthar* as the comparative of *kathīr*),[20] to the indication of the form of the verb – the fourth form of *falaḥa*,[21] for example, or the tenth form of *'aṣama*[22] – to more complex constructions. He occasionally corrects the errors of his predecessors, noting that Postel was wrong in his translation of *iyyāka* in the *fātiḥa*[23] and that Franciscus Raphelengius, the compiler of the first Arabic-Latin dictionary to be published, mistakenly translated *'īr* as 'city' rather than

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16 Ibid., sig. S3ʳ.: 'In nomine Dei miseratoris misericordis. Laus Deo domino creaturarum. Miseratori misericordi, regi diei judicii. Te colimus et te invocamus. Dirige nos in viam rectam, viam eorum qui gratiosus es erga eos, sine ira adversus eos, et non errantium.'

17 Ibid., sig. S4ʳ.: 'Sumitur مغضوب pro مغضبه vel غضب, id est forma Participij Passivi pro Nomine Verbali, sicuti et alibi, regitque Casum sui Verbi غضب, et regitur a غير.'

18 Ibid., sig. S3ᵛ.: عالم est mundus, Universum a Deo creatum, Plurale autem sit, non ad significandam mundorum pluralitatem, sed entium creaturam, ex quibus mundus constat, diversitatem, itaque عالمون est entia creata omnia, creaturae omnes. quas lingua Hebraea vocat exercitus, itaque رب العالمين idem est quid יהוה צבאות dominus exercituum.'

19 Ibid., sig. M3ʳ.

20 Ibid., sig. O3ʳ.

21 Ibid., sig. O4ʳ.

22 Ibid., sig. R2ᵛ–3ʳ.

23 Ibid., sig. N4ᵛ.

as 'company' or 'band' (12:82).[24] In fact subsequent translators of the Qur'an have translated it as 'caravan'.

Even if Erpenius made no direct use of a *tafsīr* he does at one point refer to an 'ancient interpreter' in connection with 12:32[25] when the women of Potiphar's wife are so overcome by the beauty of Joseph that they cut themselves and bleed. This passage has been interpreted variously. According to one interpretation the bleeding was menstrual. This is what we find in Robert of Ketton.[26] Erpenius dismissed it as totally erroneous. According to the eighteenth-century English translator of the Qur'an George Sale (who also criticizes Erpenius) it was a peculiarity of 'the old Latin translators' who had misunderstood the Arabic *akbarnahu*, usually rendered as 'they exalted him'.[27] Some *tafsīr*, however, such as that of al-Ṭabarī,[28] which Robert of Ketton may well have known, give an ambivalent interpretation of the term.

Although the first edition of Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica* had no chrestomathy, it did contain a brief passage from the Qur'an (44:51–5) as an example of Arabic script.[29] In far later editions, the first of which appeared in 1636, long after Erpenius's death, a chrestomathy was added consisting of the fables of Luqmān which Erpenius had already edited independently, and some Arabic 'adages'. Each text was followed by explanatory notes elucidating the meaning and the grammar. In 1620, on the other hand, Erpenius published a revised version of his grammar, the *Rudimenta Linguae Arabicae*, to which he added, as a

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24   Ibid., sig. R3ʳ.

25   Ibid., sig. P2ʳ: 'locus ita clarus et perspicuus, ut satis mirari nequeam veteris interpretis lapsum, qui haec vertit *et menstruatae sunt*, cujus quidem significationis nullum prorsus apparet vestigium.'

26   *Alcoran*, ed. Bibliander, p. 77.

27   *The Koran, Commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, transl. G. Sale, London, 1734, p. 191: 'The old Latin translators have strangely mistaken the sense of the original word *acbarnaho*, which they render *menstruatae sunt*; and then rebuke Mohammed for the indecency, crying out demurely in the margin, *O foedum et obscaenum prophetam!* Erpenius thinks that there is not the least trace of such a meaning in the word; but he is mistaken: for the verb *cabara* in the fourth conjugation, which is here used, has that import, tho' the subjoining of the pronoun to it here (which possibly the Latin translators did not observe) absolutely overthrows that interpretation.'

28   Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āya al-Qurʾān*, Cairo, 1979, vol. 6, pp. 4528–9. For the knowledge of al-Ṭabarī among early Latin Qurʾan translators see T.E. Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560*, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 36–59.

29   T. Erpenius, *Grammatica Arabica*, Leiden, 1613, pp. 25–6.

linguistic exercise, sura 64 (*al-Taghābun*, 'mutual disillusion') in Arabic with an interlinear Latin translation.[30]

Sura 64 has the advantage of relative brevity – it is far shorter than the *Sūrat Yūsuf* – and presents few linguistic difficulties. Erpenius's commentary, as in the case of the *Sūrat Yūsuf*, is entirely grammatical, but here he not only analyses every single word in the sura, but he also gives the precise reference (page and line) to that part of his grammar which deals with the construction in question.

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While Erpenius's grammar was widely regarded as unrivalled in Protestant Europe, the Catholics south of the Alps had started to produce grammars of their own. Although the great missionary organization in Rome, the Propaganda Fide, would only be truly established by Pope Gregory xv in 1622, the religious orders had long needed tools with which to instruct their missionaries in eastern languages.[31] In the first half of the seventeenth century the most important of these were the work of Clerics Regular Minor, also known as the Caracciolini (or Adorno Fathers) – Francesco Martelotto and Filippo Guadagnoli.[32] Martelotto's *Institutiones linguae arabicae*, completed by Guadagnoli, was published posthumously in 1620,[33] and in 1642 there appeared Guadagnoli's *Breves Arabicae linguae institutiones*.[34] This was one of the very first studies of the Arabic language to include a long section on prosody.[35]

By the time he compiled his grammar Guadagnoli had acquired an immense reputation. Professor of Arabic and Syriac at the Collegio della Sapienza in Rome, he was an esteemed collaborator of the Propaganda Fide, and had for

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30   See Schnurrer, pp. 32–4, no. 55. The differences between the *Grammatica* and the *Rudimenta* are discussed in Jones, 'Learning Arabic', pp. 210–12.

31   See Aurélien Girard's article in this collection which emphasizes the general reluctance of Catholic Arabists to give examples from the Qur'an.

32   For the Orientalists in the Order see G. Pizzorusso, 'Filippo Guadagnoli, i Caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l'Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo', in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini): religione e cultura in età posttridentina*, eds I. Fosi and G. Pizzorusso, Casoria, 2010, pp. 245–78.

33   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, pp. 34–5, no. 56.

34   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, pp. 47–8, no. 72. The two grammars are analysed by Aurélien Girard, 'Des manuels de langue entre mission et erudition orientaliste au XVIIe siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des *Caracciolini*', in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori*, eds Fosi and Pizzorusso, pp. 279–95.

35   See Jan Loop's article in this collection.

years been working on the Arabic translation of the Bible which would finally appear in 1671. He was also appreciated as an anti-Islamic polemicist. His *Apologia pro christiana religione* was published by the Propaganda in 1631 and displayed a sound knowledge of the Qur'an, even if he was misguided by prejudice, ill-informed about Islam, and unreliable in his interpretations (but not in his translations) of the sacred text.[36]

While he drew for the vocabulary of Arabic poetry in his *Breves arabicae linguae institutiones* on the Arabic monolingual dictionary, the *Qāmūs* (which he borrowed from the Vatican library),[37] Guadagnoli derived the rules of Arabic prosody from the thirteenth-century *Qaṣīda al-Khazrajiyya* and a poem by the Egyptian scholar al-Damāmīnī Badraddīn (to whom he refers as Aladinus), who died in 1424.[38] Guadagnoli also quoted a number of passages from the Qur'an, in Arabic and with a Latin translation, as examples. His first is 77:1–4 to illustrate a line of seven syllables, and then 53:1–6 to exemplify the so-called *carmen emissum* which is not limited to one particular metre but mingles lines of different syllables.[39] A little further on he quotes 77:8–12 as an example of octosyllabic lines.[40] There follow the quotations of 78:39–40 as an example of the first type of *carmen coniunctum*; of 76:17–18 to exemplify lines of ten and eleven syllables, the penultimate syllable of which is long; and of 78:1–4 to illustrate lines of seven and nine syllables.[41] He also quotes 51:1–4 to illustrate repeated cadences and 55:1–7 as an example of quiescent consonants;[42] 74:1–7, and 52:1–6 for lines of three, four and five syllables;[43] and the same verses in sura 55 again as examples of mixed syllables. Still further on he quotes

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36   A. Trentini, 'Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli controversista e islamologo. Un'analisi dei suoi scritti apologetici contro l'Islam', in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori*, eds Fosi and Pizzorusso, pp. 297–314.

37   Girard, 'Des manuels de langue', pp. 289–90.

38   C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1949, pp. 32–3.

39   F. Guadagnoli, *Breves Arabicae linguae institutiones*, Rome, 1642, p. 292: 'Secunda species, quae dicitur المنسرح *Carmen emissum*, non constat ex una certa mensura, sed ex pluriuso collectis, prout solent Itali in iis quae vocant *Cantilenas*: seu *Madrigale*. Et modo Versus admittitur septem Syllabarum, modo undecim, modo duodecim, et ut profecto dici posit المنسرح *ad voluntatem emissum quoque:* ut constat per totum fere Alchoranum, Mahumetem Carmina protulisse, prout in buccam caderet [...]'

40   Ibid., p. 293: 'Tertia species quae dicitur الخفيف, constat secundum aliquos ex octo Syllabis, eiusque mensuram faciant فاعلاتن مستفعلن, prout sunt Carmina Alchorani سورة المرسلات.'

41   Ibid., p. 296.

42   Ibid., pp. 323–4.

43   Ibid., pp. 337–8

95:1–3 as an example of lines of seven and five syllables, and 78:40 to illustrate lines of seven and nine syllables.[44]

Guadagnoli's close acquaintance with the Qur'an points to the later translation of the entire text by his pupil and colleague Ludovico Marracci. Guadagnoli's short translations, however, have certain independent features. On occasion he supplies alternative translations of certain words. For 77:8–9 he gives 'quando stellae delebuntur, *seu* obscurabuntur. Et quando caelum scindetur, *seu* aperietur.'[45] Elsewhere what seems to be an attempt to translate into verse leads to slight mistranslations. 77:1 is usually taken to mean 'emissary winds, one after the other'. Guadagnoli, on the other hand, gives 'Per demissos crines, seu Nuncios probos' probably to rhyme with the following line 'et procellosos ventos'.[46]

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Like most German Arabists Matthias Wasmuth, professor of Oriental languages and theology at Kiel, was primarily a Hebraist, but, a former student of Jacobus Golius, Erpenius's successor at Leiden, he too published an Arabic grammar in Amsterdam in 1654.[47] He ended it with the *fātiḥa*, without any commentary, in Arabic with his own interlinear Latin translation followed by two of the Latin translations in Bibliander's edition, the one by Robert of Ketton and the Mozarabic one.[48] Then, in 1656, thirty years after Erpenius's death, Golius himself produced a new edition of Erpenius's grammar, *Arabicae linguae tyrocinium. Id est Thomae Erpenii grammatica arabica*, to which he appended a lengthy chrestomathy of his own.[49] In it Golius introduces Qur'anic texts with a brief essay on the history of the Qur'an, a definition of the terms (*sūra*, *āya*, etc), and speculations about the meanings of the mysterious letters at the beginning of so many of the suras. There follow sura 31, *Luqmān*, and

44   Ibid., pp. 339–40.

45   Ibid., p. 297.

46   Ibid., p. 292.

47   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 56, no. 80.

48   M. Wasmuth, *Grammatica arabica*, Amsterdam, 1654, p. 79. His translation runs: 'In Nomine DEI miseratoris misericordis. Laus Deo domino creaturarum. Miseratori misericordi, regi diei judicii. Te colimus et te invocamus. Dirige nos in viam rectam, viam eorum qui gratiosus es erga eos, alienorum ab ira contra eos, et non errantium.' He chose the translation 'lord of the created' rather than 'lord of the worlds'. 'Alienorum ab ira contra eos' makes little sense.

49   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, pp. 56–7, no. 81. For details see Jan Loop's article in this book.

sura 61, *al-Ṣaff*, 'the ranks'. The very last section of the chrestomathy is solely in Arabic and includes sura 32 of the Qur'an.

In contrast to Erpenius Golius had travelled and lived in the Arab world – first in Morocco and then in Syria – before settling in Leiden where he combined a professorship in mathematics with the professorship in Oriental languages.[50] As a result of his travels he had managed to create a network of contacts who would supply him with Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts.[51] He consequently had a large collection at his disposal, part of which was his private property and part of which went to the Leiden university library. These included a number of *tafsīr* which entailed an approach to the Qur'an very different from that of Erpenius. Quite apart from illustrating certain linguistic points, the *tafsīr* shed light on how the Qur'an was actually understood by Muslims.

Golius had at his disposal three of the main commentaries. He had bought al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*, dating from the thirteenth century, for the Leiden library.[52] The others, the *Kashshāf* of the twelfth-century Persian Mutazilite al-Zamakhsharī[53] and the fifteenth-century *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*,[54] were in his private collection. But he also owned a Persian commentary on the Qur'an by the sixteenth-century scholar from Khorasan Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī,[55] which he exploited thoroughly in his treatment of suras 31 and 61.[56] His procedure, however, was different in the two cases. In sura 31 he added to his Latin translation, in italics and in Latin, extracts from the Persian

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50   A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studes in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, Leiden and Boston, 2014, pp. 42–8; W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche Beofenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1931, pp. 119–83.

51   J. Schmidt, *The Joys of Philology. Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism (1500–1923). Volume 2: Orientalists, Travellers and Merchants in the Ottoman Empire, Political Relations between Europe and the Porte*, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 9–74.

52   LUL, MS Or. 83, Or. 120.

53   *Catalogus... librorum m.ss.quos... Jacobus Golius... collegit*, Leiden 1696, p. 13.

54   Bodl. Oxf., MS Marsh 429.

55   In fact he owned two, one by Wāʿiẓ Kashifī and the other by al-Isfarāʿīnī, both of which are now in the Bodl. Oxf., MS Marsh 210 and MS Marsh 168–9. Cf. *Catalogus*, p. 8.

56   *Grammatica Arabicae linguae tyrocinium. Id est Thomae Erpenii grammatica Arabica*, Leiden, 1656, p. 183: 'Praefatione hac defunctus (venia digresso detur) nunc eiusdem Corani promissum exhibebo, cum uberiore explicatione: quam fere κατά πόδα reddere visum fuit ex Persica paraphrasi, ad nos delata ex Mogolorum regno. Hanc quippe omnium, quas vidisse mihi contigit, maxime perspicuam judico, et praecipuorum interpretum medullam.'

commentary.[57] This was a novel technique. Johannes Zechendorff, headmaster of the Latin school in Zwickau, had already published the entire *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī to sura 61 in about 1647,[58] but it was presented as a *tafsīr* rather than as the Qur'anic text with quotations inserted from another source. Golius's Latin translation of *Luqmān* is printed opposite the Arabic, and the translation is framed by notes which contain references to al-Bayḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī. Sura 61, on the other hand, has, opposite the Arabic, a Latin translation which does not contain insertions and which is framed by notes referring to al-Jalālain (and to neither al- Bayḍāwī nor al-Zamakhsharī). It is followed by a Latin translation of the entire text of Kashifī's commentary.[59] The notes to sura 31 are both grammatical[60] and elucidatory.[61] In some cases Golius provides an equivalent in Hebrew or Aramaic. His references to the *tafsīr* are often the same as those of Marracci – in connection with the person of Luqmān (v.11), for example, where Marracci gives the full text of al-Zamakhsharī.[62]

Not only was Golius innovative in his manner of inserting quotations from *tafsīr* in the text of his translation, a procedure that would be adopted by Marracci. He was also one of the first western scholars to make use of Persian material. Franciscus Raphelengius had encountered the Judaeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch by Joseph ben Joseph Tavus when he was working on the Antwerp polyglot Bible in 1584. He subsequently drew up a Persian-Latin lexicon based on it. It was completed by Joseph Justus Scaliger in Leiden, where Raphelengius had been appointed professor of Hebrew. With the Persian transliterated in Hebrew characters, it remained in manuscript.[63] Also in Leiden, Louis de Dieu published the first Persian grammar in 1639. For his own Arabic dictionary, which appeared in 1653 and which, like Erpenius's grammar, remained unsurpassed until the nineteenth century, Golius used not only the main monolingual Arabic dictionaries but also Arabic-Turkish and Arabic-

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57   Bodl. Oxf., MS Marsh 210, fols 407ᵛ–412ʳ. For Wāʾiẓ Kashifī see Travis Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an. Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis*, Oxford and London, 2012, pp. 573–4.

58   J. Zechendorff, *Unius atque alterius suratae textus*, Zwickau, 1647.

59   Bodl. Oxf., MS Marsh 210, fols 544ᵛ–546ʳ.

60   *Grammatica Arabicae*, p. 185. To الكم in verse 1 we get: 'LHACIMI vel active, pro ALHACIMI, *judicantis*, quid fas et nefas sit; vel passiv. pro ALMOHCEMI, *certi*, aut *firmi* et *solidi*, ubi nihil desit. Beid. Hos.'

61   Ibid., p. 189. To لقمن in verse 11 he gives: '*Locmân* cognomento ALHACIM Sapiens celeberrimi in Oriente nominis est, in primis apud Muhammedicas gentes. De quo pro diversis doctorum sententiis multa narrant Zamachsjaru, Beidaveus et Persicus paraphrastes, alique.'

62   L. Marracci, trans., *Alcorani textus universus*, Padua, 1698, pp. 546–7.

63   J.T.P. de Bruijn, *De ontdekking van het Perzisch*, Leiden, 1990, pp. 5–10.

Persian lexicons.[64] Golius himself prepared the first serviceable Persian-Latin dictionary. It was published posthumously in London by Edmund Castell in 1669, as an appendix to Castell's own *Lexicon heptaglotton*. By using Persian material in his work on the Qur'an Golius also prepared the way for a plan cherished in the first years of the eighteenth century of producing a polyglot edition of the Qur'an in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Proposed by Andreas Acoluthus in Breslau, Georg Jacob Kehr in Leipzig,[65] and Antoine Galland in Paris,[66] it was never fulfilled.

Erpenius's grammars went through countless editions for the rest of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries, and these editions would include his chrestomathy. Occasionally, however, an editor might add something of his own. Leonard Chappelow, professor of Arabic at Cambridge,[67] produced a new version of the *Rudimenta* in 1730.[68] He included sura 64 together with Erpenius's Latin translation and his notes, but he followed the Arabic text of the sura with a transliteration of his own indicating the pronunciation. Above the transliterated words he gave the number of the section of the grammar where that particular word or grammatical form was discussed.

In 1771 Erpenius's *Grammatica Arabica* was reissued in a German translation, edited by Johann David Michaelis at the university of Göttingen, widely acclaimed as one of the greatest Orientalists in Germany. Michaelis added the chrestomathy which had been appended to the text by Albert Schultens, and this did not include the Qur'an. Nevertheless Michaelis expatiated on the Qur'an in his long preface, saying that he would always choose it as the best introduction to Arabic for beginners and, somewhat surprisingly, adding how

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64   Erpenius had already used the monolingual dictionaries and Arabic-Turkish ones when he prepared a corrective supplement to Franciscus Raphelengius's Arabic-Latin dictionary, first published together with Erpenius's own *Grammatica Arabica* in 1613. See A. Hamilton, '"Nam tirones sumus": Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* [Leiden 1613]', in *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (*ca.1520–1589*), ed. M. de Schepper and F. de Nave, Antwerpen, 1989 [= *De Gulden Passer*, 66–67, 1988–1989], pp. 557–89, esp. pp. 581–4.

65   A. Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans": Qur'an translations by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German Protestants', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 77, 2014, pp. 173–209, esp. pp. 178–80.

66   A. Bevilacqua, 'The Qur'an translations of Marracci and Sale', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 76, 2013, pp. 93–130, esp. p. 129.

67   A. Hamilton, 'Chappelow, Leonard', ODNB, 2004, vol. 11, pp. 80–81.

68   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 86, no. 98.

easy it was and that it was no more necessary to read it with the help of a *tafsīr* than to explain the New Testament from the writings of the Church Fathers.[69]

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Although Erpenius's grammars were unrivalled for so long, and although they were generally regarded as the standard texts for learning Arabic in Northern Europe, other Arabists continued to produce grammars, and these often included suras of the Qur'an in the chrestomathy. One example is the *Nucleus institutionum arabicarum enucleatus, variis linguae ornamentis atque praeceptis dialecti turcicae illustratus* published in Zeitz in 1695 and compiled by the twenty-three-year-old Johann David Schieferdecker.[70] Schieferdecker, from Weissenfels, had studied in Leipzig and had then lectured there in Oriental languages until he was summoned to the town of his birth in 1698 to teach at the local gymnasium. His work was an Arabic grammar, to which was appended a Turkish one. The Arabic grammar ends with a chrestomathy consisting of the *fātiḥa* followed by ten Arabic adages. While the adages are simply given in Arabic and in Latin translation, the *fātiḥa* is printed first in Arabic, then comes a Latin translation,[71] and finally we have a word by word grammatical analysis.[72]

Schieferdecker follows Erpenius's *Rudimenta* in providing the page in the grammar in which the various forms that appear in the sura are treated. But, although he added his Turkish grammar to his Arabic one, he treats Arabic as a language to be studied in conjunction with Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac. He endeavours to give the Hebrew, Aramaic or Syriac equivalent of all the words in the *fātiḥa*, thereby exemplifying a tendency typical of Arabic teachers at German universities where pride of place was invariably given to Hebrew stud-

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69   *Erpenii Arabische Grammatik, abgekürzt, vollständiger und leichter gemacht, von Johann David Michaelis nebst den Anfang einer Arabischen Chrestomathie, aus Schultens Anhang zur Erpenischen Grammatik*, Göttingen, 1771, pp. x–xiv. For Michaelis's attitude to the Qur'an and his contempt for *tafsīr* see Hamilton, "'To rescue the honour of the Germans'", pp. 201–02.

70   Schnurrer, p. 60, no. 86.

71   J.D. Schieferdecker, *Nucleus institutionum arabicarum enucleatus, variis linguae ornamentis atque praeceptis dialecti turcicae illustratus*, Zeitz, 1695, pp. 178–9: 'Laus Deo, domino creaturarum; miseratori misericordi; Regi diei judicii. Te, *o Deus*, colimus, et te adoramus. Dirige nos in viam rectam, viam *nempe* eorum, erga quos gratiosus es, erga quos non iratus es, et *in viam* non errantium.

72   Ibid., pp. 176–86.

ies. Arabic was treated as ancillary and its study suffered accordingly.[73] But there is one exception to Schiefermaker's painstaking and exclusively grammatical analysis: when he comes to the last two verses he recommends the French translation by André Du Ryer[74] which had first appeared in 1647 and had been treated somewhat dismissively by scholars.[75]

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Anybody who introduced a sample translation of the Qur'an into a chrestomathy after 1698 had to reckon with a landmark in the history of Qur'an translations, for it was in that year that the Italian Arabist Ludovico Marracci at last published his bilingual (Latin and Arabic) edition of the whole of the Qur'an in Padua.[76] A preliminary volume, the *Prodromus*, had already appeared, published in Rome by the Propaganda Fide, in 1691. There Marracci had displayed a wealth of sources with which no scholar in Northern Europe could possibly compete. Thanks largely to the missionaries and the Maronites, the various Roman libraries contained a variety of *tafsīr* to be found nowhere north of the Alps. For Protestant scholars, particularly Lutherans who had developed a somewhat proprietorial attitude to the translation of the Qur'an ever since Luther's involvement in the publication of the Latin translation in Basel in 1543,[77] Marracci's version was regarded on the one hand as by far the most reliable to date and one to which scholars could help themselves, and on the other as a challenge, stimulating scholars to do better.

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73 J. Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Lepzig, 1955, pp. 90–97; A. Ben-Tov, '*Studia orientalia* im Umfeld protestantischer Universitäten des Alten Reichs um 1700', *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit*, 16, 2012, pp. 92–118; Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans"', pp. 174–208.

74 Ibid., p. 186. Du Ryer's translation quoted by Schieferdecker runs: 'Conduy nous au droit chemin; au chemin de ceux que tu as gratifié, contre lesquels tu n'as pas esté courroucé.'

75 A. Hamilton and F. Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France*, London and Oxford, 2004, pp. 104–08.

76 Marracci's sources were listed and discussed by C.A. Nallino, 'Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell'opera di Ludovico Marracci sul Corano', in his *Raccolta di scritti e inediti*, 6 vols, Rome 1939–48, vol. 2, pp. 90–134. See now, however, R.F. Glei and R. Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work. The Evolution of his Latin Translation of the Qur'ān in the Light of his Newly Discovered Manuscripts, with an Edition and a Comparative Linguistic Analysis of Sura 18*, Wiesbaden, 2016.

77 Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans"', p. 180; id., 'A Lutheran translator for the Quran. A late seventeenth-century quest', in *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, eds A. Hamilton, M.H. van den Boogert and B. Westerweel, Leiden, 2005, pp. 197–221.

An example of the first case is the twenty-three-year-old Johann Gottfried Lakemacher, professor of Oriental languages at Helmstedt,[78] who, in 1718, issued his *Elementa linguae arabicae*,[79] a brief and superficial work which could in no way hope to compete with Erpenius even if it was given to students of Arabic at Halle together with the grammar by Johann Christian Clodius.[80] The chrestomathy at the end consists of the Arabic version of the first chapter of Genesis taken from the London Polyglot Bible and the second chapter of Matthew's Gospel. In each case the Arabic has an interlinear Latin transliteration followed by a Latin translation. There then comes sura 15 of the Qur'an, *al-Ḥijr*, with an interlinear Latin translation (but no transliteration). The grammar ends with a short grammatical analysis of Genesis 1, but not of any other of the texts. Lakemacher's translation of sura 15 is striking for the omission of the mysterious letters (aliph, lam, re) in the first verse. He jumps straight to the second and gives a translation which is almost identical to that of Marracci including Marracci's insertions of the *tafsīr* of al-Jalālain in the Latin text.

If Lakemacher used Marracci's version of the Qur'an as a convenient translation, Emo Lucius Vriemoet saw it as a challenge. Professor of Oriental languages at the university of Franeker, Vriemoet, from Emden, had been deeply influenced by Adriaen Reland and Frans Burman when he was studying at Utrecht, and he owed his reputation to his work on Jewish antiquity.[81] Although the majority of his writings are in the field of Hebrew studies, in 1733 he produced his own Arabic grammar, *Arabismus; Exhibens Grammaticam Arabicam Novam, et Monumenta quaedam Arabica, cum notis miscellaneis et glossario arabico-latino. In usum studiosae iuventutis, omniumque qui vel proprio Marte in hisce studiis se exercere cupiunt.*[82] The *monumenta* included a section from Pococke's edition of Abū l-Faraj, a Muslim confession of faith, a polemical tract the manuscript of which was in the Utrecht library, parts of the Old and New Testaments, a *maqāma* of al-Ḥarīrī, various poems, and five suras from the Qur'an – 32, 67, 86, 75 and 90. Suras 86 and 90 are solely in Arabic, while the others have a Latin translation on the opposite page. The chrestomathy ends with a detailed commentary of all the suras (including 86 and 90), but not of any of the other material.

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78   *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 17, pp. 528–9.

79   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 61, no. 89.

80   F.E. Boysen, *Eigene Lebensbeschreibung*, 2 vols, Quedlinburg, 1795, vol. 1, p. 122.

81   J. Nat, *De studie van de oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw*, Purmerend, 1929, pp. 112–13.

82   Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, pp. 69–70, no. 101.

In his notes Vriemoet exhibits a vast learning and a close acquaintance with rabbinic texts. All his quotations from the *tafsīr* of al-Jalālain are to be found in Marracci, and we can only conclude that he did not have a copy of the *tafsīr* of his own. He tries to argue with Marracci, but the only point on which he can be said to have won is the idea that the Muslims believed in a plurality of worlds. This, as we saw, had already been raised by Erpenius, who had pointed out that *al-ʿālamīn* referred to 'creatures' rather than to 'worlds'. Marracci, on the other hand, together with a number of earlier interpreters, assumed that the reference was to more than one world.[83] This was challenged at some length, but with no reference to Erpenius, by Reland in the second edition of his *De religione mohammedica*,[84] which Vriemoet duly cited.[85] Elsewhere, however, Vriemoet's criticisms are less felicitous. By and large his translation is close to that of Marracci and, like the later eighteenth-century German translators of the entire Qur'an, David Friedrich Megerlin and Friedrich Eberhard Boysen,[86] when he deviates from Marracci he does so at his peril. He claims, for example, that Marracci was wrong in translating *al-najm al-nāqib* (86:4) as *stella penetrans*, 'the penetrating star' rather than 'ardent or burning star'.[87] Marracci's translation would be accepted to this day. Similarly he criticizes Marracci for translating 86:11, *ʿalā rajʾihi la-qādirun*, as 'resurrecting the body' rather than as 'resurrecting the soul'.[88] Marracci, however, has again been proved right by later translators. And finally there is Vriemoet's translation of 32:20.[89] He translated the verse as 'At vero, qui probi sunt, habitaculum eorum erit ignis', that 'the good will go to hell', whereas the Arabic *alladhīna fasaqū* obviously means 'the wicked'.

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Together with Golius and Erpenius, Vriemoet was one of the few compilers of a chrestomathy which included learned notes to the Qur'anic texts chosen. The Qur'an, certainly, continued to be used by a number of authors of

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83   *Alcorani textus universus*, transl. Marracci, pp. 2–3.

84   A. Reland, *De religione mohammedica libri duo*, Utrecht, 1717, pp. 262–8.

85   E.L. Vriemoet, *Arabismus; Exhibens Grammaticam Arabicam Novam, et Monumenta quaedam Arabica, cum notis miscellaneis et glossario arabico-latino. In usum studiosae iuventutis, omniumque qui vel proprio Marte in hisce studiis se exercere cupiunt*, Franeker, 1733, pp. 176, 185.

86   Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans"', pp. 185–6, 200–02.

87   Vriemoet, *Arabismus*, p. 172.

88   Ibid., p. 173.

89   Ibid., p. 95.

chrestomathies, but usually without any commentary. In 1776 Johann Wilhelm Friedrich von Hezel, who was twenty-two years old and had just finished his studies at Jena, and who would end his career as professor of theology at Dorpat, published his *Erleichterte arabische Grammatik, nebst einer kurzen arabischen Chrestomathie*.[90] First published in Jena, it would be reissued posthumously in Leipzig in 1825, the year after Hezel's death, but without the glossary that had been added to the chrestomathy in the original edition. The chrestomathy contained verses 1 to 20 of the second sura of the Qur'an and the entire text of suras 57 and 114, but solely in Arabic, without any commentary or translation. In 1798 (year 6 of the French Republican Calendar), Jean-Joseph Marcel, who had followed Napoleon to Egypt, published in Alexandria his *Exercices de lecture d'arabe littéral, à l'usage de ceux qui commencent l'étude de cette langue*.[91] The work consists of five suras of the Qur'an, 1, 97, 109, 110 and 112. Each line of the Arabic has directly below it a transliteration, and below that a literal French translation. At the end of each sura there is a more fluent version of the translation. But there is no commentary.

The use of the Qur'an for linguistic exercises continued well beyond our period. In early modern Europe, however, it is of particular interest since it allows us to assess not only the degree of interest in the text, but also the various stages in translating it and the more general progress of Oriental studies. From a purely grammatical approach such as that of Erpenius, we see a marked advance with Golius, who drew on the *tafsīr* in order to add interpretations and who also introduced Persian material. Filippo Guadagnoli brings us into the world of Marracci – of the missionaries, the participants in the Arabic translation of the Bible, and the staff and consultants of the Propaganda Fide. By treating the Qur'an as poetry he foreshadowed developments in the eighteenth century and later.[92] The German grammars of the eighteenth century demonstrate both the overpowering influence of Marracci's translation of the Qur'an, which would last well into the nineteenth century, and the predominance of Hebrew studies in the German academies which would in fact inhibit progress in Arabic. By the late eighteenth century, however, as more and more versions of the entire text of the Qur'an appeared in the European vernaculars, chrestomathies ceased to play a significant part in the actual history of Qur'an translations

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90 Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 82, no. 116.

91 Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, p. 96, no. 140.

92 J. Loop, 'Divine Poetry? Early modern European Orientalists on the Beauty of the Koran', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 89, 2009, pp. 455–88; Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans"', pp. 189–91, 195–8, 204–09.

Arabic Poetry as Teaching Material in Early Modern Grammars and Textbooks*

Jan Loop

Excerpts of Christian texts and of the Qur'an were not the only texts with which the early modern students of Arabic could exercise the grammatical rules of the language. From the very beginning, Arabic poetry played an important role as a literary genre that was esteemed to be of central cultural importance to the Arabs and thus deserved a special place in the teaching and learning of their language. Hence, it was in textbooks and grammars that European scholars first printed specimens of Arabic poetry, together with accounts of the system of Arabic prosody. Usually these editions were equipped with detailed grammatical, syntactical, semantic and metrical comments, while questions of historical circumstances, of cultural functions and poetical traditions were only occasionally discussed. Based on an analysis of published textbooks and grammars, the following essay gives a survey of the first European encounters with Arabic poetry and it assesses its significance for the teaching and learning of Arabic.

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As with Arabic literature and culture in general, the seventeenth century also witnessed a new interest in Arabic poetry. We find a testimony to this new appreciation of the Arabic poetical heritage in Thomas Erpenius's famous *Oration on the Value of the Arabic Language*, held in Leiden in 1620:

> There are not in the rest of the world nor were there ever, as many poets as in Arabia alone. I am not lying, dear listeners. They number sixty poets

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of the first rank, who have several squadrons under them, and in whose writings there is such elegance of invention, as well as learning, care in composition, and sweetness in harmony and rhythm that anyone who reads or hears them is totally carried away by their charm. Thus it is not surprising that Leo Africanus and other authors say that Arabic poetry is such an incredible delight that there is nothing in other languages that can be compared to it. Shortly, dear listeners, you will be able to read the greatest of all poets the world has ever seen, whom they call al-Mutanabbī, as if to say, the Prophesier.[1]

The reference in this passage is to one of the several eloges to Arabic poetry in Leo Africanus' *Description of Africa*, most probably to his account at the very beginning of the work.[2] But it is with Erpenius that the topos that Arabic is the most beautiful language in the world and that the poetry written in it surpasses all the others in beauty, harmony and sublimity, found its way from the East to the West. The idea that Arabia is the place where the best poets the world has ever seen perform their art in the most beautiful of all languages is not only an argument of cultural pride; it also plays a pivotal role in the most central Islamic dogma of the inimitable beauty of the Qur'an.[3] For the dogma, in its classical form, argues that Muhammad, who was an illiterate, uneducated

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1   'Poetas non tot habet, aut habuit unquam reliquus orbis, quot sola Arabia. Non mentior, Auditores, numerant illi sexaginta Poetarum principes, qui sub se habent aliquot turmas: in quorum scriptis tanta est inventionis elegantia, atque eruditio, compositionis accuratio, harmoniae et Rhythmi suavitas, ut qui ea legit, auditve, dulcedine eorum totus abripiatur. Unde mirum non est, Leonem Africanum, aliosque Auctores dicere, Incredibilem esse poëseos Arabicae suavitatem, & tantam ut cum ea nihil in reliquis linguis comparari possit. Ego operam dabo, Auditores, ut re ipsa hoc edoceamini; & ut habeatis brevi Principem omnium Poëtarum quos unquam vidit mundus, quem *Mutenabbi*, illi vocant, ac si *Prophetantem* dicamus.' T. Erpenius, *Orationes tres de linguarum Ebraeae, atque Arabicae, dignitate*, Leiden, 1621, pp. 59–60. I follow Robert Jones' translation in 'Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the Value of the Arabic Language', *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 1, 1986, pp. 15–25 (19).

2   'They take great delight in poetrie, and will pen most excellent verses, their language being very pure and elegant. If any woorthie poet be found among them, he is accepted by their governours with great honour and liberalitie; neither would any man easily beleeue what wit and decensie is in their verses.' *Description of Africa*, trans. J. Pory (1600), ed. R. Browne, London, 1896, 158. This passage is also quoted by other European Orientalists, see below fn 65.

3   On this dogma and its significance see the book by N. Kermani, *God is Beautiful. The Aesthetic Experience of the Quran*, Cambridge, 2015. On its reception in the West, see my 'Divine Poetry? Early Modern European Orientalists on the Beauty of the Qur'an', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 89.4, 2009, pp. 455–88.

man, produced a Qur'an with which, the great Arabic scholar al-Ṭabarī said, 'he challenged a people at a time when they were acknowledged masters of the art of rhetoric, poetry and rhymed prose.' Muhammad told them, al-Ṭabarī continues, 'that they were incapable of bringing anything comparable to even a part of what he had brought, and indeed, they lacked the power to do this.'[4] The belief, in other words, that this illiterate and uneducated man, surrounded by the greatest masters of poetry, spoke a language that none of these poets was able to imitate and surpass, is the central proof of the divine origin of the Qur'an. It is seen as 'the counterpart to the raising of the dead and the curing of lepers and the blind.'[5] So, the exceptional beauty of Arabic poetry plays a most central role in Islamic theology and apology and Erpenius, in his oration on the Arabic language at the beginning of the seventeenth century, transmitted this notion to Europe.

The Qur'an's key role as a grammatical and linguistic norm of Arabic had been recognized by European scholars very early on. Excerpts from the Qur'an were thus considered essential texts for the student to acquire an adequate knowledge of the language and can be found in many of the Arabic chrestomathies published in early modern Europe.[6] In 1617, Thomas Erpenius himself edited two suras from the Qur'an – the *Sūrat Yūsuf* and *al-Fātiḥa* – for students of Arabic to practice what they had learned from his Arabic grammar.[7] In the shorter version of his grammar, the *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae* (1620), Erpenius advised his students to read repeatedly the text of the Qur'an and to assess it with the grammatical rules provided. To facilitate this praxis, he edited another excerpt from the Qur'an, sura 64 (*al-Taghābun*), together with a literal word-by-word translation into Latin and a grammatical analysis in the appendix of the book.

But for the study of the Arabic language and for an adequate understanding of its literature and culture, it was imperative for the student to also become acquainted with the genre in which the Arabs excelled all other nations; poetry. Hence, Erpenius was toying with the idea of editing the work of the most famous Arabic poet, Abū l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī.[8] His premature death four years after giving the lecture prevented him from

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4   *The Commentary on the Qur'ān by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī. Being an abridged translation of Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āya al-Qurʾān*, eds W.F. Madelung and A. Jones, trans. J. Cooper, vol. 1, Oxford, 1987, pp. 10–11.

5   Ibid., p. 10.

6   See Alastair Hamilton's article in this collection.

7   T. Erpenius, *Historia Josephi Patriarchae*, Leiden, 1617.

8   On al-Mutanabbī see A.J. Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbī. A Selection with Introduction, Translation and Notes*, Cambridge, 1967.

carrying out this project and it was not until 1765 that Europe saw the publication of a substantial number of verses by al-Mutanabbī in Johann Jacob Reiske's *Proben der Arabischen Dichtkunst in verliebten und traurigen Gedichten aus dem Motanabbi. Arabisch und Deutsch nebst Anmerkungen*, which were affectionately dedicated to his wife Ernestine Christine.[9] The edition was based on his transcription and the translation of al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān* from a Warner manuscript for which he tried in vain to find a publisher.[10]

Erpenius' project to provide students of Arabic with text material taken from the enormous funds of Arabic poetry was carried out by his most distinguished pupil, Jacobus Golius, who, in 1618, registered at the University of Leiden to study Arabic. After Erpenius's early death in 1624, Golius succeeded him in the chair of Arabic and from the very beginning of his career showed a particular interest in poetry. Golius's very first publication was at the same time the first instance of any work of Arabic poetry being put into print. The anonymously published book, which, apart from the title page, is printed entirely in Arabic types, without any Latin commentary or translation, appeared in 1629 on the Elzevier printing press in Leiden. Intended as a textbook, this publication seems to have been widely used for teaching purposes, for example by Golius's student Johann Fabricius in Rostock and by Edward Pococke in his early years as a professor of Arabic at Oxford.[11] The book offered a characteristic selection of fully vocalized texts for the *tyrones* to practice the grammatical rules of the Arabic language, a collection of Arabic proverbs, a *khuṭba* by Ibn Sina, a number of sentences from different poets –among them also verses by al-Mutanabbī –and a homily on the birth of Christ by Eliya III (Abū Ḥalīm Ilīyā al-Ḥadīthī), Catholicos of the Nestorian Church between 1176 and 1190.[12] The jewel of the book was a poem called *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* by a

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9   *Proben der Arabischen Dichtkunst in verliebten und traurigen Gedichten aus dem Motanabbi. Arabisch und Deutsch nebst Anmerkungen*, Leipzig, 1765. The occasion of the publication was the thirtieth birthday of his wife, Ernestine Christine, whom he had married the year before. The publication provoked a sarcastic review in the *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, 1765, pp. 465–71.

10   J.J. Reiske, *Von ihm selbst aufgesetzte Lebensbeschreibung*, Leipzig, 1783, p. 163. There are prints of a few verses by al-Mutanabbī in one of Erpenius's outstanding contributions to Oriental scholarship, his edition of al-Makīn's *Taʾrīkh al-Muslimīn*, the *Historia Saracenica*. Some additional verses by al-Mutanabbī were also published by Jacobus Golius.

11   See below.

12   Based on LUL, MS Or. 170; see J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2007, p. 74. This manuscript was also copied by Hottinger, see Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 2013, p. 150.

Persian-born poet known as al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī.[13] *The poem of the non-Arabs, rhyming in L* is a qasida in fifty-nine stanzas, each of them ending in the same letter, *-lam*. It is named after the famous *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab – The poem of the Arabs, rhyming in L* – attributed to the pre-Islamic poet al-Shanfarā, to which it has some superficial similarities. Al-Shanfarā's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab* is recognized as one of the greatest of all Arabic poems and a celebrated example of pre-Islamic *ṣuʿlūk* poetry.[14] In contrast to al-Shanfarā, al-Ṭughrāʾī seems to have been well integrated in the eleventh- and twelfth-century urban society in which he lived. Information about his biography and his personality circulated early in Europe thanks to an entry in Leo Africanus's *De viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes*, first published by Johann Heinrich Hottinger in his *Bibliothecarius Quadripartitus.*[15] Here, the European reader could learn about al-Ṭughrāʾī's alchemical work and his wealth.[16] Whether, however, al-Ṭughrāʾī was such an avaricious and embittered man as Leo Africanus makes us believe, is doubtful, but the poem on which al-Ṭughrāʾī's reputation rests, is indeed a bitter lamentation about the evil times in which he lives and his ill-treatment at the hands of his contemporaries. It was written in Baghdad in 1111–2 and became famous immediately for its beauty, depth and rich vocabulary and it led to the composition of a number of commentaries.[17] Although it was written by a twelfth-century civil servant, it retains the literary conventions of early Arabic poetry and abounds in 'heavy and rather Pharisaical moralizing'.[18] The sententious morality of the poem was certainly one of the reasons for the enormous popularity it held among European Orientalists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Golius's 1629-edition of the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* marks the beginning of a long series of publications of this poem, many of which are milestones in the history of Arabic philology and scholarship.[19] In 1661, based on the Arabic text

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13   *Hoc est Proverbia quaedam Alis, Imperatoris Muslimici, et Carmen Togra'ï, Poëtae doctiss., nec non Dissertatio quaedam Aben Sinae*, ed. J. Golius, Leiden, 1629.

14   On this genre of poems, composed by men who had become outcasts of their tribe, see A. Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry, vol. 1: Marāthī and Ṣuʿlūk Poems*, Oxford, 1992.

15   J.H. Hottinger, *Bibliothecarius Quadripartitus*, Zurich, 1664, pp. 265–7.

16   On his alchemic works see M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 229–31.

17   F. Rosenthal, 'Blurbs (taqrîz) from Fourteenth-Century Egypt', *Oriens*, 27/28, 1981, pp. 177–96 (179).

18   P.M. Holt, *Arabic Studies in Seventeenth-Century England, with Special Reference to the Life and World of Edward Pococke*. B.Phil thesis, Oxford, 1952 (MS. M.Litt. c.15), p. 65.

19   In 1707 the Danish Orientalist Matthias Anchersen re-edited the Arabic text of the poem with Golius's Latin translation, which had been provided by his friend Adriaen Reland. Cf.

of Golius's edition,[20] Edward Pococke published his commented bilingual Arabic–Latin edition, together with a groundbreaking essay, *De Prosodia Arabica*, by his student Samuel Clarke.[21] Johann Jacob Reiske's edition – *Thograi's sogenanntes lammisches Gedichte* – was prefaced by an interesting *Short Sketch of Arabic Poetry* (*Ein kurtzer Entwurff der Arabischen Dichterey*), in which Reiske proposed to apply the principles, which Robert Lowth had developed in his lectures on the *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, to Arabic poetry.[22] Reiske's *Sketch* was too short and his interest in Arabic poetry not great enough to embark on this enormous task. It was left to the young William Jones to follow this advice twenty years later in his *Poeseos Asiaticae commentariorum libri sex*, which appeared in London in 1774. Not only did the entire appearance of this book, its title and the title page closely follow Robert Lowth, but so did its composition and the Latin terminology. Above all, it was Robert Lowth's discovery of an energetic 'language of passion' as characteristic of poetry in general which was decisive for William Jones's own concept of poetry and his appreciation of the Eastern taste.[23]

In 1758, two years after Reiske's German translation of the text, Leonard Chapelow presented a free translation of the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* into English

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Poema Tograi, cum Versione Latina, Jacobi Golii, hactenus inedita. Quam ex msto *Goliano praefatione, & notis quibusdam auctam edidit Matthias Anchersen*, Utrecht, 1707, pp. A4ᵛ–Bʳ. Another Latin-Arabic edition, based on Golius's translation, was published by Henrik van der Sloot, Franeker, 1769. Another German translation appeared as 'Eine arabische Elegie' in the journal *Neuer Teutscher Merkur*, 1, 1800, pp. 8–18. This free translation in distichs was apparently produced by the poet and translator Karl Ludwig von Knebel, cf. Anke Bosse, *Meine Schatzkammer füllt sich täglich*, Göttingen, 1999, p. 505.

20 See A. Vrolijk, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, Leiden et al., 2014, p. 46.

21 Pococke's translation was reprinted by J.F. Hirt in his *Anthologia Arabica complexum variorum textuum Arabicorum selectorum, partim ineditorum, sistens. Adiectae sunt versio Latina et adnotationes*, Jena, 1774, pp. 119–74 and partly in his *Institutiones arabicae linguae*, Jena, 1770.

22 *Thograi's sogenanntes Lammisches Gedichte aus dem Arabischen übersetzt nebst einem kurtzen Entwurff der Arabischen Dichterey*, Friedrichstadt, 1756. This publication is very rare; we know that only one hundred copies were printed.

23 See my 'Language of Paradise: Protestant Oriental Scholarship and the Discovery of Arabic Poetry', in *Faith and History: Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds N. Hardy and D. Levitin, forthcoming in the Proceedings of the British Academy series.

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based on Pococke's Latin translation rather than the original Arabic.[24] He chose the title *The Traveller* and he tried to render the metrical structure and quality of the poem (*bāsiṭ*) by using the iambic metre. He did not, however, attempt to imitate the characteristic rhyme scheme. Before that, in 1660, the French physician and Orientalist Pierre Vattier had already rendered Golius's entire 1629 edition into French, including *L'Elegie du Tograï.*[25] What is notable about this publication is the fact that it contained the first vernacular treatise on Arabic metrics, a thirty-five page long *Traité de la prosodie Arabique*. Whereas the translation of al-Ṭughrā'ī's poem was entirely based on Golius's edition, Pierre Vattier's treatise on Arabic prosody was merely a summary of Filipo Guadagnoli's *De arte metrica*. Guadagnoli inserted this treatise of the classical Arabic system of metrics into his Arabic grammar, the *Breves arabicae linguae institutiones*.[26] This was done in a remarkable manner, for he presented this classical theory with the help of a famous Arabic didactic poem, the so-called *Qaṣīda al-Khazrajiyya*.[27] Guadagnoli printed the verses of the poem, trans- lated them, commented on them in detail and inserted numerous examples of Arabic poetry in order to illustrate the complicated system of Arabic prosody.[28] He also included Arabic – Latin versions of a number of poems ascribed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, some of which reappeared a century later in the work of a Dutch scholar, Gerardus Kuyper.[29] Whether Guadagnoli's students and his readers were in fact able to make good use of his chapter on metrics remains doubt- ful. Although his translation of the *Qaṣīda al-Khazrajiyya* was accompanied by illustrative examples and additional comments from al-Damāmīnī's com- mentary and from Fīrūzābādī's *Qāmūs al-muḥiṭ* (a work on which Guadagnoli relied heavily in composing his grammar),[30] much of its content remained

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24   L. Chappelow, *The Traveller: an Arabic Poem, intitled Togral, written by Abu-Ismael; trans- lated into Latin, ... with notes in 1661, by E. Pocock ... Now rendered into English in the same iambic measure as the original; with some additional notes*, ... Cambridge, 1758. See P.M. Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, London, 1973, p. 17.

25   P. Vattier, *L'Elegie du Tograi, avec quelques sentences tirées des Poëtes Arabes, l'Hymne d'Avicenne, & les Proverbes du Chalife Gali.* Le tout nouvellement traduit de l'Arabe, Paris, 1660.

26   F. Guadagnoli, *Breves Arabicae linguae institutiones*, Rome, 1642, p. 283.

27   The extracts are all identified and critically assessed by R. Basset, *Le Khazradjyah*, Algiers, 1902, passim; on al-Damāmīnī, see p. ix.

28   Guadagnoli left out verses 52–79, which deal with 15 metres from *ṭawīl* to *mutaqārib*. He also did not print the last verses 95–6.

29   Gerardus Kuypers, *Ali Ben Abi Taleb Carmina*, Leiden, 1645.

30   In the 1632 edition by A. Giggeius, *Kanzu al-lughati al-ʿarabiyyati sive Thesaurus lin- guae arabicae*, Milan, 1632. See also A. Girard, 'Des manuels de langue entre mission

obscure, even for Guadagnoli himself, who repeatedly expressed his lack of understanding of certain passages.[31] Still, his introduction to the system of Arabic metrics was widely read; in addition to Pierre Vattier's French translation it found its way into another Italian grammar, the *Flores grammaticales Arabici idiomatis* by Agapito à Valle Flemmarum, published in Padua in 1687.[32] It was not, however, the first account of Arabic prosody to be printed in early modern Europe, as is often assumed.[33] Guadagnoli was preceded by a German pioneer of Arabic studies, Johann Fabricius of Danzig.[34]

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Johann Fabricius was a curious man whose life and work bring us back to Jacobus Golius. He was one of the many young German students who left their devastated country during the Thirty Years' War to study Arabic with Golius in Leiden.[35] In 1635 Fabricius eventually returned to Germany and started giving private Arabic lessons in Rostock. However, he seems not to have been able to find an appointment in Rostock and finally returned to his hometown Danzig, where he acted as a pastor and scholar and where he died in 1653.

Fabricius's stay in Rostock was short, but he still left a mark there, primarily by instigating the printing house of Johann Richel to equip itself with Arabic types made in Copenhagen after the model of the Erpenius types. The scholars of Rostock celebrated this acquisition with a number of poems and congratu-

et érudition orientaliste au XVIIᵉ siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des *Caracciolini*' in *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori* (*Caracciolini*)*: religione e cultura in età postridentina*, special issue *Studi medievali e moderni*, eds I. Fosi and G. Pizzorusso, 14–1, 2010, pp. 279–96 (289).

31   See, for example, his comments on the obscurity of the passage on p. 300 and his explicit struggles in understanding it. See also Basset, *La Khazradjyah*, p. viii.

32   See Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, no. 85, pp. 59–60.

33   See for instance D. Frolov, *Classical Arabic Verse. History and Theory of ʿArūd*, Leiden, 2000.

34   I am omitting the treatise on the metrics of Arabic poetry (*De arte metrica*) by Leo Africanus as it seems only to have existed in manuscript form and was known only to a very small circle of scholars. See the edition by A. Codazzi, who discovered the manuscript in her 'Il trattato dell'arte metrica de Giovanni Leone Africano', in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, vol. I, Rome, 1956, pp. 180–98.

35   For a short outline of Fabricius' life and work see Ephraim Praetorius, *Athenae Gedanenses ...* Leipzig, 1708, pp. 96–7.

latory publications.[36] It was with Avicenna's *Qaṣīda al-nafsīya* or *al-ʿaynīya*, the *Ode on the Human Soul* that the printer Johannes Richelius inaugurated the new Arabic types on 16 October 1636.[37] This is the very first publication of a popular poem, which has sparked many commentaries and which figured in a number of anthologies in Arabic textbooks of the Ottoman period.[38]

A few months later, on 14 February 1637, Fabricius had another specimen printed with the Richelius types. It was the Arabic text of a poem taken from the *Dīwān* of the mystic Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, on the occasion of Johannes Raue's appointment as professor of Rhetoric in Rostock.[39] The distich by Manṣūr is followed by a longer poem of twelve verses which are of different form and metre and end in –al (while Manṣūr's verses end in –āl).[40] Also in content, the two poems are completely unconnected. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj describes the mystical union of two spirits, whereas the second part laments the destruction brought by war and praises God as a source of salvation.

I was not able to discover where Fabricius had taken these poems from. al-Ḥallāj's poem seems not to have been copied from the *Historia Saracenica* where it was first printed and translated by Erpenius. There, in the context of the reign of al-Muqtadir, al-Makīn mentions the execution of Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj and added a number of verses from his *Dīwān*, among them this beautiful distich.[41] The variants to Fabricius' edition, however, suggest that he was in possession of a copy of his own.

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36   *Typographia Arabica Nova, de qua M. Johanni Fabricio Dantis... Et Richeliis haeredibus ... gratulati olim sunt ... Professores, Doctores, Magistri, et Amici Carminibus, jam demum publicae luci expositis a Johanne Klein.* Typis Viduae Georgii Rhetii, 1652. Unfortunately, I have not yet seen the collection of poems from Fabricius's colleagues, which seems to have only survived in a copy at the University Library, Gdansk.

37   The British Library preserves a copy of this rare specimen, under the shelfmark 837 h.15, 632*.

38   D. de Smet, 'Avicenne et l'ismaélisme post-fatimide selon la *risāla al-mufīda fī īḍāḥ mulġaz al-qaṣīda* de ʿAlī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd' in *Avicenna and his Heritage. Acts of the International Colloquium*, eds J. Janssens and D. de Smet, Leuven, 2002, pp. 1–20. For an English translation see A.J. Arberry, *Avicenna on Theology*, London, 1951, pp 77–8.

39   This rare print too can be found at the British Library, shelfmark 837 h.15, 6. The poem is printed and translated in L. Massignon, *Le Dîwân d'Al-Hallâj*, Paris, 1955, M. N° 47, pp. 81–82. Apart from Massignon's pioneering work on al-Ḥallāj, see also A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, 1975, pp. 62–77 and H.W. Mason, *Al-Hallaj*, Richmond Surry, 1995.

40   I would like to thank Professor Carl W. Ernst (Chapel Hill) for his help in translating and interpreting this curious poem edited by Fabricius.

41   *Historia Saracenica* (Lat. Arab. ed.), Leiden, 1625, p. 188–9. The poems are printed and translated in Massignon, *Le Dîwân d'Al-Hallâj*, M. N° 47, pp. 81–2, M.N. 5, pp. 40–41.

Apart from these occasional publications, the most important work to be printed with the Richelius-types is Fabricius's own *Specimen arabicum*, which 'exhibits', as the subtitle has it, 'Arabic works, some in Prose and some in Verse'.[42] Although the book is a fascinating testimony to the spread of the interest in the language and culture of the Arabs deep into the provinces of Protestant Germany in the mid-seventeenth century, it has not yet attracted any attention from students of the history of Oriental studies.

Fabricius had received most of the information provided in this book during his studies with Golius,[43] and its content and structure can give valuable insight into the teaching of this influential patron of Arabic studies. This publication too was a textbook, and its primary aim, Fabricius declares, was to facilitate and propagate the learning of Arabic in Germany. The anthology was intended to complement the sparse text material available in the mid-seventeenth century.[44]

The first text in it was taken from a 'celebrated monument of Arabic *belles-lettres*',[45] the first of al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāmāt* (1054–1122).[46] With this classical text, Fabricius's students were introduced to the Arabic 'stylus rythmicus', the rhymed and rhythmic prose, *saj*', which arguably found its finest expression in al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāmāt*. The text was also meant to provide the student with a model to follow in the composition of his own Arabic prose texts – a 'most accurate standard, straight as a rule' following which the students could compose their own orations, sermons, dissertations, and historical accounts or assess the style and the diction of others.[47]

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42   J. Fabricius, *Specimen arabicum quo exhibentur aliquot scripta arabica partim in prosa, partim ligata oratione composita*, Rostock, 1638. There is not much information available about the life and work of Fabricius (see fn 35). Some information is also given in the biography of one of his students in Danzig, Andreas Tscherning by H.H. Borcherdt, *Andreas Tscherning. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, München and Leipzig, 1912.

43   See his grateful acknowledgment in the *Praefatio ad Lectorem*, sig., 4ʳ.

44   See also F. de Nave, *Philologia Arabica. Arabische Studiën en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16e en 17de eeuw*, Antwerp, 1986, 218–19.

45   G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning. The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford, 1996, p. 215.

46   J. Hämeen-Antilla, *Maqāma, a History of a Genre*, Wiesbaden, 2002.

47   '[V]olui hanc elegantem Dissertationem publici juris facere, ut haberent Studiosi Linguarum exactissimam quasi amussim et normam, secundum quam et Orationes suas, Sermones, Dissertationes, Historias, etc. elegantissime conscribere, et ubi in alios Scriptores inciderint, de illorum stylo et dictione facile judicare poterunt.' Fabricius, *Specimen*, p. 167.

The second text was a qasida taken from the *dīwān* of early poems by the Syrian poet Abu'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (973–1057), which are collected under the title *Saqṭ al-zand* ('*The Spark of the Fire Stick*') and which show the influence of al-Mutanabbī. They are more conventional than the later poems collected under the title *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* ('*The Necessity of what is not Necessary*'), or the *Luzūmiyyāt*. These poems are unique in the history of Arabic poetry from the point of view of both content and form following an unusual rhyme scheme which uses two rhyme consonants instead of one. They were also remarkable for arranging each of the 113 chapters according to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's system of Arabic metres, covering almost all the metres established by al-Khalīl in the eighth century.[48] A splendid manuscript of these poems, 'which, from the contradictions of the intelligible things deals with the vanity of the world and its contempt',[49] had been acquired by Jacobus Golius and is still preserved at the Leiden University library. As we will see below, Golius published a 'Gnomologicum' from this collection.[50]

There are a number of manuscripts in the earliest Leiden collection of the third poem in Fabricius's *Specimen*. This is another example of the genre of poems rhyming in *lām* and is attributed to the famous Egyptian Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (1181–1235). However, it is doubtful whether this love poem is authentic, as it belongs to the second part of Ibn al-Fāriḍs *Dīwān*, which had been added by his grandson ʿAlī a century after the poet's death. The authenticity of the poems of the second part was first questioned by Arthur John Arberry, because they do not exist in the oldest manuscripts of the *Dīwān* and their style and content is often inferior to the first part of it.[51]

Fabricius printed all three poems verse by verse, with a literal, interlinear translation into Latin. Despite the obvious syntactic and stylistic shortcomings, which are repeatedly acknowledged by the authors, this form of literal parallel translation was common practice in Arabic textbooks before the appearance of

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48   Cf. Y. Friedmann, 'Literary and Cultural Aspects of the *Luzūmiyyāt*', in *Studia Orientalia Memoriae D.H. Baneth Dedicata* [editorial board, J. Blau et al.], Jerusalem, 1979, pp 347–65

49   '[E] contrario de intellectualibus rebus, et de vanitate mundi ac contemptu tractat', J. Golius, *Arabicae linguae tyrocinium, id est Thomae Erpenii grammatica arabica …*, Leiden, 1656, p. 227.

50   LUL, MS Or. 100, cf. S.M. Stern, 'Some Noteworthy Manuscripts of the Poems of Abu l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī', *Oriens*, 7, 1954, pp. 322–47, (339–44).

51   Cf. A.J. Arberry, *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, London, 1952. See for a recent assessment G. Scattolin, *The Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Readings of its Text Throughout History*, Cairo, 2004, particularly p. 14. Our poem is printed in this edition on page 230 (Arabic counting).

Golius's Arabic – Latin lexicon in 1653.[52] For the same reason, the text material in these early textbooks is usually heavily annotated, with lexicographical and grammatical comments to almost every single word. In Fabricius's book we also find an alphabetically ordered index of Latin verbs, nouns and particles, which would refer to one of the lexicographical commentaries to Arabic words and which could thus be used as a Latin-Arabic dictionary.

The grammatical and lexicographical annotations frequently also contain translations of certain words and sayings into German and a number of learned comments on cultural and religious phenomena. In a note to the noun *al-jamʿ* ('congregatio), Fabricius not only provides the root of the word and some derivations but also inserts a detailed disquisition on the form and practice of the Friday prayers (*jumʿa*).[53] The annotation to the term *ṣaḥfa – ṣiḥāfa* ('patina', 'scutella', 'paropsis') and its derivation *ṣaḥīfa* give rise to a short essay on Arab paper, its production from the cotton of the gossypium, rather than from skin or linen as in Europe – hence its name 'charta gossypina' – and on Arab scribes, the reasons for the prohibition of printing, on the legendary collections of Oriental libraries – about which he had heard Golius talking many times – and the Muslim veneration for inscribed paper.[54] There is a remarkable commentary on the Islamic prohibition of drinking wine,[55] on chess,[56] on the city of Basra, and on the use of camels in the Arab and Turkish world, in which Fabricius discusses the virtues and qualities of this animal and wonders why it has not yet been introduced into Germany.[57]

What makes the book a particularly valuable contribution to the history of Arabic scholarship is not only its edition and translation of poems from three classical Arabic authors but also its two pioneering essays on the nature and merits of Arabic oratory and of Arabic poetry.[58]

The first essay, *Judicium de soluto dicendi genere arabum proprio* (*On the genre of the prose style of speech proper to the Arabs*)[59] deals with Arabic prose

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52   See for example in Erpenius's *Historia Josephi Patriarchae*, sig. D1ᵛ.

53   This disquisition later is taken up by Hottinger in his *Historia Orientalis* and heavily criticised by Echellensis for some linguistic inadequacies. See my 'Johann Heinrich Hottinger and the "Historia Orientalis"', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 88.2, 2008, pp. 169–203 (170–1).

54   Fabricius, *Specimen*, pp. 43–4.

55   Fabricius, *Specimen*, pp. 61–3. Fabricius contrasts the Arabs' abstinence with European habits of binge drinking and its dangerous consequences for society and health.

56   Fabricius, *Specimen*, pp. 143–4.

57   Fabricius, *Specimen*, p. 76.

58   A short assessment of these essays is already provided in my 'Divine poetry?', pp. 466–7.

59   Fabricius, *Specimen*, pp. 161–9.

and rhetorical writing. In the first part the essay is a rehabilitation of the Arabs'
frequent use of figurative speech with reference to classical rethorical theories.
Although they like to adorn their speeches with metaphors, hyperboles and
different figures of speech, 'they do not stop being good orators'. For, Fabricius
argues with reference to classical examples and rhetorical theories, there is
not just one simple nature of orators; one might flow and overflow, whereas
another one tries to speak briefly and concisely; a fine, dry and sober one likes
a certain simplicity of speaking, while another one likes to indulge in a rich,
splendid and florid oration.'[60]

The Arabs not only tend to use a figurative style in their prose writing, but
also have a predilection for rhymes, Fabricius writes. On this he elaborates in
the second part of his essay, which is a short introduction to the Arabic tradi-
tion of rhymed writing and of *saj'*. With al-Ḥarīrī's first *maqāma*, Fabricius had
presented an outstanding example of this genre and, in order to support his
student's understanding and appreciation of this important stylistic form,
Fabricius inserted a transliteration of the first four rhymes.[61] The translitera-
tion also illustrated the fact that, in the Arabic tradition of rhymed prose
writing, the periods and verses could be of uneven length, whereas classical
Arabic poetry was bound by strict metres.[62]

It was to these metres that Fabricius dedicated the second essay in his
Specimen arabicum, the *Coronis de poësi aut metrica ratione in genere, et ara-
bicae linguae propria*.[63] This is the first substantial account of the classical
system of Arabic prosody to be printed in Europe.[64] In it, Fabricius argued
that the poetical or metrical form of speech was older than prose and that it
was a universal phenomena, esteemed by every nation and culture. 'However',
Fabricius says, 'I do not know whether there has ever been a nation that was
as dedicated to poetry as the Arabs are, who seem to be born just for this art.'[65]
One of the most remarkable aspects of Fabricius's essay on Arabic prosody

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60   'oratorum [...] non simplex, non una natura est, sed hic fluit et redundat: contra ille
      breviter et circumcise dicere affectat: tenuis quidam et siccus et sobrius amat quandam
      dicendi frugalitatem; alius pingui et luculenta et florida oratione lascivit.' Fabricius, *Spec-
      imen Arabicum*, p. 164.

61   Fabricius, *Specimen*, p. 167.

62   Fabricius, *Specimen*, p. 168.

63   Fabricius, *Specimen*, pp. 169–82.

64   On the unpublished treatise *De arte metrica* by Leo Africanus see fn. 34. Nothing notewor-
      thy is found in Kirsten's *Grammatices arabicae liber I, sive orthographia et prosodia ara-
      bica*, Breslau, 1608, mentioned by Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, p. 226.

65   'Haud tamen scio, an ulla unquam gens aeque dedita fuerit Poesi, quam *Arabes*, qui certe
      ad artem hanc nati propemodum esse videntur.' In support of this view, Fabricius quotes
      the passage from Leo Africanus which is mentioned in fn. 2, cf. *Specimen*, p. 175.

is his awareness and his exposition of fundamental differences between the Arabic metrical system, in which the syllable does not play a role as a metrical element, and the Latin and Greek tradition:[66] 'Arabs divide the syllables and vowels not after the manner of the Latins, Greeks and Hebrews. The metre depends only on the succession of moving [i.e. vocalized] and quiescent [unvocalized] consonants.'[67] The difference between a 'moving', i.e. vocalized letter or consonant (*ḥarf mutaḥarrik*), and a 'quiescent' consonant which is not followed by a vowel (*ḥarf sākin*) is clearly explained by Fabricius as is their significance as the basic elements of the Arabic metrical system. He also acquaints the European reader with the metaphorical terminology the Arabs used in describing the constituent parts of their verses: a verse is called tent or house (*bait*) 'as if it were a perfect metrical structure or a complete building' ('quasi perfecta metri structura, aedificium absolutum.'). With a verse by al-Maʿarrī Fabricius illustrates how every verse consists of two hemistichs. Each verse or hemistich is composed by what Fabricius calls 'cords' ('chorda'; *sabab*, pl. *asbāb*) and by 'pegs' ('palus'; *watid*, pl. *awtād*). Pegs and cords denote a standardized combination of two or three vocalized or unvocalized consonants, which are then combined into different metrical feet (called *juz', ajzâ'* – i.e. 'parts'). These different feet again are combined and form the different metres which, in the classical account of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, are distributed in five circles.[68]

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Fabricius's *Specimen arabicum* is not only a remarkable attempt to convey the main features of Arabic poetry to the European reader. It is also an impressive attempt to spread the study of Arabic beyond the few centres of Arabic learning by providing a multifaceted textbook for the teaching of Arabic at Rostock and at other German universities.

We know of at least one student who had put the knowledge of Arabic that he had learned from Fabricius in Rostock to some use: the Silesian poet and friend of Martin Opitz, Andreas Tscherning (1611–1659).[69] Like Opitz, Tscherning was born in the then German town of Bunzlau (today Bolesławiec,

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66   I was introduced to Arabic metrics by Wolfhart Heinrich's *Poetik, Rhetorik, Literaturkritik, Metrik und Reimlehre* in *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie. Vol. 2: Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. H. Gätje, Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 177–207. I still find this one of the most accessible introductions to the subject.

67   Fabricius, *Specimen*, p. 177.

68   Ibid., p. 182.

69   We are remarkably well informed about the life and work of Andreas Tscherning thanks to the biography by Borcherdt, *Andreas Tscherning*.

Poland).[70] During a short period, between 1635 and 1636, he was in Rostock and took private Arabic lessons from Fabricius.[71] According to his own account they used Golius's 1629 textbook with ʿAli's proverbs and the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam.*[72] During his time in Rostock and later in Breslau, Tscherning started to prepare a Latin-German translation of the proverbs in Golius's edition. In 1639 he tells Opitz in a letter that he had tried to have the proverbs printed in Rostock, where, as we have seen, an Arabic printing press had been set up in the late thirties.[73] Opitz discussed this with Fabricius, who was then back in Danzig and who seems to have been confident that he would find a publisher for Tscherning's Arabic booklet in either Rostock or Leiden. So, on 15 July 1639, Opitz asked Tscherning to prepare a copy for print and send it to him.[74] Why Fabricius finally tried to have Tscherning's multilingual edition of ʿAli's proverbs printed in Leiden rather than in Rostock is not known, but, according to Tscherning's preface, Fabricius lost the copy in a shipwreck on his way to Leiden.[75] However that may be, Tscherning decided to have the Latin - German translation *Centuria proverbium Alis imperatoris Muslimici distichis expressa* published in Breslau without the Arabic characters. These proverbs came out in 1641, but are usually bound together with the 1642-edition of his *Deutscher Getichte Früling.* It is most probably the first, and without doubt the most extensive, German translation of an Arabic text to be published so far. The work gives a literal Latin translation of each proverb, followed by metrical Latin and German renderings and a Latin commentary, in which Tscherning often refers to similar examples from antiquity and from the Erpenius edition.[76]

Tscherning's contemporaries were excited. Johannes Mochinger in Danzig compared him with Opitz and suggested that he now move to even greater

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70   *Martin Opitz. Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse*, ed. K. Conermann, Berlin and New York, 2009, p. 1273.

71   Borcherdt, *Andreas Tscherning*, pp. 41–50. See also the informative entry 'Andreas Tscherning' in the *Catalogus professorum Rostochiensium*, <http://cpr.uni-rostock.de/meta data/cpr_person_00001407> (26/3/2015)

72   Cf. A. Tscherning, *Centuria proverbiorum Alis imperatoris muslimici distichis Latino-Germanicis expressa*, Breslau, 1641, *preface.*

73   Conermann, ed., *Martin Opitz*, n. 390618 *ep*, pp. 1562–5.

74   Conermann, ed., *Martin Opitz*, n. 390715 *ep*, pp. 1575–82.

75   Tscherning, *Centuria proverbiorum Alis*, *preface.*

76   See Borcherdt's critical assessment of the translation and the commentaries, Borcherdt, *Andreas Tscherning*, p. 78.

tasks and deliver in print what Erpenius once promised – the poems of al-Mutanabbī.[77]

In the year following the publication of this 'Arabic booklet' Tscherning returned to Rostock with the financial support of Matthäus Apelt (Apelles von Löwenstern) and continued his studies.[78] In 1644, the University of Rostock offered him the professorship of poetry, and in 1646 he had a reprint of his *Deutscher Getichte Früling* published by the printing house of Johann Richel. In this reprint too, Tscherning's collection of his own German poems was completed by ʿAli's proverbs, this time, however, together with the Arabic text. Nor was this the end of Tscherning's efforts to make the Arabic language and belles-lettres known in Germany. Almost ten years later, in 1654, he published another German translation of a collection of Arabic proverbs.[79] This time, he seems to have exploited Erpenius's textbook of 1615 from which he copied more than sixty Arabic proverbs with their Latin translation, to each of which he added a metrical German translation.[80]

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The poetical work of Andreas Tscherning is one of the earliest examples of German literature inspired by Arabic poetry. Together with the publication of Johann Fabricius it is a remarkable testimony to the enormous sphere of influence which the Leiden school of Arabic, under the patronage of Thomas Erpenius and Jacobus Golius, had on Northern Europe.[81] We have already seen

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77   Tscherning, *Centuria proverbiorum Alis*, preface. See Borcherdt, *Andreas Tscherning*, p. 78.

78   Conermann, ed., *Martin Opitz*, p. 1274.

79   *Proverbia arabica, germanice expressa, ab Andrea Tscherningio*, Prof. Poëtices, Rostock, 1654.

80   At the moment, I can only speculate about the reasons for the significant differences between Tscherning's edition and Erpenius's (the number of proverbs, their arrangement, some additions which are not in Erpenius etc.). Tscherning may have based his edition on an incomplete manuscript copy.

81   Further evidence for this, which has not yet received much scholarly attention, is a book by Jakob Gerschow from Greifswald, in which the proverbs from Erpenius's 1615 edition are translated into Latin distichs, the *Proverbiorum arabicorum, distichis latinis expressorum, 100 academicorum apodemicorum, albis inscriptorum centuria Locmannica, consecrata illustrissimo Crojorum Duci Ernesto – Bogislao, à Jacobo Gerschovio philoglotto. Exemplar geminis arabum literis extat Leydae, ex editione Thomae Erpenij 1615...* Greifswald, 1635. Borcherdt, *Andreas Tscherning*, speculates that Gerschow's work was an inspiration for Tscherning and that his German distichs were, at least partly, influenced by Gerschow's.

that the knowledge of the Arabic metrical system, as well as the text material, the translations and most of the grammatical and linguistic commentaries to the poems in the first part of the book, were not the result of Fabricius's own studies but were derived from the lectures of Golius he had attended in Leiden: 'I owe all my knowledge about this language to Golius', Fabricius says in his book.[82] Golius himself favourably referred to Fabricius's publication in the preface to the 1656 edition of Erpenius's grammar, to the reading matter of which he also added two texts already published by Fabricius: the first *maqāmā* of al-Ḥarīrī and the verses from al-Maʿarrī's *Saqṭ al-zand*.[83] These complemented the other texts – including the fables of Luqman and the *sententiae* from the 1636 edition, three Qur'anic suras (*Luqmān*, *al-Ṣaf* and *al-Sajda*) and the sermon by Eliya III that had already been published in Golius's first publication of 1629. As in this textbook, Golius added a number of single verses from different poets, among them again three verses by al-Mutanabbī. This was a fine selection of text material, which covered a number of different text sorts and literary and poetical genres. Starting with the short proverbs and adages, the teaching moved to examples of prose and poetry, selected 'from writings which the Arabs themselves praise as constituting the genuine and sincere form of Arabic.'[84]

Some of the Latin translations were based on classes given twenty years previously, during the time of Fabricius's stay in Leiden. Because of the existence of a lexicon, the literal translation as well as a great part of Fabricius's annotations to al-Ḥarīrī and the verses from al-Maʿarrī's *Saqṭ al-zand* were obsolete and were replaced by a smoother translation and more detailed information about the historical, cultural and biographical background of the two poets.[85] The three texts at the end of the book – proverbs and sayings, verses of different lengths from different poets, a short Qur'an sura (*al-Sajda*) and a qasida from al-Maʿarrī's *Luzūmiyyāt* – were only printed in Arabic. Here the students were confronted with a higher level of difficulty and they could apply their acquired knowledge of Arabic without the guidance of a Latin translation and grammatical commentaries.

82   '[C]ui omnem hujus linguae cognitionem meam asscribo atque acceptam refero.' Fabricius, *Specimen*, p. 170.

83   It was already noted by Wilhelmina Juynboll's in her thesis *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Leiden, 1931, pp. 148–9, that Fabricius' anthology was a source for Golius' work. I owe this reference to Dr Arnoud Vrolijk.

84   '[...] ex iis quidem scriptis, quibus genuini et synceri Arabismi laudem tribuant Arabes ipsi.' Golius, *Tyrocinium*, p. 174.

85   See for instance the neat but informative introduction to the life and work of Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī on pp. 226–27.

Golius's 1656 edition is by far the most comprehensive and the most didactically accomplished version of Erpenius's grammar ever to appear. All evidence points to the fact that the reading and translation of Arabic poems was an essential component of Golius's teaching. This also included the study of their metrical structure, as we can gather from a manuscript in the collection of Narcissus Marsh at the Bodleian library. The *Mensura carminum omnium adaptata ad normam Prosodiarum Graecae et Latinae* are dated 22 February 1654 and give the 'canones and mensura' according to which all Arabic poems have to be composed and examined.[86] A number of tables offer a symbolic representation of the formal patterns of fifteen basic Arabic metres, with all the possible variations and derivations. The tables were most probably used as instruction material for Golius's teaching of Arabic metrics. He refers to his teaching in the preface to the grammar and deplores the fact that his prosody could not be printed 'because of the state of our town, and public and private reasons that came together'.[87] The adaptation to the classical prosody, which is indicated in the title of the manuscript, is achieved by the use of familiar symbols (−and ∪) for long and short syllables and by the use of classical terminology to describe the metrical feet ('spondaeus', 'anapestus', 'jambus' etc.).

The teaching aides and textbooks which Golius composed were widely used in classrooms all over Europe. We know that Edward Pococke, the Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford, used the material provided by Golius extensively in his teaching. P.M. Holt, in his unpublished thesis on Edward Pococke's *Arabic Studies*, has discovered and transcribed a number of lecture notes. When he began teaching in 1636, Pococke used Golius's 1629 textbook with ʿAli's proverbs, and al-Ṭughrāʾī's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam*, and he continued to do so in the following years.[88] After its publication in 1656, Pococke used the *Tyrocinium*

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86   Bodl. Oxf., MS Marsh 42, fols 166ʳ–61ᵛ (161ᵛ).

87   '[D]ecretum mihi erat aggregare ad Grammaticam Annotationes, & conceptum à me, qui hactenus defuit, de Arabum Prosodia tractatum: quorum partem jam ante complures annos auditoribus meis communica[ve]ram. Sed praesenti urbis nostrae statu, tum publicae tum privatae inciderunt causae, quae illud meum & Typographi propositum pro hoc tempore abrumpunt & sistunt; prima quam nobis Deus concesserit opportunitate exsequendum', Golius, *Tyrocinium*, sig. *2ʳ. See also the short metrical notes and the reference to his *prosody* on page 229, at the beginning of Abu l-ʿAlā''s poem. 'Metro *carminis* Copiosi [*al-wāfir*], *ita ceu proprio dicti nomine, & quidem generis* primi, Consonantiâ autem consequente & mobili. *De quibus consule Prosodiam.*'

88   Bodl. Oxf., MS Poc. 424 contains lecture notes by Pococke on the grammar of these proverbs; MS Poc. 425 also contains lecture notes on proverbs with references to Erpenius's *Rudimenta Linguae Arabicae*, but they are in the hand of a student. See Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, p. 215 and Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, p. 6.

and taught the new reading material provided in it. For the instruction of the more advanced students, Pococke lectured on verses by Abū l-ʿAlāʾ and on the first *maqāma* by al-Ḥarīrī, 'cui primas – post Alcoranum suum – eloquentiae laudes et summa elogia tribuunt Arabes'.[89]

Here too, the choice of poetical texts was motivated by their contribution to the standards of Arabic eloquence and literature and, accordingly, Pococke's teaching was mainly focused on linguistic aspects. The poem he chose for the instruction of students in Arabic was the *Carmen Tograi*, which Pococke honoured with a new fully vocalized edition, a new translation and an extensive apparatus of grammatical and lexicographical notes in 1661. This publication, again, was a textbook that should make the 'attainment of the Arabic tongue easier to those who study it'.[90] In particular, the new translation was received with critical acclaim in the Republic of Letters; 'Everything from Pococke is perfect. This excellent man understands the Arabic language à fond and the translation of this poem is unsurpassable.'[91] Pococke's edition and his translation were still used more than a century later when the judicious German Orientalist Johann Friedrich Hirt printed it in his *Anthologia Arabica*.[92]

The great bulk of Pococke's book consists of annotations that sum up the lectures he had regularly delivered on this poem.[93] Here Pococke provided a detailed semantic and grammatical analysis of almost every single word of the poem, often adding phrases and idiomatic expressions as well as Hebrew cognates. His comments often refer to the lexicons of al-Jawharī and al-Fīrūzābādī, and the commentaries on the poem of al-Ṣafadī and al-Damāmīnī.[94] Only occasionally does Pococke deal with matters of other than grammatical interest – a neglect that was later criticized by Reiske.[95] At the end of the book, Pococke

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89   Some lecture notes to al-Ḥarīrī are preserved in MS Poc. 427 fols 110, 227–32, and MS Poc. 428, fols 1–2. Cf. Holt, *Arabic Studies*, p. 108. The use of Abū l-ʿAlāʾ's poem can be inferred from the title of a printed sheet from 1673, which is indicated by Madan, *Oxford Books, vol. 3, Oxford Literature 1651–1680*, Oxford, 1931, p. 276. Cf. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, p. 214.

90   L. Twells, 'The Life Of … Edward Pocock', in *The Lives of Dr. Edward Pocock … Zachary Pearce … Thomas Newton … And Philip Skelton*, ed. A. C., London, 1816, vol. 1, p. 248; Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, pp. 16–17.

91   'Alles, was von Pocoken gekommen, ist vollkommen. Dieser vortreffliche Mann verstund das Arabische aus dem Grunde. Seine Übersetzung von unserm Stücke ist unverbesserlich', Reiske, *Thograi*, pp. 24–5.

92   Hirt, *Anthologia* Arabica, pp. 119–37.

93   The text and the translation of the poem make up 20 pages, the notes more than 200.

94   See Holt, *Arabic Studies*, p. 66.

95   'Nur wünschte ich, daß seine Anmerckungen nicht so trucken, und bloß grammaticalisch, sondern mehr philologisch seyn, das ist, den Sinn des Dichters, die Geschichte und

put together an alphabetical index of all Arabic words explained in the notes. This index could serve as a dictionary to the students who did not have access to Golius's lexicon.[96] With regard to the history of Arabic scholarship, two more elements of this publication are to be noted: the introduction by Pococke and the comprehensive and detailed *Tractatus de prosodia arabica* by his favourite student Samuel Clarke, which was bound together with the *Carmen Tograi* but published with a separate title page. Clarke's account surpassed by far the ones of his predecessors in clarity, perspicuity and comprehensiveness. The treatise facilitates the understanding of this difficult matter with its systematic composition and the clear presentation of the material. The work also excelled in drawing upon a number of classical Arabic treatises on the subject. Apart from the *Qaṣīda al-Khazrajīya*, which had already been made known by Guadagnoli,[97] Clarke exploited al-Jawharī's *ʿArūḍ al-waraqa*, and, most importantly, al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*. His treatise starts with a chapter *On Letters and Syllables*, which describes the basic elements of Arabic metrics. This is followed by a chapter *On Feet* (*De pedibus*) and *On the Classes of Poems* (*De carminum generibus*) in which the formation and nature of the five circles of al-Khalīl's classical metrical theory are explained. As opposed to Fabricius, Clarke, in Chapter v, *De pedum mutationibus*, gives a full account not only of the ideal metrical forms (*baḥr*, pl. *buḥūr*), but also of the different forms of deviations (*ziḥāf*, pl. *ziḥafāt* and *ʿilla*, pl. *ʿilal*) which appear in the actual performances of these metres. Chapters vi to xxi are probably the most remarkable part of the book and aim to provide a very practical understanding of Arabic prosody. Here Clarke follows closely al-Zamakhsharī who, in his *al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm*, presents one example from the stock of classical Arabic poetry for every normal pattern of the sixteen metres, as well as for all the major variations. Al-Zamakhsharī dissects the examples into their metrical feet and he provides the scansion of every verse, all of which is repeated by Clarke. However, Clarke's own mastery of Arabic metrics is evidenced by the fact that he not only adheres closely to his source material, but also applies the theory independently. The students and readers of his book are given a full metrical analysis of the *Carmen Tograi* in Chapter viii, dedicated to the metre

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Sprichwörter, darauf er anspielt, in ein heller Licht setzen möchte.' ['I would wish that his annotations were not so dry and not only grammatical, but also philological, so that they would shed a light on the intention of the poet, and on the stories and the sayings he refers to.'] Reiske, *Thograi*, p. 25.

96 Pococke, *Carmen Tograi*, sig. Rʳ–X4ʳ.

97 Clarke was planning to edit and translate the text. However, this project came to nothing. See Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, p. 226.

al-baṣīt, and a discussion of its rhyme scheme in the last chapter of the book, *De rhythmo*.[98]

<p style="text-align:center">• • •</p>

Clarke's treatise was unsurpassed until the second half of the eighteenth century and it marks the peak of a seventeenth-century scholarly tradition, which I have tried to describe in the preceding pages. This first generation of Arabic scholars used Arabic poetry mainly for teaching purposes and hence they were mainly interested in the grammatical, lexicological and formal aspects of Arabic poetry. This didactic tradition was underpinned by the topos of the legendary beauty and the cultural, mythological and linguistic significance of Arabic poetry, which had found popular expression in Erpenius's *Oration on the Value of the Arabic Language* and other works of this kind. It was also the commonplace with which Pococke opened his inaugural lecture on 10 August 1636 and it lies at the heart of the *praelectiones* to the edition of the *Carmen Tograi*.[99] The Arabs, Pococke says there, would see themselves as a nation of poets that, since the beginning of time, has been cultivating poetry to its highest level and they would judge their poetical tradition to be far superior even to that of the Greeks and the Romans. Moreover, Pococke goes on, the 'Arabum magistri' would claim that their language was derived directly from Adam, that it was God's own language, spoken by those admitted to Paradise and used as the language of the Qur'anic revelation.[100] To cultivate and preserve the original purity of their language, Pococke says, was every Arabic poet's first and foremost aim. Poetry among the ancient Arabs had the same function as writing: the preservation and memory of genealogies and myths, and, above all, of a pure and unaltered language. Arabic poetry, Pococke concluded, would thus be an encyclopedia of the Arabs' knowledge, an archive of their culture, their wisdom and their original language.[101]

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98   The metre is discussed on pp. 62–5, the rhyme on p. 153.

99   According to the short excerpt from Pococke's inaugural lecture from 1636, which is inserted after the notes to the *Carmen Tograi* on a page that would otherwise have been left blank and which gives an idea of the Arabs' esteem for their poetry.

100   Pococke, *Carmen Tograi*, sig. *3ᵛ.

101   'Arabic Poems were encyclopedias and collections of their wisdom, a treasury in which they stored all the valuables of their language, a cornucopia, from which they sought all the things that contribute to practice and embellishment, an oracle, from which they sought the solution of all controversies which could arise from things or from words.' Pococke, *Carmen Tograi*, sig. *5ᵛ.

The idea that poetry functions as a cultural memory, that it treasures and reveals ancient myths and the opinions and cultural values of nations, became a central idea to scholars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was taken up and cultivated by one of the most influential – and also most controversial – Arabist of the next generation, the Dutch 'Interpres Legati Warneri' Albert Schultens (1686–1750). In the work of Albert Schultens and his students, Arabic poetry became an etymological archive that would lead to the original and essential meaning of the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament. This argument triggered an unprecedented scholarly interest in Arabic poetry and a number of editions and translations of Arabic poems, together with translations and etymological and philological annotations in Northern Europe. However, this is a story I am telling elsewhere.[102]

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102   See my 'Language of Paradise'.

Learning to Write, Read and Speak Arabic Outside of Early Modern Universities

Sonja Brentjes

Manuscript libraries in major European cities with strong holdings of Arabic, Turkish and Persian texts often include dictionaries, vocabularies, little conversation booklets and the occasional grammar in one or more of these three languages.

A number of the surviving texts, in particular dictionaries, are linked to university teaching of those languages or to major research and publication projects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Polyglott Bible. Many of those objects do not belong in these two intellectual circles but rather are anonymous products whose origins cannot be determined with certainty. Most of them were written by authors who had not grown up in the Middle East and had no substantial training in writing in one of the scripts used there. Others clearly come from Arab Christians who had moved to Europe, as a good number had done in those two centuries working for university scholars or the big research and publication projects. The majority of those rarely studied and often unfinished collections of efforts to learn some Arabic, Turkish or Persian were compiled by travelers to and residents in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires or North African cities.

In addition to Arabic, Turkish or Persian, Syriac and at times Coptic and occasionally Armenian and Ethiopian share the same space with such documents in Arabic. This linguistic environment indicates that learning how to write, read and speak Arabic outside the early modern university took place most often outside Catholic or Protestant territories, within the Ottoman Empire and at times in North African cities or even in the Safavid Empire. People dabbling in Arabic or trying to learn it with some dedication often learned at least one more local language, depending on the place where they had settled for long enough to find books or humans who would teach them. When these travelers to foreign shores came home they brought their notes and manuscripts with them, keeping them as a memory of long gone days. A few of them used their newly acquired language skills as an important element of their future professional career. Others used them as marks of culture and claims for fame. A third group forgot the little they had sought to learn as soon as they left their temporary domicile behind.

In a time where language schools like Berlitz, travel guides like Planet Earth or conversation guides and little pocket dictionaries did not exist, acquiring the necessary language skills for communicating in a foreign land was fraught with difficulties. The lack of understanding of the structural differences between Indo-European and Semitic languages and the belief in their own cultural and educational superiority induced some travelers to insist that Arabic or Turkish should be taught to them according to the rules of Latin grammar. Compilers of dictionaries often chose their own vernacular or Latin as the organizing principle of their work and tried to present Arabic accordingly as a verb in the infinitive, a noun, an adjective or an adverb. Sometimes, the compiler 'explained' Arabic pronunciations through Hebrew or Greek letters with further comment. If the compiler had been born in an Arab province of the Ottoman Empire, North Africa or Safavid Iran, he privileged Arabic as the organizational principle and sorted everything according to roots. Mixed forms can also be found, in particular where more than two languages are involved. Here, Arabic and Latin (or vernacular) alphabets and grammars are used together, pointing to the cultural origin of the compiler.

Material from Spain constitutes, at least partly, a specific case. Here, several anonymous Arabic-Latin or Arabic-Castilian dicitionaries were compiled much earlier than in other European regions. I will refer to one of them in this paper, because it turned out that it was the basis of an anonymous Arabic-Latin dictionary in the Bavarian State Library.[1] This is the Arabic-Latin-Arabic dictionary, which some historians have attributed to Raimondo Martí (d. c.1286) and suggested that he compiled it in 1275 for missionary purposes. Others have rejected this proposal.[2] The unknown author brought together Arabic and Latin ideas of how to structure a glossary. Another fascinating aspect of this vocabulary is its content of Arabicized words from Mozarab Romance dialects as well as from Latin and Berber languages in addition to words, which owe their origin to Persian, Greek and in one case possibly also to Aramaic and came with Arabic speakers from the East to the Iberian Peninsula.[3] So far only one copy is known in the Riccardiana in Florence, edited by Schiaparelli in

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1 BSB, MS Cod. arab. 906.

2 For a survey of the problems see F. Codera, *Discursos leido ante la Real Academia Española*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 16–17. Unfortunately, I did not find a more recent such survey, although there are brief notes or references to the work in articles by F. Corriente, 'Notas de lexicología hispanoárabe', *Vox Romanica*, 29, 1980, pp. 183–210 (200–210) and R. Szpiech, 'Citas árabes en caracteres hebreos en el *Pugio Fidei* del Dominico Ramón Martí: entre la autenticidad y la autoridad', *Al-Qantara*, 32, 2011, pp. 71–107 (73, n. 5). I thank José Luis Mancha, Sevilla for his help.

3 Corriente, 'Notas de lexicología hispanoárabe', pp. 200–201, n. 24.

1871.[4] With the Munich copy, a second, heavily modified version is now available. Strictly speaking this dictionary from Munich is not entirely a product of the early modern period. I will nonetheless present it as my first example of activities since it was copied or at least acquired in that time as a source for learning Arabic.

Many dictionaries, such as the one I present as my second example, are incomplete. Some were compiled or continued by several people and a good number are not only bi-, but multi-lingual. Phrasebooks are often much shorter than dictionaries, consisting at times of a very few sentences only. Grammars are the rarest object penned down by such authors. Those that I have seen were, as a rule, compiled or copied in Paris or another city in Europe. Owners of such manuscripts were either their authors or students of a regular course in Europe. Sometimes, a physician like Andrea of Udine bought or inherited such a work.[5] In the case of Andrea, the manuscript contains two different texts. The main text is Bishop Agostino Giustiniani's (1470–1536) Latin grammar of Arabic to which fragments of Arabic grammatical texts in Arabic are added. The latter contains interlinear Latin translations with Spanish and Latin notes and a few words in Arabic by the European annotator. Since the handwriting uses the Maghribi ductus, the BSB catalogue suggests that the manuscript was compiled in Morocco. It is, however, not only clearly the hand of a European, but has a colophon at the end that dedicates the work to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1472–1532) in Rome.[6] Moreover, at the end, the declination of the verb *naṣara*, 'to win', in an Arab hand is added with explanations according to Arabic grammar. A Greek provided Greek translations and explanations on folios 1v and 2r and a Latin hand gave some grammatical identifications and a few translations of the Greek terms.[7]

The early producers and users of such language tools were missionaries, merchants, aspiring diplomats, private travelers and prisoners. A primary purpose of these language studies consisted in providing missionaries with

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4 C. Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in arabico*. Pubblicata per la prima volta sopra un codice della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, Florence, 1871.

5 BSB, MS Cod. arab. 920, unpaginated. The manuscript contains several paginations in Latin hands. The entry by Andria of Udine follows after the first set of paginated folios.

6 Ibid., p. 6, counted from the left cover. For Giustiniani's and Viterbo's interest in the Qur'an see T.E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560*, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 149–77.

7 BSB, MS Cod. arab. 920, fols 1v– 5r. At some point, the dictionary came into the hands of J.A. Widmanstetter (1506–1557) who annotated it. R.J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic, and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*. Leiden, 2007, p. 48, fn 68.

enough knowledge for talking to the people whom they wished to convert. Hence, dictionaries dedicated mainly to this end contain a substantial amount of words or phrases on religious issues. A second purpose, not very different from the first, was to help a private traveler to learn to communicate with local officials, physicians, caravan guides and inhabitants of towns and villages. This kind of work often contains material not found in this quantity in dictionaries, phrase books or grammars produced by missionaries, for instance words about geography, plants, animals and the heavens. A third purpose, again not very dissimilar to the previous two, was to allow European visitors or residents to participate in social events, buy slaves on the slave market or engage in illicit affairs.[8] A fourth purpose, however, differed substantially from the three preceding ones and produced a profoundly different result with regard to the breadth and depth of the acquired linguistic and cultural knowledge. This purpose was the education of future diplomats, translators or secretaries of embassies. Only very few documents of this type seem to exist.

In addition to these general characteristics of early modern tools of language studies produced by Catholic or Protestant visitors to, or residents in, the Middle East and North Africa, three features are of particular interest to today's students of early modern intellectual history. Many vocabularies, phrasebooks and grammars show the very limited range of knowledge the compiler had acquired and his lack of continuity and consistency. Learning Arabic seems to have been in most cases not more than a very limited pastime. Even in conditions where a basic knowledge of spoken daily expressions would be quite helpful the extent of familiarity with Arabic and Turkish or Arabic and Persian was very small. The third example that I will present below is a manuscript in which the German traveler Hans Ulrich Krafft (1550–1621) from Ulm offers specimens in Arabic, Turkish and Syriac reporting how he learned to write in an Ottoman prison at Tripoli.

The few works that are substantial in volume and comprehensiveness were compiled by interpreters of embassies, travelers with university education or missionaries. In their case, the study of any of the named languages went beyond the acquisition of expressions for daily necessities. They reflect their compilers's specific concerns and goals, which is the second feature of interest for today's students of early modern intellectual history. A third point of interest for an intellectual history of early modernity are the forms of knowledge and beliefs that are inscribed in the dictionaries, among them Aristotelianism, religious convictions and political assumptions, but also cultural customs

8   See, for instance BnF, MS Français 703, fols 128ᵛ–128ʳ.

and prejudices. My fourth example will present a brief survey of one of these substantial dictionaries.

An Early Modern Apparently Disorderly Manipulation of the 'Vocabulista in Arabico'

MS Munich, Cod. arab. 906 contains 166 folios. Written in Maghribi/Andalusi ductus by a European hand not fully in command of writing Arabic, it provides no author's name or title. In 1578, it was approved by the Jesuit father Canisius and in 1595 it was included in the library catalogue by someone in the Jesuit house in Munich.[9]

This dictionary follows in large parts the Arabic-Latin half of the Arabic-Latin, Latin-Arabic vocabulary described above. On the first level of its organization, it applies this vocabulary's appropriation of the Arabic alphabet as the main principle. But the copy the writer of the Munich text used was incomplete and apparently misbound, since the order of the Arabic alphabet is not always preserved. It is also possible that some of these deviations result from errors in the binding of the Munich codex itself. Examples of the broken order of the Arabic alphabet are that words for the letters *sīn* and *shīn* follow the letter *qāf*, while words for the letter *qāf* are placed after words for the letter *mīm*. Other violations of the Arabic alphabetical order occur in the third letter of the Arabic root.

Several deviations from the Arabic style of compiling dictionaries reflect Latin customs. The order of the folios follows a left-to-right habit as does the placement of the Arabic words on each folio. The writer did not put the Arabic words on the right, but on the left side of the folio. In this respect too, the anonymous copyist (or his predecessor/s) followed the decisions made by the original compiler. The choice of grammatical forms also reflects Latin custom. The majority of the Latin words in the dictionary are verbs, which this compiler identified with Arabic verbal nouns. In addition to verbs and nouns, the dictionary provides sometimes short expressions like *idhā qala* [sic] = *quando dixit* and comments by a user.

The diacritical points in Arabic follow Maghribi/Andalusi style. However, some of the letters either look the same when they should differ such as *ghayn* and *qāf* or miss some of their arcs or strokes such as *ṣād* or *ḍād*. The dictionary contains numerous spelling mistakes, confusions of verbal nouns from different roots and mistranslations. Some items like the deleted *ut ob* after *cornutus*

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9   BSB, MS Cod. arab. 906, unpaginated, last folio.

for *Abū Qūzūn*, many missing Latin translations as well as entries that are misplaced by one line prove that this exemplar is a copy. The ancestor from which the scribe copied was obviously incomplete. This applies in particular to the letters *sīn*, *shīn*, *qāf* and *mīm*. Some of the lacunas can be found in the extant manuscript of the dictionary in Florence. In other cases, the Munich version provides translations lost in the Florence copy.

The most surprising element of the dictionary is its deviation from the Arabic alphabet mostly in the third consonant of the root. At a first glance, this feature looks like an extremely erratic copying of the original word list. After a systematic inquiry it turns out to be the result of a reordering of the Arabic words according to the alphabetic sequence of their Latin translations following a second order sequence, namely the sequence of the second letter of the Arabic words according to the Arabic alphabet. This means that for each letter of the Arabic alphabet the Arabic words are ordered in groups according to the second Arabic letter. Within each group they follow the Latin alphabet of their translations. Some examples show that the copyist of the Munich version did not originate this adaptation of the original dictionary to a secondary Latin reordering. One of them is found in the place 81 of *barā*. In the Munich manuscript the translation of this word is *apodisia*. It follows *burnūs* translated as *cappa uel clamis* as number 80. According to the secondary Latin order, *apodisia* should follow, however, as number 71 after *burūqa* for *aperire*. Nonetheless, the position of *barā* as number 81 is correct, since the meaning as given in the Florence manuscript of Martí's dictionary is *cedula*.[10]

An Anonymous Seventeenth-Century Dictionary

Many early modern Arabic dictionaries are anonymous and hence difficult to identify with regard to their authors and places of compilation. BnF, MS Arabe 4353 is an incomplete French-Italian-Arabic dictionary written by several hands with a few Turkish additions in transliteration. It comes from Colbert's collection of Oriental manuscripts (old siglum 4882) and is arranged according to the French alphabet. Words like capital, compter/computare, compte/conti, concurrance/concurenza, consul/consule, credit/il credito authorita, embassade/embacata, modelle, negoce/negocio, orfebure/orefice, parfun/perfumo, or pirate/pirata leave little doubt that someone with mercantile interests had a hand in its compilation.[11] Beyond trading, the compiler had an interest in

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10   Ibid., Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in arabico*, pp. 35, 37.

11   BnF, MS Arabe 4353, fols 56[r], 57[r], 58[r], 63[r], 75[r], 92[r], 153[r], 157[r], 163[v], 166[v], 171[v].

talking about education, knowledge, health and nature. Moreover, he felt he needed Arabic in cases of social as well as sexual entertainment (courtesy, dancing, elegant, eloquent, kissing, caressing, deflowering, having a concubine, eunuch, to invite).[12] Further domains of interest of the compiler were intelligence (spying, conspiring, being discreet), military and other technical things (engineer, inventor, machine, munition, navigation, printer), political and social affairs (France, magistrate, monarchy, noblesse) and the arts (comedy, sculptor, painter, painting, literature, music, epigram).[13]

The words belonging to intellectual and health topics comprise planets, eclipses, mathematics, horology, medicine, diseases, experiments, plants, animals, schools, teaching, students, magnets, compasses, gravity, minerals and philosophy.[14] While they do not suffice for a more extensive discussion of detailed knowledge of these areas, an owner of this dictionary could at least tell a doctor about his dysentery, epilepsy, hydropsy, measles, melancholy, paralysis or the plague, talk about the humours and ask for a remedy in general or a syrup in particular.[15] In philosophy he knew words for definition, doctrine, element, reason, accident, essence, intelligible, necessity, infinity or nothingness, although they do not always express what the French or Italian speaker had in mind.[16] In the mathematical sciences, he could multiply or divide, speak about parallels, ask about the stars, the constellations, the heavens, the equinoxes and instruments, or inquire about the latest information in cosmography.[17] Again, not all chosen Arabic words confer correctly the desired meaning.

Another sample highlights particular preferences of the early modern intellectual discourse such as curiosity or novelty. The first is rendered as *ghayya* (error, sin, taste, inclination, liking).[18] This choice does not manage to transport the new, positive meaning of the French and Italian word, but remains stuck in its ambiguity as something morally reprehensible and something of a more neutral value. Novelty is described as *ḥājja jadīda*, which seems to be a mistake for *ḥujja jadīda* (a new argument or proof).[19] This translation situates novelty squarely within the realm of scholarly discourse and misses the word's

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12   Ibid., fols 24ᵛ, 32ᵛ, 58ʳ, 75ᵛ, 79ʳ, 81ʳ, 92ᵛ, 95ᵛ, 135ʳ.

13   Ibid., fols 16ʳ, 53ʳ, 56ʳ, 65ʳ, 79ʳ, 102ᵛ, 106ʳ, 111ᵛ, 123ʳ, 130ᵛ, 136ᵛ,137ʳ, 138ʳ, 139ʳ, 146ʳ, 154ʳ, 156ᵛ, 156ʳ, 157ᵛ, 158ʳ, 168ʳ.

14   Ibid., fols 15ʳ, 17ʳ, 38ʳ, 55ʳ, 76ʳ, 91ᵛ, 104ʳ, 105ᵛ, 109ʳ, 113ᵛ, 128ᵛ, 130ᵛ, 133ᵛ, 146ᵛ, 149ᵛ, 149ʳ, 150ʳ, 153ᵛ, 156ʳ, 157ᵛ, 165ᵛ, 168ʳ, 170ʳ, 172ᵛ.

15   Ibid., fols 90ʳ, 111ᵛ, 134ᵛ, 149ᵛ, 150ᵛ, 150ʳ, 165ᵛ, 170ᵛ.

16   Ibid., fols 16ʳ, 81ʳ, 88ʳ, 92ᵛ, 107ʳ, 137ʳ, 138ʳ, 157ʳ, 159ʳ.

17   Ibid., fols 38ʳ, 65ʳ, 73ᵛ, 108ᵛ, 111ᵛ, 138ᵛ, 156ᵛ, 160ᵛ.

18   Ibid., fol. 78ᵛ.

19   It might also be possible that the form in the dictionary reflects a dialectal form.

much larger extension into the realm of production of all kinds of goods and items.[20] Hence, if the compiler of the dictionary indeed cooperated with a local these examples reflect the cultural ambiguities and dissonances that are characteristic for the second half of the seventeenth century, but not always already visible in dictionaries produced in the first half or earlier.

The anonymous compiler was not only interested in rational knowledge and mercantile and adventurous pursuits. He also considered terms like magic, magician, miracle, marvel, monster, to distil, to embalm, giant, heresy or mystery as worth learning.[21]

Much of the corresponding Arabic vocabulary represents the terminology found in Arabic dictionaries or scholarly and literary texts. In some cases, the compiler may not have been certain about disciplinary boundaries or meaning at large. Examples are *culture/cultura* translated as *falāḥa* (agriculture), *discipline/disciplina* for *tadbīr*, *adab* (arrangement, regimen, regulation; literature, decorum, culture, refinement), *essence/essenza*, *chastenza* for *mādah* [sic] (matter, substance, stuff), *estudier*, *studiare* for *qarā* (to receive hospitably, to entertain), which is presumably a spelling mistake for *qara'a* (to recite, to read) or *histoire/historia* for *qiṣṣa* (story).[22] Numerous cases deviate clearly from the language attested in written texts. It is not always possible to decide whether such terms represent the spoken language or are literal renderings into or depictions in Arabic of the content of the French or Italian terms. Examples are the translation of *philosophe* by *muḥibb al-ʿilm* (the lover of knowledge), *muqābalat al-najm* (meeting of the star) for *constellation*, *munāṣafa* (half-and-half) for *equinoxe/equinoxio*, *sāqil al-kilām* (sic) (*ṣāqil al-kalām* = refined in speech) for *elegant* or *katībat al-mīlād* (written document of birth) for genealogy.[23] Other words like *daulphin/delphine* are simply transliterated (*dawlqīn*, sic).[24] The frequent usage of short vowels different from those used in such cases in classical Arabic point to an oral environment, perhaps a cooperation with an Arabic native speaker.[25] In one case, the compiler's sources left him

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20   BnF, MS Arabe 4353, fol. 159ʳ. One of the anonymous reviewers suggested that *ḥājja jadīda* could also be a slightly misspelled representation of the Maghrebi dialectal expression *hāja jadīda*, which could indeed mean 'something new', 'a novelty'. However, a final solution of this problem would require more research into Petit de la Croix's knowledge of dialectal Arabic, which cannot be done at the moment.

21   Ibid., fols 92ʳ, 103ᵛ, 127ᵛ, 132ᵛ, 146ʳ, 151ᵛ, 156ʳ.

22   Ibid., fols 78ᵛ, 102ᵛ, 107ʳ, 109ᵛ, 132ʳ.

23   Ibid., fols 65ʳ, 92ᵛ, 111ᵛ, 127ʳ, 170ʳ.

24   Ibid., fol. 79ʳ.

25   Ibid., fols 38ʳ, 56ʳ, 71ʳ, 92ᵛ, 137ʳ, 138ʳ.

without a reply: there is no equivalent for *machine*/*machina* entered in the dictionary.[26]

While a good number of those cases may have been comprehensible to an educated Ottoman, some choices will have puzzled or misled him as to what the Frenchman wished to know. Examples are *jamʿ al-dunya* (the whole of the world) for *cosmographie*, *munāṣaf* (the halved one) for crescent and its feminine form for equinox or *wa-lā-wāḥid* (and a no-one) for zero.[27] A small group of words left me baffled. *Mubandaq* for *desnaturé* may be related to *bundūq* = bastard.[28] *Itmām* (completion, perfection, conclusion, consummation, fulfilment, et al.), however, has no link with 'definition'.[29]

Hans Ulrich Krafft's Efforts to Learn How to Write and Read Arabic and Turkish

Hans Ulrich Krafft came from a well-established Lutheran Patrician family of Ulm. His father was the mayor of the city, the city's main judge and head of the city council. Hans Ulrich was destined to follow his family's mercantile tradition and learned the necessary skills, including languages in the service of relatives who ran the business in Lyon and Florence. In 1573 he entered the service of the merchant family Melchior Manlich & Co. who entertained trade with Aleppo, Tripoli and Famagusta in the Ottoman Empire. Krafft wished to visit the sultan's lands and thus agreed to head these three trading factories. Only one year after his arrival in Tripoli in September 1574, the firma Manlich & Co. went into bankruptcy. As a result Krafft and two other employees of the Manlich enterprise were confined in the debtor's prison in Tripoli. The latter two died there. Krafft managed to gain his freedom in 1576 and returned home via Genoa. Late in his life he wrote a travel account which was printed in 1861.

In this travel account Krafft also describes the level of the knowledge of Arabic that he acquired between 1573 and 1576. While he was able to conduct a small exchange of simple sentences at the end of his imprisonment in 1576, he still needed a translator for a more complicated conversation.[30] Krafft described how he learned to read and write Arabic and Turkish in a special

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26   Ibid., fol. 146ʳ.

27   Ibid., fols 73ᵛ, 77ʳ, 111ᵛ, 159ʳ.

28   Ibid., fol. 96ᵛ.

29   Ibid., fol. 81ʳ.

30   *Reisen und Gefangenschaft von Hans Ulrich Kraffts, aus der Originalhandschrift*, ed. K. Haszler, Stuttgart, 1861, pp. 167–8, 181–2.

chapter of his account. He reports that he decided to learn these languages during Leonard Rauwolf's (1535–1596) absence from Tripoli in 1575. Rauwolf, a physician and brother-in-law of Melchior Manlich, famous for his travel account and herbals, had joined the voyage as an expert in drugs and medicinal plants, which he was allegedly exploring during his excursion. Together with Krafft, a polite, calm and humble Arab of about fifty years was arrested, who watched him writing on a beehive a letter in German. Through a Jewish prisoner this Arab investigated what Krafft was doing. When he heard that the German merchant was writing a letter he ridiculed him for the speed with which he wrote, saying that nobody could read such a handwriting. Krafft proposed to teach the Arab how to write German letters if he would teach him his alphabet. The two agreed and through the Jewish mediator Krafft asked for the alphabet. The Arab wrote each letter on a piece of paper and Krafft set its Latin pronunciation below it.[31] It took Krafft three weeks until he could write an entire word, finding the four positions of each letter (in isolation, before or after a letter, between two letters) difficult to grasp. In the travel account, the alphabet is presented in the first position only, followed by the author's name written in Arabic but wrongly vocalized.[32] In the very brief manuscript Cod. arab. 926 of the Bavarian State Library (13 folio) a description of this learning process is found under a title similar to that of the respective chapter in the account. 'Volgtt Ein Kurtzer Einfeltiger bericht der Arabischen Schrift'.[33] There, three positions of each letter (beginning, middle, end) are given.[34] Moreover, the vocalization of Krafft's name differs from that in the account and is even less correct than the latter one.[35] Although Krafft claims in the travel account that he wrote his report about the Arabic alphabet on November 12, 1575 in the prison of Tripoli, the extant manuscript is a copy, which he produced at the end of January 1579 in Augsburg.[36] With this date, the report in the account about Krafft's efforts to learn how to write and read Arabic and Turkish ends. Except for the list provided for the units, tens, one thousand, ten thousand and one hundred thousand, the manuscript does not contain other information beyond the Arabic script and how to pronounce the letters. Thus, we can

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31   Ibid., p. 200.

32   Ibid., p. 201.

33   BSB, MS Cod. arab. 926, fols 4ʳ–12ᵛ.

34   Ibid., fol. 4ʳ.

35   Ibid., fol. 12ᵛ.

36   Ibid., fols 2ʳ–3ᵛ, 13ᵛ.

assume that Krafft did not find another occasion to improve his knowledge of the two languages.[37]

François Pétis de la Croix's (1653–1713) French-Latin-Arabic Dictionary

François Pétis de la Croix's French-Latin-Arabic dictionary of 1,905 pages is in a class of its own.[38] It is the fruit of his ten-year educational stay in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires. He also wrote a grammar and selected short pieces of text for exercises. The dictionary does not impress merely by its length, and hence the number of words collected and identified with French terms. It is a truly unique product of French-Arabic-Turkish-Persian collaboration over the decade of learning that the French son of a court translator of Arabic and secretary of the French embassy in Istanbul spent on the orders of Colbert. While many other bi- or tri-lingual dictionaries produced by travelers to, or residents in, the Ottoman and Safavid Empires during the seventeenth century contain a vocabulary filled with traces of oral communication and intellectual themes deviating philologically from the scholarly languages used at the madrasas and in scholarly texts, De la Croix's great dictionary impresses us by its rich familiarity with the intellectual heritage and practice of these elite groups. This comment points to the cultural distance that exists between many dictionaries (grammars and phrasebooks) produced by Catholic and Protestant visitors to the two Islamicate societies and dictionaries produced by Arabic Christians in Europe or Muslims in the Middle East. In De la Croix's dictionary this abyss has been considerably diminished. It is not altogether absent, but Catholic and Muslim concepts, goals and customs coexist in it side by side.

The extent of De la Croix's familiarity with Muslim intellectual, philological, religious and cultural customs was already recognized by the diplomatic success he achieved as a negotiator of the French crown. His dictionary provides us with a glimpse into the domains of the rational, traditional and mysticial disciplines which he studied with Muslim teachers. I cannot summarize in this short article the whole wealth of the 1,905 pages, but I can illustrate it by a few examples which cannot be found in most of the other dictionaries of the seventeenth century.

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37   Ibid., fol. 2ᵛ.
38   Bibliothèque des Missions Étrangères, MS 1069.

The dictionary is ordered after the French alphabet. It begins with the preposition 'à' and ends with the term 'zone'. For Arabic nouns De la Croix provides the singular and at least one plural. He presents verbs in the third singular of the perfect and the imperfect of the root. This is the standard of Arabic dictionaries. He vocalizes all words and provides further reading help like the *shadda* (sign to double a consonant) or the *sukūn* (sign that a consonant carries no vowel). He presents entire phrases expressing Muslim as well as Christian religious formulas like *bi-ʿawni llahi wa-tawfīqihi* (with God's help and his support) = *Dieu aidant* or *ẓahara lahu wa-tarā lahu fī shakl al-ḥamāma* (He appeared to him and he saw him in the form of a dove) = *Il luy apparut en forme de Colombe*.[39] Occasionally, De la Croix also presents a short exchange of such formulas, pronounced, for instance, at the end of a meeting. An example is *raḥamakumi llah* (may God have mercy upon you) = *Dieu vous Benisse*, Réponse: *ujurkumi llah* (answer: may God reward you).[40] He wished to talk about people on the fringes of the religious communities like athée = *mulḥad* (sic for *mulḥid*) or *zindīq*, whom he explained as someone who had no religion and no (legal) school (*mā lahu dīn wa-lā madhhab*) or those who overdid ? their religious commitment like bigots = *marāʾī* or *ṣālūs* ([sic]; *murʾan*?, hypocrite).[41]

The last two examples highlight the cultural incommensurability of a number of words and expressions which De la Croix wishes to teach his readers in Arabic. The way he overcomes or circumvents such unsolvable difficulties shows his intellectual agility as well as his limits. While censorship, for instance, did not exist in an institutionalised form in the Ottoman or Safavid Empires, De la Croix nonetheless wished to translate *censure* into Arabic. He chose as a close relative *inkār* = disavowal, rejection, negation et al.[42] Prohibition (*taḥrīm*, *manʿ*) would have been a closer fit. The translation of *zurrāfa* [sic] as camel, leopard and giraffe may combine the star constellation of camelopardalis introduced in 1624, the ancient idea of the giraffe as an animal with the body of a camel and the fur of a leopard, and the early modern realisation that this was not the case. The entry also reflects the Arabic origin of the word giraffe.[43] When De la Croix wished to render the title of the French kings (hereditary since the 15th century) *le roi tres chretien* (so), he chose the somewhat surprising description: *ʿaẓīm al-rūm malik afrānjeh*

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39   Ibid., pp. 27, 61.
40   Ibid., p. 149.
41   Ibid., pp. 97, 156.
42   Ibid., p. 219.
43   Ibid., p. 230.

[sic] (the greatest of Rome [or: Christendom?], the French/Christian king).[44] Whether his Ottoman or Safavid interlocutors immediately understood that *sharāb al-taffāḥ* [sic] was the alcoholic drink *cidre de pommes* has to remain an open question.[45] Equally unclear is what kind of mathematical concept such interlocutors would have attributed to *tanāsub* (proportionality, to be in proportion, harmony), when De la Croix meant *cymetrie* (a French neologism of the sixteenth century (?); symmetry, i.e. the property that something does not change under the impact of a transformation).[46] A last example of the cultural problems of translating is De la Croix's decision to identify *citation* with *isnād* and *shahāda*. Both Arabic words have meanings that differ from that attached to the new early modern practice of adding references to books and authors as side- or footnotes to a printed text. *Isnād* is a chain of witnesses for a report, story or information. *Shahāda* designates either the Islamic creed that there is no God but God, or the giving of testimony in a juridical context.[47]

Terminology of interest for a history of the intellectual and institutional relations between France, the Ottoman and the Safavid Empires encompasses words for new Catholic institutions and the intention to convert people as well as the many terms for animals, remedies, plants, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, and geography. Examples for efforts to communicate new developments and desires in religious domains are *La Sacrée Congregation de propaganda fide* translated as *al-majmaʿu l-muqaddas alladhī ʿalā nashri l-imāna* [sic] (the holy society, which is for the proclamation of the faithfulness, instead of *īmān* = faith; this shift from *īmān* to *imāna* (instead of *amāna*) may be the slightly mistaken result of his knowledge of Persian, where *amāna* also can mean faith or religion), *nouveau converti a la rel. catholique* translated interestingly with the Shiʿi formula *qarīb al-ʿahd bi l-dīn* (of recent conversion/with little experience in religious matters), carme religieux (*karmalītān*), huguenot (*lūṭrān laṭārana*), Jesuite (*yasūʿī ʿīsāwī*).[48] Parallel to this presentation of Christian interests, there are also terms and expressions that explain Islamic traditions and differences between religious groups in India. This latter phenomenon is of interest since according to British and Indian historians of colonial India the terms *Hindu* and *Hinduism* as a lable of a religious and cultural identity were only introduced by the British in the early nineteenth

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44   Ibid., p. 264.
45   Ibid., p. 267.
46   Ibid., p. 268.
47   Ibid., p. 272.
48   Ibid., pp. 205, 321, 350, 853, 866.

century.[49] Among Islamic religious information we find *les hadits sont les fondements du Mahometisme* (*al-ḥadīth madād al-islām*) or *limbe sejour des ames depuis la mort jusquau jour du jugement selon les mahometans* (*al-barzakh*).[50] The differentiation between Muslim Indians and Hindus is made as follows: Indien mussulman (*hindī*), Indien Idolatre (*hindū*).[51]

A selection of the fascinating scientific, medical, geographical, technical and philosophical vocabulary, which is strongly visible in Pétis de la Croix's dictionary, is given in the following table. It consists of words and themes of ancient Greek, medieval Arabic or Latin and early modern European vernacular origin. A good part of the ancient and medieval vocabulary or topics is the shared knowledge of Pétis de la Croix and his teachers in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires. A fair amount of the early modern vocabulary belongs to Christian cultures in Europe and had to be explained to the Muslim scholars. Pétis de la Croix made different choices, already visible in the religious terminology described above. They include transliterations, explanations, translations and identifications. There are a number of clear mistakes, which either indicate that the two interlocutors did not fully understand each other or which might have been the result of copying mistakes or the faulty use of Arabic-Arabic, Turkish-Arabic or Persian-Arabic dictionaries. An example is the identification of *impair* with *watar* (chord). The translation of *curcubite* as pumkin rather than *alembique*, which the explanatory *vase de chimie* prescribes, is difficult to explain. Perhaps Pétis de la Croix drew a picture and his teacher thought it was a gourd, the other meaning of *curcubite*. In other cases Pétis de la Croix surprisingly opted for a lengthy explanation instead of a possible short literal translation, as for instance when he explained *indivisible* with *mā huwa qābil al-taqsīm* instead of choosing one of the other, much shorter possibilities like *bi-lā qisma* or *ghayr maqsūm*. Perhaps these kinds of terms or expressions belong to an early phase in the compilation of the dictionary. In addition to them there are a few orthographic deviations from classical Arabic such as the omission of a middle or a final *hamza* or of a *sukūn*. The spelling of expedition as *tanfīz* instead of *tanfīdh* seems to confirm an oral background to at least parts of the Arabic translations.

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49   <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/266312/Hinduism>, accessed 30 April 2015; R. Verma, *Faith and Philosophy of Hinduism*, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 1, 204.

50   Ibid., pp. 729, 988.

51   Ibid., p. 898.

French	Arabic	English equivalents[a]	MS Paris, Bibliothèque des Missions Étrangères, 1069
les colures	*dā'iratā l-sumūt*	(equinoctial and solstitial) colures// the two circles of the colures	p. 286
cone, cylindre	*makhrūṭ makhrūṭāt*	cone, cylinder// cone	p. 313
conjonction des planetes	*qirān wa'ttiṣāl kawākib*	conjunction of the planets// conjunction and connection of the stars	p. 322
consultation de medecin	*istiqḍā*	consultation of a physician// exigency, need, requirement	p. 335
corail	*murjān*	coral// small pearls, corals	p. 355
corps elementaire	*ṭalal, ḥūbā ḥūbāwāt* (sic)	elementary body// ruins, remains; soul + pl	p. 361
cosmographie	*rasm al-dunyā, qiyās al-arḍ bi'l-handasa*	cosmography// drawing of the world, measurement of the earth through geometry	p. 365
cucurbite vase de chimie	*qar'a*	cucurbit (pumpkin, gourd, flask for destillation) chemical flask// pumpkin, gourd	p. 408
curer les dents	*khalla yakhallu al-isnān bi'l-miswāk* [...]	to clean the teeth// he cleaned, he cleans the teeth with a little stick	p. 412
la plus bas declinaison du soleil	*ghāyat al-inḥiṭāṭ*	the lowest declination of the Sun// the extreme of the declination	p. 431
diametre	*quṭr ẓallin* (sic)	diameter// diameter of a shadow	p. 508
dissection	*tashrīḥ*	dissection// anatomy, in modern Arabic also dissection	p. 521
dissertation	*baḥth mubāḥatha*	dissertation// search, quest, investigation, inquiry, study; discussion	p. 522
distiller	*qaṭṭara yaqaṭṭiru*	distil// he filtered, refined, distilled/he filters, refines, distils	p. 524

French	Arabic	English equivalents[a]	MS Paris, Biblio-thèque des Missions Étrangères, 1069
divination	*fatḥ al-fāl*	divination// fortunetelling	p. 527
pierre eliotrope	*ḥajjar al-maṭar*	heliotrope, bloodstone// the stone of rain	p. 572
epicurien	*bayṭarāni, baṭnāni*	Epicurian// ??	p. 625
epilepsie	*ṣaraʿ ṣurūʿ*	epilepsy// epilepsy + pl	p. 625
equilibre	*mutakāfī* (sic)	balanced// equivalent, being in equilibrium, reciprocal	p. 631
Etna	*jabal al-nār*	Etna// the mountain of fire	p. 647
expedition	*tanfīz* (sic, tanfīdh), *itmām*	expedition// execution, accomplishment, discharge; completion, accomplishment, execution	p. 669
experimenter	*jarraba yajarribu, imtaḥana yamtaḥinu, ikhtabara yakhtab-iru, balā yablū*	to experiment// he tested, tried out/he tests, tries out; he tried out, tested/tries out, tests; he explored, tested, tried out, examined/ explores, tests, tries out, examines; he tested, tried/tests, tries	p. 669
factum	*muṣarraḥ*	fact// announced, known, openly declared	p. 682
faute, erreur	*ghalaṭ aghlāṭ, zilla zallāt, zalal, taqṣīr taqṣīrāt*	fault, error// mistake mistakes; slip, lapse; slip, laps, error; failure	p. 695
fleau de balance	*rāsu l-mīzān* (sic)	tip of the balance	p. 719
fluxion	*nuzala* (sic) *nawāzil* (correct: nazla nazalāt), *ḥāḍir ḥuḍūr, tasqīṭ, zakma zukām*	inflammation// mishap, calamity (cold, catarrh); present, ready, sedentary?; collapse, miscarriage?; cold, catarrh	p. 723
foetus embrion	*al-janīn al-matak-hallaf* (sic) *fī baṭn ummihi*	fetus, embryo// the embroy, (which) stays/is left behind in the belly of its mother	p. 723

French	Arabic	English equivalents[a]	MS Paris, Bibliothèque des Missions Étrangères, 1069
geographie	*taqwīm al-buldān*	geography// the almanac/ survey of countries	p. 783
gingembre	*zinjibīl*	ginger// ginger	p. 785
globe terrestre	*kurrat al-arḍ*	terrestial globe// the sphere of the earth	p. 788
guerison	*shifā, dār al-shifā* (sic)	healing// healing, the house of healing	p. 813
herboriste	*ʿushbī ʿashāb* (sic), *bayyāʿu mufradāt al- ṭibb*	vendor of herbs// herbal plants; vendor of the simples of medicine	p. 835
hermaphro-dite	*juntha jināth*	hermaphrodite// hermaphrodite + pl	p. 837
les quatre humeurs	*al-arbaʿ ṭabāʾiʿ* *al-dam al-sawdā* *al-ṣafra al-balgham,* *al-arbaʿ akhlāṭ* *liʾl-jasadi al-ḥayyi*	the four humours// the four natures - blood, the black bile, the yellow bile, the phlegm; the four ingredients/ humours of a living body	p. 856
hydraulique	*māʾī*	hydraulic// liquid, fluid, hydraulic	p. 859
impair	*fard afrād, watar awtār*	impair// impair + pl, chord + pl	p. 877
imprimerie lieu	*maṭbaʿ*	print shop// print shop	p. 885
indivisible	*mā huwa qābil al-taqsīm*	indivisible; it is not subject to division	p. 901
infect	*wakhim, mintin* (sic)	infect// unhealthy, indigestible, dirty; stinking, rotting, putrid	p. 905
infini	*ghayr muntanāhī*; *ghayr dhī intihā*; *lā yuʿaddu wa-lā yuḥaddu*	infinite// without ending; not possessing an end/termination; it is not measured and not terminated / limited	p. 907
ingenieur	*muṣannif al-ālāt al-ḥarbiyya* *wa-miʿmār al-ḥuṣūn al-musanbiʿa* (?)	engineer// compiler/composer of war instruments and architect of the heptagonal (= *musabiʿa*) fortresses	p. 910

French	Arabic	English equivalents[a]	MS Paris, Bibliothèque des Missions Étrangères, 1069
insecte	*hāma hawām* (sic), *ḥasharāt al-arḍ lā yaʿqalu* (sic)	insect// head, crown, vertex; the insects/vermin of the earth without the faculty of reason (?)	p. 916
les intelligences et les ames celestes	*al-ʿuqūl wa'l-nufūs al-falakiyya, al-rūḥāniyyāt al-ʿulwiyya wa'l-sufliyya*	the celestial intellects and souls// the celestial intellects and souls; the upper and the lower spirits/souls/essences (?)	p. 923
inventeur	*mukhtariʿ, mubriʿ*	inventor// inventor/creator, skillful/proficient (person)	p. 933
journal	*daftar yawmī*	journal// a daily notebook/register	p. 942
laboratoire	*ḥānūt ḥawānīt, kārkhāneh, dār al-shughl*	laboratory// shop + pl, workshop, house of occupation (work)	p. 957
languette de la balance	*lisān al-mīzān*	languet of the balance// languet of the balance	p. 964
laxatif	*mushil*	laxative// purgative, laxative	p. 970
lunette d'approache	*naẓāra* (sic, naẓẓāra) *āt nuẓūra*	telescope// binocular, telescope	p. 1007
machine	*āla ālāt*	machine// instrument + pl	p. 1011
la pierre magique	*al-jawhar al-muṭalasm*	the magical stone// the talismanic/amulet stone	p. 1012
marée flux et reflux	*maddun wa-jazru l-baḥr*	the tides, ebb and flow// rise (of the flood) and the ebb of the sea	p. 1031
la mechanique	*ʿilm al-ālāt*	mechanics// the science/ knowledge of the instruments	p. 1043
un meridien	*khaṭṭu nuṣfu* (sic) *al-nahār*	a meridian// the line of the half of the day	p. 1055
metaphisique	*ʿilm al-kalām*	metaphysics// the science/ knowledge of kalām (rational theology)	p. 1061

French	Arabic	English equivalents[a]	MS Paris, Bibliothèque des Missions Étrangères, 1069
microscope	*zujājatun*; *takburu* (sic) *fīhā al-manẓūrāt*	microscope// (glas) bottle, flask; magnifier (?) in which is the observed (object)	p. 1064
le 1ᵉʳ mobile	*falak al-aflāk, falak al-aṭlas*	the primum mobile, empyreum// the highest orb, the orb of atlas	p. 1975
ovale	*dāʾira mustaṭīlat al-shakl*	oval// the circle in an oblong/elongated form	p. 1175
perspective	*ʿilm al-manṭūrāt* (sic, *al-manāẓir*)	optics// the science/knowledge of the (observed/ seen objects)	p. 1257
physicien	*ʿārif bi'l-ṭabīʿiyāt*	physicist// knowledgeable in the natural (sciences)/(natural philosophy)	p. 1271
verole	*jadarī* (sic)	variola, smallpox, chickenpox// smallpox	p. 1854
via lactea	*darb al-tabbāna*	the Milky Way// the Milky Way (literally: narrow path of straw?)	p. 1862
université	*dār al-ʿilm*	university// the house of knowledge	p. 1885
livre de voyage relation	*kitāb mā jarī mājariyyāt, tagharraba ʿana l-awṭān fī ṭalab al-ʿulā wa-sāfir* (sic) *fafī al-asfār khams fawāʾid, tafarraju* (sic, *tafarruj*) *ghammun wa'ktisābu maʾīshatin wa'l-ʿilm wa'l-adabu wa'l-ṣuḥba mājidu*	travel account, book on voyages// book on what happens in the (course of) events; to go (or be) far from home in the search of exaltedness and something unveiled (sic), and in the books (of the Scriptures) are five benefits: observation (sightseeing), grief/anxiety/distress, acquisition of livelihood, knowledge and education, and the companionship is praiseworthy/laudable	p. 1897
zodiaque	*minṭaqat al-burūj*	zodiac// zodiac	p. 1905

a   The first of the English equivalents translates the French, the second after // the Arabic. The spelling follows that of the dictionary. The translations try to avoid modernisms.

This list is of course neither comprehensive nor does it reflect all layers of the impressive knowledge of Arabic and Islamic cultures that Pétis de la Croix had acquired during his long stay in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires. This cannot be achieved until the dictionary is published. The list nevertheless shows the broad range of interests that he pursued and how he tried to create possibilities for communicating them. It also highlights the problems he encountered, the misunderstandings caused by the cultural, economic and religious differences and the forms in which he and his partners tried to overcome or circumvent them.

Learning Arabic in the Overseas Factories: The Case of the English*

Simon Mills

Introduction: The Claims of Scholarship

One of the arguments consistently advanced for studying Arabic in early modern Europe was the practical utility of the language in light of Europe's growing mercantile and diplomatic relations with the Arabic-speaking world. In the preface which they added to their father's pioneering Arabic-Latin dictionary (the first ever printed), the Raphelengius brothers explained that one of the motives that had urged their father to undertake the work was his frequently being asked by merchants of his acquaintance to interpret Arabic letters for them.[1] In 1620 the first full professor of Arabic at the University of Leiden, Thomas Erpenius, advised his students that they 'could not fail to recognise' how useful a knowledge of Arabic – the common language of Egypt, Libya, costal Africa, Arabia, and Palestine – would be for the purpose of 'African and Asiatic journeys'.[2] In 1648 the German scholar, Christian Ravius, recommending a knowledge of even a smattering of Arabic to his contemporaries in the

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1   F. Raphelengius, *Lexicon Arabicum*, Leiden, 1613, sig. A3ʳ: 'Nec minus eum stimulavit cupiditas gratificandi mercatoribus quibusdam ipsi familiaribus & longo usu coniunctissimis, qui literas Arabice scriptas, ad tutelam plerunque navium & negotiatorum pertinentes, ut explicaret saepenumero eum rogarunt'; quoted in A. Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563–1632*, Leiden, 1985, p. 151. On Raphelengius's dictionary see A. Hamilton, '"Nam tirones sumus": Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden 1613)', in *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (*ca. 1520–1589*), eds M. De Schepper and F. De Nave, Antwerp, 1989, *De Gulden Passer*, 66–67, 1988–89, pp. 557–89.

2   T. Erpenius, *Orationes tres, de linguarum Ebraeae, atque Arabicae dignitate*, Leiden, 1621, p. 70: 'Quantae autem utilitatis Arabum lingua sit, in peregrinationibus Africanis, atque Asiaticis, ignorare non potestis, qui scitis in Aegypto, Lybia, totaque Africa litorali, itemque in Arabia, & Palaestina, vulgarem eam esse, & solam in usu'. For a translation, see R. Jones, 'Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the Value of the Arabic Language', *Manuscripts of the Middle East: A Journal devoted to the Study of Handwritten Materials of the Middle East*, 1, 1986, pp. 15–25.

commercial world, declared that: 'a Merchant that can onely prattle, shall buy any ware cheaper, and at a better rate, than he that can speake nothing'.[3]

On the face of it, these arguments were reasonable enough. The scholarly study of Arabic, especially as it developed in France, the Netherlands, and England, was closely intertwined with these countries' diplomatic and mercantile interests in North Africa and the Levant. Many of the most distinguished Arabists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – men such as Guillame Postel, André du Ryer, Jacobus Golius, and Edward Pococke – gained first-hand experience of the Arabic-speaking world in the service of European embassies or commercial enterprises. Scholars occasionally served their governments by translating diplomatic correspondence, and at least one of the professorial chairs in Arabic established in the seventeenth century (the Thomas Adams professorship of Arabic at Cambridge) was funded by a merchant. However, in other respects these arguments were problematic. Firstly, although Europeans did trade in cities with large Arabic-speaking populations, such as Aleppo and Cairo, the seat of European diplomacy with the Ottoman Empire (which by the sixteenth century included Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and parts of Arabia) was in Istanbul. Here, it was not Arabic, but Turkish which served as the primary medium of communication; it might thus have been argued justly that Turkish, rather than Arabic, would have proved more useful to the requirements of diplomacy. Secondly, the stress on the practical usage of Arabic masked a divergence of interests between scholars and their contemporaries in the commercial and diplomatic spheres. Broadly speaking, Arabic studies were pursued in the early modern European universities for two reasons. On the one hand, it was conceived that knowledge bearing on various branches of the sciences, in particular mathematics, medicine, and astronomy, had been preserved in Arabic texts, sometimes as translations of ancient Greek authors and sometimes as original contributions. In many ways, this was a continuation of an urge which had impelled the study of Arabic in Europe in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, an interest in Arabic was spurred by the humanistic approach to interpreting the Bible. Scholars both hoped to profit from versions of the biblical texts preserved in Arabic by the various eastern churches, and to draw on Arabic literature in an attempt to reconstruct a linguistic and broader historical context within which to understand the Hebrew Old Testament. Neither of these two reasons had very much to do with the practical business of trade and diplomacy in the contemporary Arabic-speaking world. It is worth adding too that Arabic – more than any European language – differs in its written and spoken forms. Early modern scholars were almost exclusively

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3   C. Ravis, *A Discourse of the Orientall Tongues*, London, 1648, p. 30.

concerned with written classical Arabic, the Arabic of the Qur'an and the literary tradition. Conversely, they paid virtually no attention to spoken Arabic or to the regional variations of the language in use across North Africa and the Middle East.

These two divergent motivations for learning Arabic – the practical requirements of the merchant and the antiquarian interests of the scholar – are also apparent when we turn from the universities to the overseas settlements, or 'factories', of European merchants. Taking as its focus the English mercantile communities, this article asks whether, how, and to what extent Arabic was studied among the merchants and consular officials stationed in the Arabic-speaking world. As we shall see, the impetus for merchants to engage in any substantial attempt to acquire a knowledge of Arabic in the early English settlements in the Levant and North Africa was limited, although by no means non-existent. However, the overseas factories came to provide an opportunity for individuals with a range of scholarly interests, independent of the immediate concerns of trade or diplomacy, to further their linguistic pursuits. This began to change in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the developing bureaucracy of the East India Company provided a new stimulus to the formal study of Arabic.

The Ottoman Levant

The first and most enduring English merchant community in the Arabic-speaking world was that of Aleppo in Syria. Even before the foundation of the English Levant Company in 1581, Aleppo had emerged as an important centre for English trade. In 1553 the indefatigable Anthony Jenkinson was in the city and was granted permission by Sultan Süleyman (known to the west as 'the Magnificent') to trade on an equal footing with the Venetians and the French. By 1583 the Levant Company had a consul for Syria, and three years later Aleppo replaced Tripoli as the consul's chief residence. By the early seventeenth century, there were around twenty English merchants resident in the city, who met regularly in the Khan al-Burghul.[4] By 1680 this number had more than doubled, and the English had moved into the large and imposing Khan al-Gumruk. Although the community had shrunk to around thirteen members

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4   TNA, SP 110/54, 'Minute book of the Court of the Consul and British Factory at Aleppo, with chancery register, concerning commercial disputes, wills and inventories'.

by the 1760s, it lingered on until the dissolution of the Levant Company in the early nineteenth century.[5]

Did any of these merchants learn Arabic? Firstly, it is important to point out that although Arabic was widely spoken in Aleppo, it was far from being the only language used in the city. When the Englishman Charles Robson arrived in Aleppo in 1623 he found it 'an Epitome of the whole world [...] there scarce being a Nation [...] who hath not some trading here or hither', a situation confirmed by recent historical research.[6] This ethnic mix was characteristic of Aleppo throughout the early modern period and was matched by a corresponding linguistic diversity. More than a century after Robson was in the city, the Levant Company chaplain Thomas Dawes reported from Aleppo that 'it is not uncommon in one day to be in the company of different nations, whose speech seems nothing but confusion, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Dutch, German, Turkish, Arab & Armenian'.[7] Amidst this cacophony of languages, Italian – the *lingua franca* of the eastern Mediterranean – served in Aleppo, as it did throughout the ports and commercial centres of the Levant, as a common medium of exchange.[8] A basic knowledge of Italian was therefore likely to have been of as much if not more immediate practical use than any Oriental language. William Maye, a chaplain who served the Levant Company in Aleppo at the end of the sixteenth century, knew some Italian, and was able to use this to converse with two Turks on the island of Rhodes.[9] John Kymaston, a merchant who died in Aleppo in 1633, left among his belongings an Italian

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5   The best general history of the Levant Company remains A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, London, 1935. On the Aleppo trade in the eighteenth century, see R. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1967. J. Mather, *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World*, New Haven, CT, 2009, provides a lively account of life in the English overseas factories.

6   C. Robson, *Newes from Aleppo*, London, 1628, p. 14; B. Masters, 'Aleppo: the Ottoman Empire's Caravan City', in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, eds E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 34–5 where Masters has shown that – in addition to the European communities – there were resident merchants in Aleppo from North Africa, India, and Bukhara, and that traders from Egypt, Yemen, Damascus, Ankara, Mosul, and Salonika were active in the commerce of the city.

7   T. Dawes to C. Lyttelton, 1 Mar. 1763, BL, MS Stowe 754, fols 85^r–85^v.

8   See, in particular, E.R. Dursteler, 'Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Past and Present*, 217.1, 2012, pp. 47–77.

9   This, however, did not prevent him from being kidnapped and ransomed; see the relation of the incident by Thomas Dallam in J.T. Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, London, 1893, pp. 36–9.

dictionary, and several books in the same language.[10] From documents preserved in the chancery register it is clear that Italian was used by the English for drawing up contracts during this period. This reliance on Italian continued through the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century. The linguist and author Giovanni Torriano dedicated his 1659 Italian-English dictionary to the Levant Company; judging his work 'very usefull for all young Merchants', the Levant Company agreed to pay him a gratuity the following year.[11] Torriano's Italian grammar was among the books held in the factory's library in Aleppo by 1688.[12] As late as 1763, Thomas Dawes reported from Aleppo that:

> Italian is the general language of the mercantile world, but that is pronounced in a different way by each different person, so that what is intelligible in the mouth of one, is quite the reverse in that of another; & by this mixture of languages & this variety of pronunciation there is sprung up a motley kind of speech, called here lingua franca.[13]

Furthermore, the English merchants were spared the necessity of learning foreign languages in Aleppo by their reliance on dragomans (from the Arabic '*tarjama*', 'to translate'), who acted as intermediaries with the Ottoman authorities and local merchants. From the 1590s, the vice-consul maintained a dragoman in Aleppo.[14] In the early seventeenth century, the post was filled by a certain Farajallāh Çelebi, who appears to have been succeeded by his son, 'Thoma John', in the 1630s.[15] By the last decades of the 1600s, two dragomans served the factory, and these positions continued to be occupied throughout the eighteenth century.[16] Following the example of the Venetians and the French, the English did experiment with providing English youths with the necessary linguistic training to serve the Company. However, this did not on the whole prove successful, and all of the dragomans who served in Aleppo

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10   TNA, SP 110/54, fol. 205ᵛ.

11   G. Torriano, *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese: A Dictionary Italian & English*, London, 1659; TNA, SP 105/152, fol. 4ᵛ. See also TNA, SP 105/149, fol. 201ᵛ ordering a gratuity to Torriano on account of his dedicating his Italian grammar to the Levant Company.

12   TNA, SP 105/145, fol. 163.

13   Dawes to Lyttelton, 1 Mar. 1763, BL, MS Stowe 754, fol. 85ᵛ. More generally on the topic of *lingua franca* and its use throughout the Levant, see J. Dakhlia, *Lingua franca: Histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée*, Arles, 2008, esp. pp. 147–91.

14   R. Fitch and others to G. Dorrington, 4 Aug. 1596, in *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584–1602*, ed. W. Foster, London, 1931, p. 152.

15   TNA, SP 105/148, fols 34ᵛ, 36ʳ; TNA, SP 110/54, fols 195ʳ, 108ʳ, 145ʳ.

16   TNA, SP 105/155, fol. 103ᵛ.

appear to have been recruited from among the locals, either Sephardic Jews, Levantine Christians, or – increasingly during the eighteenth century – Arab Catholics.[17]

These two factors, combined with the innate difficulty of the language and the inaccessibility of most aspects of the social life of Aleppo, no doubt contributed to discouraging serious attempts to learn Arabic among the English merchant community. This general lack of interest in Oriental languages has been noted often, both in contemporary descriptions of the English factory in Aleppo and in more recent historical accounts.[18] Nevertheless, there were certainly some exceptions to this general rule. Documents in the early chancery registers show that the English factors came into contact with Arabic. Many of the consuls and merchants resided in Aleppo for a decade, and it is hard to believe that during this time they would not have picked up at least scraps of the native language. Moreover, the reports of some contemporaries paint a slightly different picture to the usual one of a complete lack of interest. The Englishman George Sandys, who visited the Levant in the early 1610s, thought the consul in Aleppo, Bartholemew Haggatt, 'expert in their language'.[19] The French traveler the Abbé Carré noted that Benjamin Lannoy, the English consul in Aleppo for over a decade during the 1660s and 1670s, was 'well versed in all languages'.[20] Writing in the late 1720s, Daniel Defoe mentioned 'a Turkey merchant' of his acquaintance who 'had liv'd at Aleppo, at Constantinople, and at Grand Cairo' and who 'spoke the Arabic in all its several dialects as spoken by the Turks at all those places'.[21] It is perhaps easy to be sceptical about these statements (what, for example, are we to make of Defoe's reference to

17 B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 71–7.

18 A. Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2 vols, London, 1794, vol. 1, p. 227. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 236; Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 80; B. Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo 1600–1750*, New York, 1988, p. 78.

19 G. Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610*, 4th edn, London, 1632, p. 85.

20 *The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672–1674*, transl. Lady Fawcett, ed. C. Fawcett and R. Burn, 3 vols, London, 1947–48, vol. 1, p. 42. It is worth comparing this with the French consul Laurent d'Arvieux's comment about the Dutch consul in Aleppo, Conrad Calckberner: 'Il parlait, lisait et écrivait le français, l'anglais, l'italien et l'arabe comme sa langue maternelle', Laurent d'Arvieux, 'Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux (1735)', in *Le Consulat de France à Alep au XVIIᵉ siècle: Journal de Louis Gédoyn, Vie de François Picquet, Mémoires de Laurent d'Arvieux*, eds H.I. El–Mudarris and O. Salmon, Aleppo, 2009, p. 226.

21 D. Defoe, *Religious and Didactic Writings of Daniel Defoe*, eds W.R. Owens and P.N. Furbank, 10 vols, London, 2006–7, vol. 10, ed. W.R. Owens, p. 165.

the Arabic 'spoken by the Turks'?) It is much harder to ascertain what linguistic competence might have meant in particular historical situations.[22] What did it really mean to be 'well versed' or 'expert' in a language such as Arabic? The examples that have come down to us allow us to picture merchants using Arabic for a variety of social functions. John Brand Kirkhouse, for example, a Scottish merchant resident in Aleppo in the 1750s, who was said to know 'Sundry Languages, viz the Arab-Turkish, Greek, Italian & French', apparently entertained the factory with his ability to 'sing in all these languages'.[23] In his role as chancellor to the factory, Brand Kirkhouse regularly witnessed contracts in Arabic drawn up by the dragoman Jirjis ʿĀʾida; we might conjecture that he knew enough of the language to feel comfortable fulfilling this task.

Signs of a more substantial knowledge of Arabic are more evident when we turn to merchants who developed interests in the Levant independent from their immediate concerns as traders. Particularly noteworthy in this respect is the case of Rowland Sherman. Sherman spent the extraordinarily long period of just under sixty years in Aleppo, from his arrival in October 1688 until his death in January 1748 at the age of around eighty-five. As well as pursuing a career as a successful merchant, Sherman cultivated a range of interests during the six decades he spent in Aleppo, not least developing his skills as an amateur musician.[24] He was also a keen linguist: he not only corresponded in Italian,[25] but also turned his hand to learning Turkish and Arabic. In 1699 Sherman reported to his colleague in London Philip Wheak that he had for the previous three years 'bent my studies pretty close to Turkish, & have made some progress in reading & writing it', even translating a short tract on Islam from Turkish into English.[26] His interest in Arabic was even more longstanding; he studied the language under the Maronite priest Pietro de Oliva, and by 1720 was said by Samuel Lisle, who had known Sherman in Aleppo, to have 'acquired a perfect Knowledge of the Arabick Tongue which he speaks and Writes with great Elegance and Purity'.[27] Sherman's proficiency in Arabic and

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22   On the topic of linguistic competence I have learned a great deal from John Gallagher's Cambridge PhD thesis, 'Vernacular Language–Learning in Early Modern England', 2014, and I am very grateful to him for sharing it with me.

23   TNA, SP 110/74, 8 Nov. 1753.

24   B. White, '"Brothers of the String": Henry Purcell and the Letter-Books of Rowland Sherman', *Music and Letters*, 92.4, 2011, pp. 519–81.

25   For a selection of Sherman's Italian letters, see White, '"Brothers of the String"' pp. 550–72.

26   TNA, SP 110/21, fol. 24ᵛ; quoted at length in White, '"Brothers of the String"', p. 547.

27   S. Lisle to H. Newman, 26 May 1720, CUL, SPCK D5/4, p. 16; on Sherman's tutor, see R. Sherman to H. Newman, 20 Apr. 1725, CUL, SPCK D5/4, p. 86.

connections to the Christian churches in Syria brought him to the attention of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In the 1720s and 1730s Sherman was closely involved with the production and distribution of Arabic editions of the Psalms and the New Testament printed in London under the auspices of the SPCK. In 1738 the traveler Richard Pococke reported from Aleppo that Sherman 'understands Arabick perfectly'.[28]

Similarly, the brothers Alexander and Patrick Russell, who served overlapping terms as physicians to the factory in Aleppo between 1740 and 1772, added to their broad interests in the natural history of Syria at least some knowledge of Arabic. Both brothers learned enough of the vernacular to practice medicine among the local Arabs, and Patrick, who was considered something of an authority on classical Arabic, collected Arabic literary manuscripts.[29]

The most notable examples of this more scholarly interest in Arabic can be found among the Church of England chaplains who served the English merchant community throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of these, the best known was Edward Pococke. Pococke arrived in Aleppo in 1630. For the next six years he devoted what time he could to his linguistic studies, in the memorable phrase of the consul John Wandesford making 'Arrab his mistress'.[30] The humanistic education Pococke had received as a student at Oxford would have trained him in the skills necessary for the private study of languages and this was no doubt how he proceeded: working through the Qur'an and preparing a Latin translation of the proverbs (*amthāl*) of the Islamic jurist and legal theorist al-Maydānī.[31] Yet Pococke also hired a number of native speakers to assist him with his studies: the 'shaykh' Fatḥallāh and a servant

28   Pococke to his mother, 12/23 Aug. 1738, *Letters from Abroad: The Grand Tour Correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles*, ed. R. Finnegan, 3 vols, Piltown, 2013, vol. 3, p. 158. Note that I read this passage differently from Finnegan, who takes it that Pococke is referring to the French consul.

29   M.H. van den Boogert, *Aleppo Observed: Ottoman Syria through the Eyes of Two Scottish Doctors, Alexander and Patrick Russell*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 148, 218–19.

30   J. Wandesford to J. Selden, 26 Nov. 1632, Bodl. Oxf., MS Selden supra 108, fol. 25ʳ, quoted in G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth Century England*, Oxford, 1996, p. 70. On Pococke's years in Aleppo, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 120–26.

31   L. Twells, ed., *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pococke*, 2 vols, London, 1740, vol. 1, p. 6. Pococke's translation of al-Maydānī survives as Bodl. Oxf., MS Pococke 392; see P.M. Holt, 'The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England: The Background and Work of Edward Pococke', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 19.3, 1957, pp. 444–55 (448) (repr. P.M. Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, London, 1973, pp. 27–49).

named Ḥamīd, from the last of whom he endeavoured to acquire the spoken form of the language.[32] In addition to these individuals – named by Pococke's eighteenth-century biographer – Pococke was aided in his Arabic studies by the dervish Aḥmad al-Gulshanī, very likely an adherent of the Gulshaniyya sect of Sufis, who acted variously as a teacher, a copyist, and a broker for a number of Europeans with scholarly interests in Arabic. Al-Gulshanī was one of various native Arabic speakers who capitalized on the rising European interest in Arabic by providing lessons to visiting students. He numbered both Pococke and the Dutch Arabist Jacobus Golius among his pupils, corresponded in Arabic with both men following their return journeys to Europe, and continued from a distance to take an interest in their progress in their linguistic studies.[33]

A similar example from later in the century is provided by the chaplain Robert Frampton. In the 1650s Frampton studied Arabic in Aleppo. Frampton's biographer provides telling glimpses of Frampton using the language for different ends. He apparently progressed so far in both reading and speaking that he was able to compile a collection of Arabic proverbs, to intercede with local officials in Aleppo, and to ward off a band of thieves on the road to Istanbul.[34]

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32   Twells, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 6.

33   See Bodl. Oxf., MS Pococke 432 fols 5–9 for al-Gulshanī's letters to Pococke. Excerpts from these letters have been translated and printed in Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East*, pp. 42–5. See also Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 122–3; H. Kilpatrick, 'Arabic Private Correspondence from Seventeenth-Century Syria: The Letters to Edward Pococke', *Bodleian Library Record*, 23.1, 2010, pp. 20–40. For al-Gulshanī's letters to Golius see LUL, MS Or. 1228, fols 26ʳ, 90ᵛ. The Arabic text and a Dutch translation is printed in M. Th. Houtsma, *Uit de Oostersche Correspondentie van Th. Erpenius, Jac. Golius en Lev. Warner. Eene Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de beoefening der oostersche letteren in Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1887, p. 48–50. A further letter from al-Gulshanī to Golius survives in a copy among the papers of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (identified by Peter Miller), BNF, MS Latin 9340, fols 295ʳ–301ᵛ. Al-Gulshanī addressed both Pococke and Golius as تلميذ (pupil). In one of his letters to Pococke (Bodl. Oxf., MS Pococke 432, fol. 7ᵛ) al-Gulshanī addresses Pococke as المفحّص عن اصول اللغة العربية ('the researcher into the fundamentals of the Arabic language'). In a letter to Golius (BNF, MS Latin 9340, fol. 300ᵛ), al-Gulshānī wrote: ونحن مرادنا ترسل لنا رسالة بالخصوص حتى نعلم حد ما وصلت اليه من العربية ('I am desirous that you send me a letter, and in particular so that I might know the degree to which you have attained in Arabic'). My thanks to Alasdair Watson for his help in deciphering this passage.

34   T. Simpson Evans, ed., *The Life of Robert Frampton Bishop of Gloucester*, London, 1876, pp. 38–9, 42, 70. The origins of this work are slightly obscure: it was based on a manuscript (BL, Add. MS 32010) which was acquired by the British Library in 1833, and which appears to have been written by someone who knew Frampton intimately. See A. Hamilton, 'The English Interest in the Arabic-Speaking Christians' in *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural*

The same source offers some insight into how Frampton studied the language. Having learned to read with the aid of books, Frampton was only able to achieve a degree of fluency by abandoning book learning, finding 'observation the readyest way to an ability of converse'.[35] Likewise, Isaac Basire, a royalist Anglican, who, like Frampton, had travelled to the Levant to avoid political compromise at home, 'picked up' some Arabic at Aleppo in the early 1650s.[36] More than a century later, Thomas Dawes also used his leisure hours to 'make an attempt on some of the languages'. Yet Dawes thought the merchants – those with 'a necessary intercourse with both natives & foreigners' – better placed to progress in languages than himself; 'I, who stand aloof, & am but a spectator of the busy world', he complained, 'can gain nothing but by dint of study'.[37]

A catalogue of the books in the factory's library drawn up in 1688 provides an insight into the materials available to men such as Frampton and Dawes who studied Arabic during their years in Aleppo.[38] The library possessed the Arabic grammar by the German Lutheran Matthias Wasmuth.[39] Wasmuth's *Grammatica Arabica* (1654) was itself closely modelled on the most influential Arabic grammar produced in seventeenth-century Europe: Thomas Erpenius's *Grammatica Arabica* of 1613.[40] Wasmuth's edition was indicative of the scholarly-antiquarian (as opposed to the utilitarian) study of Arabic: the book contained a preface recommending a knowledge of Arabic as ancillary to the study of Hebrew. Likewise, the few printed Arabic books available to potential students in Aleppo would have provided little in the way of practical assistance. The library held the translation of Robert Bellarmine's *Doctrina*

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       Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England, ed. G.A. Russell, Leiden, 1994, pp. 30–53 (42).

35   Simpson Evans, ed., *Life of Frampton*, p. 113. This passage also notes that Frampton's nephew was with him in Aleppo, and had learned to speak Arabic fluently by 'playing in the Street'.

36   D. Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire 1642–1660*, Seattle, 1998, p. 216.

37   Dawes to Lyttleton, BL, MS Stowe 754, fol. 85ʳ.

38   TNA, SP 105/145, fols 157–64. Frampton was instrumental in selecting the books for the library with a grant of £50 from the Levant Company, see TNA, SP 105/151, fol. 131ᵛ.

39   M. Wasmuth, *Grammatica Arabica*, Amsterdam, 1654. On Wasmuth see C. Siegfried, 'Wasmuth, Matthias', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols, Leipzig, 1875–1912, vol. 41, 1896, pp. 230–32.

40   T. Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica*, Leiden, 1613. On the history of European grammars of Arabic, see A. Hamilton, 'Arabic Studies in Europe', in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, General Editor K. Versteegh, 5 vols, Brill, 2006–9, vol. 1, pp. 166–72, (167–9). Wasmuth's biographer found that his grammar 'nichts Eigenes enthalten zu haben scheint, sondern im wesentlichen auf Erpenius beruhte'.

Christiana printed at Rome in 1627, the version of Hugo Grotius's *De veritate religionis Christianae* translated into Arabic by Pococke, and the Arabic texts of the Old and New Testaments printed in the London Polyglot Bible.

The other major English settlements in the Ottoman Levant – Istanbul and Izmir – were in predominantly Turkish speaking cities. Nevertheless, they appear to have provided some limited opportunities for studying Arabic. Henry Denton spent four years as chaplain to the English ambassador in Istanbul where he studied some Arabic and Turkish.[41] Thomas Smith did the same in the early 1670s. Another university graduate who used a posting to one of the Levant Company's chaplaincies to pursue the study of Oriental languages was John Luke. Luke was appointed to serve as chaplain to the English factory at Izmir in 1664.[42] In his extant journal from these years he noted the 'paines and dollars' he spent in 'attempting some knowledge of the Turkish language', and he appears too to have turned his hand to Arabic, possibly with the help of native speakers.[43] As he travelled through Turkey and Syria on an extended pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Luke wrote out in an Arabic script with full diacritical markings the names of the various towns and villages he passed through. Judging by his frequently erroneous spelling, it is likely that he heard these directly from a local Turkish- or Arabic-speaking guide and jotted them down *in situ*.[44] How far Luke progressed in his Arabic studies is unknown. He evidently knew enough to be appointed as the fourth Thomas Adams professor on his return to Cambridge (this, however, is not to say very much: until well into the eighteenth century the chair was held as a sinecure by men who knew little or no Arabic). Although he appears to have published nothing (excepting a poem in Ottoman Turkish to mark the birth of Prince James in 1688), there

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41 A. Hamilton, 'Denton, Henry (c. 1640–1681)', *ODNB*, 2004, online edn [<http://www.oxford dnb/view/article/7514>, accessed 9 Dec 2014].

42 TNA, SP 105/152 fol. 122ʳ.

43 BL, MS Harley 7021, fol. 372ᵛ. Luke mentions his attempt to 'culture some houres' with 'a certain Shaml'y a native Arabian Christian', whom he met while awaiting a pass age to Jerusalem at Antalya. It is not entirely clear, however, whether Luke conversed with Shaml'y in Arabic ('in which he [Shaml'y] is very well skilled in reading and writing') or in Turkish (which he 'did not read [...] at all currantly by reason of the diversity of pronuncia[ti]on').

44 Luke notes at one point in his journal (Bodl. Oxf., MS Tanner 93, fol. 145ᵛ) that he travelled to Jerusalem in the company of a Turk, taking 'Arabians as we passe for our guard, going among wolves thinking it necessary to engage wolves for our defence'. On his errors see, for example, BL, MS Harley 7021, fol. 395ʳ where he notes among 'the 5 villages which still speak Syriack as their mother tongue' Bsharri: بشرعه (properly بشري); Hasroun: حسرون (properly حصرون); Bqaa Kafra: بقاع قفرة (properly بقاع كفرا). On 395ᵛ Tartous (طرطوس) is erroneously given as طارطوز.

is some evidence that he taught Arabic and that he read at least parts of the Qur'an in the original language.[45]

North Africa

Outside Syria and Turkey, the most significant community of English merchants in the Arabic-speaking world resided in the independent sovereign state of Morocco. As early as the mid sixteenth century, the English operated a steady trade with the North African kingdom.[46] In 1585 Queen Elizabeth granted letters patent for the establishment of the Barbary Company; although the Company failed to maintain a foothold in North Africa, the Crown continued to appoint an ambassador to Morocco throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As in Aleppo, there are isolated reports of English merchants and officials residing in Morocco who apparently learned Arabic. A letter of 1572 from a Moroccan customs officer mentions one Thomas Owen living and trading in Morocco who understood Arabic.[47] Jezreel Jones, who served as British envoy to Morocco from 1704, was well known for his fluency in Arabic, and later served as translator to the Moroccan ambassador.[48] The consulships on the North African coast at Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Tangier (maintained not primarily for trade, but to protect English shipping against acts of piracy) appear to have provided fewer opportunities for learning Arabic. Thomas Baker, consul at Tripoli between 1677 and 1685, conducted most of his official dealings with the Dey of Algiers in Turkish and Italian, but complained that there was

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45   For Luke's poem, see *Illustrissimi principis ducis Cornubiae et comitis Palatini, &c, genethliacon*, Cambridge, 1688, sig. B3ʳ. Luke's contribution is headed 'Hendecasyllabi Turcici'; Geoffrey Roper has described it as 'a poem in rather strange Ottoman Turkish': G. Roper, 'Arabic Printing and Publishing in England before 1820', *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 12.1, 1985, pp. 12–32. Martin Eagle referred to Luke in a letter to John Covel as 'venerandus meus معلّم [my venerable teacher], [...] in litteratura Arabica πολλων ανταξιος αλλων' [worth many others in Arabic letters]', BL, Add MS 22911, fol. 82ʳ/163 (my thanks to Anthony Ossa-Richardson for his help in deciphering this passage). For Luke's reading of the Qur'an, see BL, MS Harley 7021, fol. 415ʳ.

46   T.S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, Manchester, 1959, pp. 92–106.

47   N. Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, New York, 1999, p. 64.

48   J. Black, *British Diplomats and Diplomacy, 1688–1800*, Exeter, 2001, p. 85; J.F.P. Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary 1576–1774: Arabic Documents in the Public Record Office*, Oxford, 1982, p. 36. Many of Jones's translations are bound in BL, Add MS 61542, Blenheim Papers, vol. ccccxlii.

'noe man in all this Country being able to boast a moderate accomplishment in both Languages'.[49]

As in Syria and Turkey, where we do find examples of individuals studying Arabic abroad more systematically, these tend to be for reasons other than their commercial or diplomatic concerns. Lancelot Addison, who had been part of a circle of students with interests in Oriental topics at Queen's College, Oxford during the Interregnum, spent seven years as a chaplain to the military garrison at Tangier between 1663 and 1670.[50] The list of 'Moorish words' appended to Addison's later *West Barbary* (1671) indicates at least some familiarity with the Arabic language; however, there is no evidence that Addison progressed very far in his studies.[51] Similar examples can be found in the eighteenth century. In 1707, after graduating from Queen's College, George Holme served as a chaplain to the English factory in Algiers. In a letter to the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, he noted his plan to 'inform [him]self of the Customes of this Country, & to learn the Turcick & Arabian Languages'.[52] A year later, Holme wrote to Compton about his receiving 'a yearly allowance for my encouragement & support in the study of the Oriental Languages'.[53] In the 1720s Thomas Shaw, another Queen's student, spent nearly a decade in the same position, during which time he also learned some Arabic. Shaw's later *Travels, or Observations relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (1738) demonstrates at least a basic acquaintance with the language; Shaw also took an interest in the Shawiya (or Chaouïa) dialect of the Berber language spoken by the Berbers of eastern Algeria.[54]

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49   *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth–Century North Africa: The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Triploli 1677–1685*, ed. C.R. Pennell, Rutherford, NJ, 1989, p. 152.

50   A. Hamilton, 'Addison, Lancelot (1632–1703)', ODNB, online edn. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/157>, accessed 8 Dec 2014]; W.J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648–1715*, Cambridge, 2015.

51   See 'An Index of Moorish Words', appended to L. Addison, *West Barbary, or, A Short Narrative of the Revolutions of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco*, Oxford, 1671. Some of the transcriptions in this list are highly tenuous: for example '*Abdel Crim Nacsis*' for عبد الحاضر السبتي. and '*Abdel Hader Alfiftoah*' for عبد الله الكريم

52   G. Holme to H. Compton, 1 Nov. 1707, Bodl. Oxf., MS Rawl. C. 985, fol. 80ʳ.

53   Holme to Compton, 18 Dec. 1708, Bodl. Oxf., MS Rawl. C. 985, fol. 88ʳ. This was possibly connected to the the Lord Almoner's fund; see L.S. Sutherland, 'The Origin and Early History of the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic at Oxford', *Bodleian Library Record*, 10, 1930, pp. 166–77; Bodl. Oxf. MS Rawl. C. 933, fol. 164ʳ.

54   T. Shaw, *Travels, or Observations relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Oxford, 1738; see the 'Vocabulary of the Showiah Tongue', appended p. 52.

The few cases cited above might lead us to reconsider some of the more emphatic statements concerning the total lack of interest of merchants in learning Arabic. It is certainly possible that further research into the voluminous papers of Englishmen (and the limited materials pertaining to English women) residing in North Africa and the Middle East before the nineteenth century would turn up more examples. It is possible too, of course, that many more individuals learned and conversed in Arabic but left no written traces of their activities. If so they have been lost to history. One thing can be said with certainty. The seventeenth century witnessed a great surge of institutional investment in Arabic studies in England. Very little of this, however, was geared towards training merchants and diplomats with the linguistic skills necessary to live and work in the Arabic-speaking world. The Laudian professor at Oxford, Thomas Hyde, whose own interests were very far from practical, was provided with financial support to train diplomatic translators, a task which he himself had undertaken in the 1690s.[55] Yet the project appears to have stalled. Nor did the Levant Company invest anything in encouraging its staff to learn Arabic. Although, as we have seen, the Levant Company offered some limited funds to promote the study of Italian, Arabic was evidently not deemed a necessity.

This absence of institutional investment is reflected by the lack of grammars or dictionaries produced during this period geared towards practical ends. Although Christian Ravius stressed the utility of Arabic for traders in the East, his 'general grammars' would have been of almost no practical use. Placing Arabic alongside the Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee (i.e. Aramaic), Syriac, and Ethiopic languages, they clearly reflected the historical-antiquarian and not the utilitarian interest in the language. The greatest Dutch Arabist of the early eighteenth century, Albert Schultens, reissued Erpenius's Arabic grammar with a long prefatory discourse setting out the role of Arabic in recovering biblical Hebrew. The same preoccupations characterized the grammar prepared by the Cambridge professor Leonard Chappelow. Chappelow amended the transliterations into Latin characters in Erpenius's work to reflect, he claimed, the pronunciation 'in use among the inhabitants of Arabia'.[56] Yet his edition was intended for missionaries and for scholars, not for merchants. The situation was somewhat different for Turkish. William Seaman, who had served in Istanbul under the ambassador Peter Wyche, produced a Turkish grammar in 1670 which – although written in Latin and conceived of primarily as serving Seaman's evangelical objectives – was sent to the English factories in

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55   T. Hyde to J. Ellis, 26 Sept. 1698, BL, MS Add. 28927, fol. 94ᵛ.
56   L. Chappelow, *Elementa linguae Arabicae ex Erpenii Rudimentis ut plurimum desumpta*, London, 1730, p. ii.

Izmir and Aleppo.[57] Thomas Vaughan, who had been a merchant at Izmir, adapted Seaman's work in an English version specifically designed for the use of merchants residing abroad.[58] However, it was not until well into the eighteenth century that a similar task was undertaken for Arabic. When this did occur, it was not initiated by the Levant Company, but by what by then had become its more economically and politically significant rival, the English East India Company.

John Richardson and the East India Company

The world of East Asia into which the East India Company's ships set sail in the sixteenth century was a more complex linguistic environment than the Ottoman Levant or North Africa. These complexities would pose many challenges to the diplomats and merchants who attempted to penetrate this world. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam has pointed out, when Thomas Roe addressed the emperor Jahāngīr at the Mughal court in 1616 he was forced to speak broken Spanish to an Italian interpreter, who then translated into Turkish; a Safavid prince then translated the Turkish into Persian.[59] Negotiating with a number of different Islamic polities, Arabic could occasionally come in use. When James Lancaster addressed the nobles of the sultanate of Aceh on the northern tip of Sumatra, he conducted the business in Arabic using a Jew from the Barbary Coast 'who spake that language perfectly'.[60] When established English factories came into being along the western and eastern coasts of India, a new vocabulary of words derived from Arabic peppered the correspondence which flowed back to London.[61]

However, it was the transformation of the East India Company from a trading corporation into a political and colonial administration in the second half of the eighteenth century that injected a new utilitarian strain into the study of Arabic. Arabic studies in the English universities are generally thought to have

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57   W. Seaman, *Grammatica linguae Turcicae*, Oxford, 1670; TNA, SP 105/153, fol. 94ᵛ. On Seaman see A. Hamilton, 'Seaman, William (1606/7–1680)', *ODNB*, 2004, online edn [<http:///www.oxford.com/view/article/24986>, accessed 10 Dec 2014].

58   T. Vaughan, *A Grammar of the Turkish Language*, London, 1709.

59   S. Subrahmanyam, 'Frank Submissions: the Company and the Mughals between Sir Thomas Roe and Sir William Norris', in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, eds H.V. Bowen, M. Lincoln, and N. Rigby, Woodbridge, 2002, pp. 69–96 (83).

60   M. Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*, Chicago, 2007, p. 60.

61   G. MacLean and N. Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World 1558–1713*, Oxford, 2011, p. 89.

declined during the eighteenth century. The foundation of the Laudian and Thomas Adams chairs, the brilliant career of Edward Pococke, and the massive expansion of the Oriental holdings of the Bodleian Library had made England, and Oxford in particular, into a leading centre of Oriental scholarship. Yet none of Pococke's students were able to replicate his achievements. Whereas a number of lesser-known figures continued to work within the parameters mapped out by Pococke's work – Thomas Hyde, Thomas Hunt, Jean Gagnier, and Johannes Uri at Oxford and Simon Ockley and Leonard Chappelow at Cambridge – Pococke's *magnum opus*, the *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1650) remained unsurpassed until the nineteenth century.[62] In 1790 Joseph White, who as Laudian professor prepared a new edition of Pococke's work, wrote damningly to a colleague in the Netherlands that 'nothing can be lower than the state of Oriental literature in this country'.[63]

Yet alongside this narrative of decline, new trends began to emerge. Firstly, an increasing number of texts were published in the vernacular. Whereas Pococke's Arabic scholarship had been predominantly Latinate, reflecting a largely continental readership, Simon Ockley's *The History of the Saracens* (1708–18) and George Sale's English translation of the Qur'an (1734) catered to a growing market of English readers. Secondly, the expanding British empire in Asia opened up new horizons within Oriental studies. This had been evident in the work of Thomas Hyde, who requested East India Company merchants to procure manuscripts for him, and whose *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (1700) pioneered the study of Persian antiquities.[64] It was also apparent in the attempt in the late 1760s of Warren Hastings, the future governor-general of Bengal, to institute an Oxford chair in Persian, the administrative language of the Mughal empire which the British colonial government would inherit.[65] Yet it would come to fruition in the career of the most brilliant British Orientalist of the eighteenth century, William Jones. After pursuing his Arabic studies at Oxford, Jones soon turned his attention to Persian. His *A Grammar of*

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62   This view of the decline of Arabic studies is set out in Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 306–14.

63   J. White to H.A. Schultens, 3 Aug. 1790, LUL, MS B.P.L. xiii.

64   P.J. Marshall, 'Oriental Studies', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T.H. Aston, 8 vols, Oxford, 1984–94, vol. 5: 'The Eighteenth Century', eds L.S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell, pp. 551–63, (557). See also A. Hamilton, 'The Learned Press: Oriental Languages', in *The History of Oxford University Press*, General Ed. S. Eliot, 3 vols, Oxford, 2013, vol. 1, 'Beginnings to 1780', ed. I. Gadd, pp. 399–417, (409–11, 414–15).

65   P.J. Marshall, 'Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron', *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essays in Eighteenth-Century History presented to Dame Lucy Sutherland*, eds A. Whiteman, J.S. Bromley, and P.G.M. Dickson, Oxford, 1973, pp. 242–62 (245–6).

the Persian Language (1771) struck a new tone in the study of eastern languages. Critical of the legacy of Renaissance erudition, Jones attempted to fuse Oriental scholarship with a heightened sensitivity to beauty, elegance, and taste. Yet he also placed a new emphasis on utility. Jones's audience were no longer the bookish divines ensconced in college libraries, but the cultured professionals required by the expanding bureaucracy of British India. His intention was not to aid the scholar navigating the grammatical intricacies of a polyglot Bible, but to assist the colonial administrator to read and write diplomatic letters, and to converse with both fluency and elegance.

If for earlier generations Arabic had been of interest primarily due to its close relationship with Hebrew, then for Jones it was Arabic's proximity to Persian which made its acquisition a necessity. The administrators in Bengal, wrote Jones, would 'regret their ignorance of the Arabick language', without which their knowledge of Persian 'must be very circumscribed and imperfect'.[66] The same reasoning inspired the first Arabic grammar printed in English: John Richardson's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* of 1776. In a dedication to the chairman, deputy, and directors of the East India Company, Richardson stressed the 'general usefulness' of Arabic, in particular for the 'just understanding of that Eastern language of correspondence and state affairs, the Persian'. His English primer would, he hoped, smooth the way to a language 'hitherto conceived so difficult, that few of your servants have had courage to begin it'. Like Jones, Richardson scorned the pedantry of the scholar – 'the perplexing obscurity and unengaging manner of grammarians'. His concern was with gentlemen: men of business, for whom the exigencies of commerce, war, and political government were more pressing than any 'abstract theoretical disquisitions, delivered in an obscure Latin idiom'. His *Grammar*, therefore, was a practical one, which stuck to essentials, eschewed irrelevant niceties, and attempted to illustrate rules through examples.[67]

Richardson's preface, however, over-emphasized the novelty of his work. The book was very closely modelled on Erpenius's grammar of a century and a half earlier. Frequently, Richardson simply translated Erpenius's Latin text;[68] the 'paradigms', or tables of verbs, were reproduced directly from Erpenius. Richardson's innovations were, firstly, to reorder the material. Most substantially, he placed Book ii, on nouns, before the section on verbs, there being

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66   W. Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, 2nd edn, London, 1775, p. x.

67   J. Richardson, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, London, 1811, pp. iv, iii, vii, xi.

68   C.G. Killean ('The Development of Western Grammars of Arabic', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 43.3, 1984, pp. 223–30) perhaps goes too far, however, in stating simply that Richardson translated Erpenius into English.

'no impropriety', in Richardson's judgment, 'in following the mode generally practised in teaching the European languages'.[69] He also moved Erpenius's discussion of the mutations of the long vowels from Book I, on the alphabet, to Book III, on verbs. Many of Erpenius's observations deemed non-essential were relegated to the footnotes. Secondly, Richardson added much new material. Some of this reflected his concern with practical utility. In an expanded section on pronunciation, for example, he drew attention to the broad variety of inflections inevitable in a widely-diffused, living language. The difficult Arabic consonant غ 'ghayn', Richardson noted, although standardly pronounced 'as gh in ghastly', in India assumed an aspirated 'rh' sound, 'resembling in some measure the Northumberland r'.[70] Richardson also added numerous extracts of Arabic texts intended to illustrate grammatical rules by example. Some of these were drawn from the printed Arabic works produced in Europe during the preceding two centuries. To illustrate the thirteen conjugations of the triliteral verb, for example, he gave a section from the *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal* by Bar Hebraeus, Grigōriyōs Abū l-Faraj (printed in Pococke's edition in 1650 and 1663). Yet the majority reflected the new taste for Arabic poetry and literature; as a supplement to the grammar, Richardson printed an extract from the Arabian Nights from a manuscript belonging to William Jones.[71]

Whether Richardson's grammar achieved its aim of encouraging the East India merchants to study Arabic is less clear. Certainly among the young men working under Hastings in Bengal, several turned their hands to learning languages. David Anderson, for example, attempted to acquire Arabic in the early 1770s as a means to achieving 'a perfect knowledge of Persian'.[72] Moreover, there is some evidence that the allure of employment in India inspired students to study Arabic in the British universities. In 1786 James Robertson, professor of Hebrew at the University of Glasgow, wrote to the Netherlands concerning Whitelaw Ainslie, a student of his who had 'attended my Lecture on the Arabick and Persian languages with a view of being employed by our East India Company', and had 'made great progress in the study of these languages'; Ainslie later served as a surgeon to the British garrison at Chingleput.[73]

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69   Richardson, *A Grammar*, p. 19.

70   Ibid., p. 9.

71   James Robertson (J. Robertson to H.A. Schultens, 31 Mar. 1778, LUL, MS B.P.L. xiii) thought that Richardson's neglecting to add vowel points to these extracts suggested that he 'has had no great experience at least in teaching the Arabick language'.

72   Quoted in Marshall, 'Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron', p. 259.

73   J. Robertson to H.A. Schultens, 22 Sept. 1786, LUL, MS B.P.L. xiii; B.D. Jackson, 'Ainslie, Sir Whitelaw (1767–1837)', rev. J. Mills, *ODNB*, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/239>, accessed 18 Dec 2014].

It is likely, however, that 'such men were a small minority among Englishmen (and, we should add, Scotsmen) in India'.[74]

Nevertheless, Richardson's grammar was succeeded by a more ambitious publication: a new dictionary of Arabic and Persian. This project had its origins in the early 1770s in a plan to produce a new Oriental dictionary. The model for the work was the *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* (1680–87), a dictionary of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian prepared by Franz Mesgnien Meninski who had served as interpreter of Oriental languages to the Habsburg monarchy in Vienna. A group of Oxford scholars, including John Swinton, Thomas Hunt, Johannes Uri, Joseph White, and no doubt Richardson himself, intended to augment the vocabulary in Meninski using the lexicons of Jacobus Golius, Antonio Giggei, and Edmund Castell for the Arabic, and the numerous manuscripts in the Bodleian and other private collections for the Persian. From the outset, the support of the East India Company was deemed essential to the success of the project, and the Company was solicited to subscribe in advance for a number of copies as a security for the vast expense of the undertaking, which included the cutting of an entirely new set of Persian types.[75] By October 1770, the Company had given its support. However, the plan was now no longer to produce an entirely new dictionary, but to reissue Meninski's work.[76] At this stage, William Jones was at the head of the project, and had used his growing reputation as a scholar of Persian to garner institutional support, both in England and on the Continent.[77] Richardson was also closely involved with the work. By the following year, the dictionary was said to be 'preparing for the press', and was scheduled for printing in April.[78]

In the event, the book never appeared (at least not in England: a new edition of Meninski was issued at Vienna in 1780 under the patronage of the empress Maria Theresa).[79] By the mid 1770s Jones had immersed himself in his legal practice; Thomas Hunt died in 1774, and John Swinton three years

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74   Marshall, 'Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron', p. 259.

75   BL, IOR, Mss Eur G37/17/66.

76   G. Sharpe to J. Richardson, 25 Sept. [1770], BL, IOR/E/1/54, fol. 209; W. Crichton to EIC, 3 Oct. 1770, BL IOR/E/1/54, fols 210–11; S. Hallifax to EIC, 3 Oct. 1770, BL, IOR/E/1/54, fol. 220.

77   W. Jones to EIC, 30 Dec. 1770, BL, IOR/E/1/54, fol. 466. See also the French-language prospectus printed at London in June 1771 (BL, 111.g.65); here Jones noted that the project had also received the support of the Levant Company, and that the editors intended to include translations of the Oriental words into Latin, English, Italian, Portugese, and French.

78   BL, IOR/E/1/54, fols 28^r–29^v.

79   F. à Mesgnien Meninski, *Lexicon Arabico-Persico-Turcicum*, 4 vols, Vienna, 1780.

later. By the beginning of 1776, Richardson alone was at work on the book in the form in which it would eventually appear: an English dictionary of Arabic and Persian, under the patronage of the University of Oxford and the East India Company.[80] The first volume was printed the following year. Following Meninski, Richardson listed the interspersed Arabic and Persian vocabulary alphabetically, distinguished only by an 'A' or 'P' preceding each individual entry. Contrary to almost all dictionaries in the Arabic lexicographical tradition (and to Jacobus Golius's 1653 *Lexicon*), this meant that the words were not grouped under their roots. Richardson's dictionary also had the disadvantage of not listing the plurals of many Arabic nouns. The Arabic vocabulary was largely derived from Meninski (who in turn had relied heavily on Golius); yet Richardson omitted a substantial number of Arabic words reflecting his principal concern with Persian.[81] Volume two, which appeared three years later, was more innovative. For the first time, Richardson attempted to produce an English to Arabic and Persian vocabulary. This clearly reflected the utilitarian emphasis of his work: his dictionary was for men who required an active grasp of the Persian (and thus of the Arabic) language. In it, can also be discerned the conjunction of scholarship and colonialism which, through the work of Edward Said, has come to define the contemporary resonance of the term 'Orientalism'.[82] Identifying Persian and Arabic synonyms for English words was, for Richardson, part of a broader attempt to 'naturalize, in the East, our European ideas, by clothing them in an Eastern dress'.[83]

Whatever its shortcomings (a later editor found 'numerous errors in translation'), Richardson's dictionary had a long afterlife. It was reprinted in 1800 and was re-issued in abridged form in 1810.[84] It then went through two further

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80   J. Richardson to H.A. Schultens, 6 Jan. 1776, LUL, MS B.P.L. xiii (requesting 'a list of Arabick words not in Golius') which he had heard about through James Robertson at Edinburgh.

81   This was the opinion of Francis Johnson, editor of a third edition of the dictionary, who after 'a rigid comparison' of the two works judged Richardson's dictionary to be 'little else than a limited translation from the great Thesaurus of Meninski' and found that Richardson had omitted 'many thousands of Arabic words': J. Richardson, *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*, ed. F. Johnson, 3rd edn, London, 1829, p. 7.

82   E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, 1978. For further reflections on the relationship between scholarship and colonialism in the context of British India, see Marshall, 'Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron' and Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 198–265.

83   J. Richardson, *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*, 2 vols, London, 1777–80, vol. 1, p. iii.

84   J. Richardson, *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*, 2 vols, London, 1800; C. Wilkins, *A Vocabulary, Persian, Arabic, and English; abridged from the Quarto Edition of Richardson's Dictionary*, London, 1810.

nineteenth-century editions prepared by the Orientalists Charles Wilkins (1806–10) and Francis Johnson (1829);[85] Johnson's revised edition provided the basis for his own 1852 *A Dictionary, Arabic, Persian, and English*; this work, in turn, was re-issued by F.J. Steingass in 1892, and continued in print well into the twentieth century.[86] In its various re-incarnations, the dictionary also achieved Richardson's aim of providing a practical aid for the East India Company's administrators. The Company purchased 150 copies of the first edition, and many more were sent out to Bengal and Madras; in the nineteenth century, later editions were distributed for use at the Fort William and Madras Colleges.

Conclusion: The Endurance of Scholarship

Richardson's dictionary succeeded in uniting two motivating factors behind the study of Arabic in early modern Europe: the interests of the scholar and the practical requirements of the merchant or the diplomat. The work was produced through a combination of the financial support of the East India Company with the intellectual resources of the University of Oxford. Its long publication history coincided with the development of a number of new educational institutions where Arabic and other languages of the Indian subcontinent were taught for practical ends, notably Fort William College (established 1800) and the East India College at Hertford (afterwards Haileybury; established 1806).

However, the English had come late to the game. As early as 1551, the Venetians had founded a language school in Istanbul to train Italian youths for the diplomatic service.[87] The French, under the guidance of Louis XIV's minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, established a school for the teaching of Arabic, Turkish,

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85   J. Richardson, *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*, ed. C. Wilkins, 2 vols, London, 1806–10; Richardson, *Dictionary*, ed. F. Johnson. These two works replaced the original folio with quarto editions. The 1829 edition has been reprinted several times (most recently in 1998) by Sang-e-Meel, Lahore.

86   F. Johnson, *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*, London, 1892; F.J. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary: including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be met with in Persian Literature*, London, 1892; the latter work went through a number of twentieth-century editions up until 1977.

87   E. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore, 2006, p. 37; I. Palumbo Fossati Casa, 'L'École vénitienne des "Giovani di Lingua"', in *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, ed. F. Hitzel, Paris, 1997, pp. 109–22.

and Persian in 1669.[88] The Orientalische Akademie in Vienna was founded with similar aims in 1754, and in 1766 a school for Oriental languages was established in Istanbul under the Polish king Stanisław August Poniatowski.[89] Moreover, when English commercial and colonial interests did stimulate new scholarly work on Arabic grammar and lexicography, Arabic was only ever a secondary interest: as we have seen, in Richardson's work Arabic was valued chiefly because its grammar and so much of its vocabulary were thought to have influenced Persian. The truly pioneering work of the British Orientalists in India was not in Arabic, but in the east Asian languages which then were *terra incognita* for European scholars: Bengali, Urdu, and, most significantly of all, Sanskrit.

Finally, Richardson's work brings to the fore the remarkable longevity of the earlier writings of humanist scholars who had done so much to advance the study of Arabic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the institutional context of Richardson's work – his success in garnering financial support from a corporation – was new, the content of his scholarship was almost wholly derivative. His grammar was a reworking of a book produced more than a hundred and fifty years earlier by Thomas Erpenius. The Arabic vocabulary of his dictionary was derived (via Meninski) from the mid seventeenth-century work of Erpenius's successor at Leiden, Jacobus Golius. In this sense, the claims of Raphelengius, Erpenius, and others that their work would have some utilitarian value turned out to be correct. Patrons of scholarship, then as now, would do well to heed the fact that it took more than a century for these practical applications to be realized.

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88 A. Pippidi, 'Drogmans et enfants de langue: la France de Constantinople au xviie siècle', in *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, pp. 131–40.

89 V. Weiss von Starkenfels, *Die kaiserlich-königliche orientalische Akademie zu Wien*, Vienna, 1839, p. 7; Tadeusz Majda, 'L'École polonaise des langues orientales d'Istanbul au xviiie siècle', in *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, pp. 123–28.

Learning Oriental Languages in the Ottoman Empire: Johannes Heyman (1667–1737) between Izmir and Damascus

Maurits H. van den Boogert

Johannes Heyman was the first Professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden who had properly mastered both colloquial and Ottoman Turkish and he co-authored the section on Oriental manuscripts in the catalogue of Leiden's University Library which circulated widely in the eighteenth century. In his own time Heyman's scholarly capabilities appear to have been held in high regard. His international fame rose even further as the co-author of an account of travels to the eastern Mediterranean published in Leiden after his death by his nephew, which was translated into English almost immediately.[1] Nevertheless, Heyman's lack of academic productivity has adversely affected his modern reputation; in the history of Dutch Oriental studies Johannes Heyman is now considered a relatively marginal figure.[2]

In his official capacity as chaplain to the Dutch consul at Izmir (Smyrna), Heyman resided there for almost seven years, from June 1700 until May 1707. At his own request, Heyman was dismissed by the Directors of the Levant Trade on 30 September 1705, but he only gave his official farewell sermon on 6 July 1706.[3] Even then it took almost another year before he set off on his second tour of the Fertile Crescent, the first having taken place from the end of June 1704 until early January 1705. As Dutch pastor in Izmir, Heyman was part of the consul's so-called 'family', the consular household, whose members lived in the consular house and ate at the consular table. Although the Dutch community in Izmir was one of the largest in the Levant, in an absolute sense the group

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1   *Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa, klein Asien, verscheide Eilanden van de Archipel, Syrien, Palestina of het H. Land, Ægypten, den Berg Sinai, enz.*, Leiden, 1758; *Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago; Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, &c. ... by... J. Ægidius van Egmont ... and John Heyman ... Translated from the Low Dutch. In two volumes*, London, 1759.

2   A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, Leiden, 2014, p. 64.

3   O. Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers residerende in het buitenland 1584–1810*, The Hague, 1979, p. 338.

was limited and their spiritual care did not claim all of Heyman's waking hours. The pastor therefore had enough time to maintain a correspondence with friends at home, to collect antiquities – a pastime for almost all Europeans in the Ottoman Empire in this period –, and to study Oriental languages. The sources about Heyman's life allow us to analyse where and how he acquired these languages, while the manuscripts he purchased in Izmir also shed light on the texts he used in the process.

Johannes Heyman

Heyman was born in the German town of Wesel on the River Rhine, close to the Dutch border, on 1 January 1667.[4] After studying theology at the University of Franeker, where he registered as a student in 1691,[5] Heyman became a Protestant minister in the villages of Urmond and Grevenbricht, both in the Dutch province of Limburg. In August of 1699 the Directors of the Levant Trade in Amsterdam appointed Heyman to the post of minister to the Dutch mercantile community in the Anatolian seaport of Izmir. Heyman had wanted to travel to Turkey overland, but the authorities appear to have insisted that he make the journey by sea in a protected convoy. In December 1699 Heyman therefore set out from Amsterdam, where his brother lived, for the island of Texel where all Dutch ships destined for the Levant departed from.[6] Before he left the Dutch Republic, Heyman had offered his services to Gisbert Cuper, the scholar-politician at Deventer who was one of the most prominent Dutch citizens of the Republic of Letters at the time and a potential patron. Heyman explicitly emphasized his willingness to collect inscriptions, as well as medals and other classical artefacts for Cuper, whom Heyman also promised a full account of his journey to Izmir.

Cuper accepted Heyman as a correspondent and would eventually help him to obtain the professorship in Leiden. In return, Heyman occasionally sent

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4 Heyman's exact date of birth is mentioned in the original caption to his portrait ("Natus 1 Ianuarii A.º 1667") and in the revised caption after his death ("Natus 1/1 MDCLXVII"). P.C. Molhuysen, ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit. Vijfde deel: 10 Febr. 1725 – 8 Febr. 1765*, The Hague, 1921, p. 53* [the asterisk marks the second pagination in the volume].

5 S.J. Fockema Andrae and T.J. Meijer, *Album studiosorum academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844)*, Franeker, [1968], p. 256.

6 Nationaal Archief, Den Haag: 1.10.24 [Collectie Cuperus]: vol. 10, p. 374 (First Letter), undated. Heyman's brother Dirk was a wine merchant in Amsterdam; A.H. Huussen Jr. and C. Wes-Patoir, 'Hoe een ambitieuze predikant te Smirna professor te Leiden werd', *Holland* 31 (1999), pp. 87–100, esp. 91.

Cuper a letter from Izmir and he collected antiquities for him too. In 1705, for example, Heyman dispatched a box of reportedly extremely rare coins and medals, but the ship was lost in a fire at Texel. Cuper wrote to another correspondent that 'it depresses me to think of these rarities, all the more because they included some [items] which had never been seen before in any cabinet [of curiosities]'.[7]

When Heyman arrived at Izmir, he had no Oriental languages except some ancient Hebrew, but he eventually studied colloquial Hebrew, Turkish, and Arabic in the Ottoman Empire. Some of the evidence is found in the correspondence leading to his appointment at the University of Leiden, where Heyman formally began his professorship of Oriental Languages on 21 March 1710. Three days later, he held his inaugural lecture, *Oratio inauguralis de commendando studio linguarum Orientalium*, which had taken up so much of his time that he obliged the States-General to postpone an official audience with an Ottoman delegation from Istanbul which he had been asked to listen in on – hidden behind a screen – to double-check that the interpreters did their work properly.[8] Accepting assignments of this kind was an attractive way of supplementing his university salary (of 800 Guilders per annum), because, for assistance with the delegation from Turkey in 1710 alone, the Directors of the Levant Trade paid him 500 Guilders.[9]

Heyman's employers did not forget the reason why they had originally appointed him and, to expedite his work on Leiden's Oriental manuscripts, in November 1711 they temporarily reduced his normal teaching load of four classes per week to two, on the condition that the curators receive a progress report three months later. Heyman worked principally on a new catalogue for the manuscripts, which was part of a larger project at the library. It was not until 1716 that the *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum*

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7   Cuper to Van den Bergh, 26 January 1706; A.J. Veenendaal, ed., *Het dagboek van Gisbert Cuper, gedeputeerde te velde, gehouden in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in 1706*, The Hague, 1950, pp. 274–5.

8   M.H. van den Boogert, 'Redress for Ottoman Victims of European Privateering. A Case against the Dutch in the *Divan-i Hümayun* (1708–1715)', *Turcica*, 33, 2001, pp. 91–118, esp. 103. Heyman had already mentioned the Ottoman government's intention to send this delegation in his letter to the curators of the university dated 5 June 1709, in *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit. Vierde deel: 18 Febr. 1682 – 8 Febr. 1725*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, The Hague, 1920, p. 121*.

9   *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel. Tweede deel: 1661–1726*, ed. K. Heeringa, The Hague, 1917, doc. 127, Resolutiën van de directeuren te Amsterdam, betreffende het Turksche gezantschap in Nederland, 1709–1712 ('Decisions of the Directors [of Levant Trade] in Amsterdam regarding the Turkish envoy in Holland, 1709–1712'), p. 350.

Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae was published, the credits for which were shared by Wolferdus Senguerdius (d. 1724), the university librarian, Jacobus Gronovius (d. 1716), and Johannes Heyman. The Leiden catalogue was modelled on those of Cambridge and Oxford and circulated widely.[10] In 1717 Heyman, who seems to have been held in much higher regard by his contemporaries than by later historians, was one of the three candidates for the position of Rector Magnificus of Leiden University, but he was not elected.[11]

In 1716, the year the Leiden catalogue was published, Heyman married Johanna Constantia de Planque. At this time Heyman lived on the Koepoortsgracht in Leiden, while his wife had lived in the house on the Nieuwe Herengracht she had inherited from her late first husband.[12] The couple does not appear to have had any children. Johannes Heyman died on 7 April 1737.

10   K. van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Scaliger in Leiden University Library Catalogues, 1609–1716', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, Leiden, 2013, pp. 77–9. Heyman had worked on the catalogue together with Carolus Schaaf (d. 1729), who had been the Reader in Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages since 1680. Schaaf had been passed over for the chair of Oriental languages in 1710, but he continued to lobby for a professorship. In 1719 Schaaf complained to the university administration that Heyman also offered courses in Hebrew, which was Schaaf's prerogative. Although initially rebuked for having had the audacity to file a formal complaint against a professor, Schaaf was awarded a special chair in Leiden in 1720. *Bronnen ... Vierde deel*, ed. Molhuysen, pp. 255, 303, 309, 310.

11   *Resolutiën van de Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende Westfrieslandt... in den jare 1717*, Delft?, 1718?, 34: Letter from the governors of Leiden University dated Wednesday 3 February 1717. One of the few students of Heyman we know by name is Willem van Irhoven (d. 1760), the reformed theologian and author of *Conjectanea philologico-critico-theologica in psalmorum titulos*, Leiden, 1728. Van Irhoven, who accepted a professorship of theology in the University of Utrecht in 1737, was a respected citizen of the Republic of Letters.

12   Regionaal Archief Leiden, Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken Leiden, Archiefnr. 1004, no. 31 (1715–1718) fol. 130ʳ (entry dated 15 August 1716). At the beginning of 1728 Heyman was registered as the official seller of a complex of buildings for the considerable sum of 2,500 Guilders. Although located close to Heyman's house, just outside the city gates (but officially the nearby village of Zoeterwoude), these buildings were used in the cloth industry (a bleaching house, two washing houses, a watermill, etc.). It therefore seems likely that they (had) belonged to Heyman's wife, who had probably inherited them from her first husband, who was a merchant in Leiden. Ibid., Notarieel register, 1728: Akte no. 13: 26 February 1728.

Acquiring Oriental Languages

Heyman arrived at Izmir on 8 June 1700. Initially he does not seem to have been particularly keen to acquire any Oriental languages, because the first language he began to study soon after his arrival in the Ottoman Empire was colloquial Greek. In a letter from December 1701 to Cuper he announced that he also intended to take lessons in Turkish, Arabic, and colloquial Hebrew from 'some rabbi'.[13] Those surviving Oriental manuscripts which can be connected to Heyman confirm the chronology; a manuscript of a linguistic manual which he had had copied in Izmir contains a handwritten note by him on the verso side of the title page which reads '*Vocabulario Turcico. Sm[irna] 10/1 [17]02*'.[14] It contains Turkish words and phrases with Italian translations. The manuscript itself was not necessarily executed especially for Heyman, for some of the other volumes he acquired had been produced by the same copyist a decade earlier. For example, Heyman also bought an anonymous, rhymed Arabic-Turkish dictionary copied by the same scribe in Izmir. That manuscript was completed on a Sunday in the month of Muḥarram 1104 AH, which can only have been 3, 10, 17, or 24 Muḥarram, corresponding to 4, 21, or 28 September or 5 October 1692 CE.[15] The colophon of yet another manuscript by the same scribe which was acquired by Heyman at Izmir is dated to the year 1102/1690–1691.[16]

Heyman also used a translation into simple Turkish of Æsop's fables, the manuscript of which was completed during the first ten days of the month Dhu l-Qaʻdah 1114, i.e. 19–28 March 1703.[17] Each page of Turkish text was faced by a blank page, on which Heyman wrote a three-column glossary, with transcription and translations (into Latin and Italian, or Dutch and Italian). This suggests that the copy was deliberately produced in this way, probably at Heyman's request.

In 1704 Heyman wrote to Cuper that

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13   Huussen Jr. en Wes-Patoir, 'Hoe een ambitieuze predikant te Smirna professor te Leiden werd', p. 92.

14   The manuscript is now kept in the Leiden University Library as Acad. 80. J. Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other Collections in the Netherlands. Minor Collections*, Leiden, 2012, p. 172.

15   Ibid., p. 168. Now held in Leiden as Acad. 76.

16   Ibid., pp. 176–7: Acad. 87.

17   LUL, MS Cod. Or. 1289; J. Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other Collections in the Netherlands*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2000, pp. 588–90. Cf. J. Schmidt, 'Johannes Heyman (1667–1737). His Manuscript Collection and the Dutch Community in Izmir', in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies vol. 2*, eds C. Imber, K. Kiyotaki, and R. Murphey, London, 2005, pp. 75–90, esp. pp. 79–81.

> I brought hither [i.e. to Izmir] in addition to the languages of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, acquired in school, and my two mother tongues of German and Dutch, the following: French, Italian, English, and Spanish. For each of these [languages] my every-day contacts with members of various nations here at Izmir gave me the best opportunity for practice, so much so that I am now equally conversant in all of them. Since [arriving here] I have also taken up contemporary Greek as well as Turkish, and I have made a start with Arabic, to which I will devote the fifth year of my chaplaincy [in Izmir].[18]

Heyman did not consider one year of private tuition in a turcophone environment sufficient to learn proper Arabic, so when it seemed that the University of Leiden was willing to offer him the chair of Oriental languages, Heyman insisted that he first be allowed to travel two or three more years in the eastern Mediterranean to hone his linguistic skills. This would allow him to visit Egypt, Palestine and Syria, where he had already travelled for five or six months at the end of 1704 and the beginning of 1705.

By the time Heyman's term in Izmir drew to an end, Cuper had begun to arrange an academic position for him. He put in a good word for Heyman with Count Flodorff Wartensleben in Dordrecht, presumably for an appointment as Professor of Oriental languages at the city's Athenæum Illustre, and to 'Baron' Nicolaas Witsen, the mayor of Amsterdam, to get Heyman appointed in a similar capacity there. Cuper even wrote to some of his contacts abroad on Heyman's behalf, and that indirectly seems to have helped convince the University of Leiden. It was Leiden's mayor and Secretary to the Board of Curators of the University, J. van den Bergh, who suggested Heyman as a candidate for the chair of Oriental languages on 12 January 1707. For some time already the university had been looking for a suitable person to translate the manuscripts collected by Scaliger, Golius, and Warner into Latin with the aim of publishing them. Van den Bergh had been informed by 'reliable sources' about Johannes Heyman, who

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18   Heyman to Cuper, 23 June 1704; 'Ik bragt hiernevens de schooltalen Lat[ijn], Gr[ieks] en Hebr[eeuws] ende mijne beijde Moedertalen Hoogduijtse en Nederduijtsche, noch dese volgende: Fransche, Ital[iaanse], Engelsche ende Spaansche. In alle die hebbe ik hier tot Smijrna door den dagelijksen ommegang met allerleij naties de beste occasie van de wereld ontmoet, [en] mij dermaten geoeffent, dat het mij tusschen de eene ofte andere weinig verschilt. Zedert hebbe ik daarbij aangenoomen de hedendaagsche Griekse alsmede de Turkse, endo so veel als een begin gemaakt met de Arabse, tot welk laatste ik nogh dit vijfde jaar van mijnen Predikdienst stelle.' Also quoted in Huussen Jr. en Wes-Patoir, 'Hoe een ambitieuze predikant te Smirna professor te Leiden werd', p. 94.

is not only familiar with the vulgar Greek and Turkish, but who is also said to have made considerable progress in the Persian and Arabic languages, having left his chaplaincy, with the consent of the congregation and the Directors of the Levant Trade, to perfect his knowledge of these languages in Damascus. The aforementioned Rev. Heyman had also studied medals and other antiquities, of which he had acquired an outstanding collection during a journey which he made to Palestine and Jerusalem, about which he has corresponded with Mr. Cuper, mayor of the city of Deventer, for many years, who had recommended him [Heyman] to the Secretary [van den Bergh]; and [told him] that the Rev. Heyman has hopes of obtaining an annual pension from the King of Prussia for the duration of his stay in Asia and, after the conclusion of his studies, of being appointed professor of Oriental languages at the University of Halle. But he [Heyman] had intimated to his friends that he would prefer such a calling at a university in this country. For this reason it seems necessary to act quickly, before he [Heyman] has committed himself elsewhere.[19]

Heyman's intention to study Arabic at Damascus must partly have been influenced by the virtual absence of Westerners in that city in this period. With the exception of some Franciscan friars who lived there, Damascus had no Western consulates in the eighteenth century and very few European residents. Because only the most affluent pilgrims to the Holy Places could afford to make the

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19   *Bronnen ... Vierde deel*, ed. Molhuysen, p. 226: '[...] als welke niet alleen ervaren was in het vulgaire Grieks ende Turcx, maar ook reets daarenboven vrij groote progressen soude hebben gedaan in de Persise en Arabise talen, hebbende hy met goedvinden van sijne gemeenten ende Directeurs van den Levantsen handel sijne voors. predickdienst tot Smyrna verlaten, om tot Damascus sigh in alle de voors. talen beter te kennen perfectioneren; dat den gemelten D. Heyman sigh mede geappliceert had tot de kenisse van medailles ende andere outheden, waarvan hy een treffelycke collectie had gemaekt in een reyse, die hy naa Palestina ende Jerusalem gedaan heeft, waar ontrent den heer Cuper, burgermeester der stad Deventer, met wien den meergeseyden D. Heyman lange jaren gecorrespondeert had, aan hem, secretaris, seer loffelyke getuygenisse hadde gegeven; dat den voors. D. Heyman hope had, om van de Koningh van Pruyssen gedurende sijn verblijff in Asia een jaarlycx pensioen te bekoomen, ende na 't voltrecken van sijne studien de professio linguarum Orientalium op de Universiteyt tot Hal; dogh dat hy mede aan sijne vrunden genoegsaem had te kennen gegeven, dat hy sodanige beroepinge op een Universiteyt alhier te lande voor alle andere praeferen soude; om alle welke redene het nodigh was dat men sigh hierontrent spoedigh quam te verklaren, eer denselven sigh aan andere mogte geengageert hebben.'

extra journey to Damascus, Heyman would not have fallen prey there to all the distractions he was familiar with from Izmir.

The university administrators decided to offer Heyman an allowance of 500 Guilders per year for two years, and the chair of Oriental languages at Leiden upon his return to the Dutch Republic on the explicit condition that he translate into Latin and publish the manuscripts collected by his predecessors. A few weeks later the offer was sent to Heyman 'at Damascus', but he had not yet left his post. Heyman eventually received the letter on 2 June 1707 on the island of Chios, having just arrived there from Izmir. In his reply to Leiden, written at the end of June, he announced that he was on his way to Syria, where he intended to settle in Damascus for some time 'or elsewhere among the Arabs and then somewhere among the Persians'. He explained that he had studied both these languages on the basis of texts, but that he had not been able to practice speaking them sufficiently. His colloquial Turkish was fine, but 'at the court of the Grand Signor and in all official writing the language of the scholars and courtiers is that which is mixed with Arabic and Persian words and phrases'. For this reason Heyman intended also to spend some time in Istanbul at the end of his journey to study this more difficult type of Turkish. The prospect of his appointment in Leiden, which he gladly accepted, merely strengthened his resolve to continue his travels, Heyman assured the curators in Leiden.[20]

One of the manuscripts Heyman may have used in his studies of written Ottoman Turkish is a mid-seventeenth-century copy of a collection of fatwas (legal rulings) by a mufti from Skopje called Pīr Meḥmed Efendi b. Ḥasan Efendi. A note in Heyman's handwriting on the title page shows that Heyman initially misidentified the language of the manuscript as Arabic, but he later corrected this into *Turcice*.[21] He clearly also studied his (undated) copy of the *Vaṣīyetnāme* by Birgili Meḥmed Efendi (d. 981/1573), in which he added marginal notes, transcriptions into Latin script and glosses in Dutch and Latin. This time he did not mistake Turkish for Arabic in his Latin translation of the title page.[22] In a letter dated 5 June 1709, Heyman informed the University that he had returned to Istanbul and that he intended to travel back to the Dutch Republic overland:

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20   For the original letter from the university to Heyman, dated 3 February 1707, see ibid., pp. 109*–10*. For Heyman's reply, dated 25 June 1707, see ibid., pp. 111*–13*, and 113*–14* for the university's confirmation of receipt of Heyman's response and a reconfirmation of the agreement.

21   The manuscript was completed in 1067/1656–7. Schmidt, *Catalogue...*, vol. 1, pp. 568–70.

22   Ibid., pp. 586–8.

> At the start of this year I arrived overland from Syria in the capital of the
> Ottoman Empire, Constantinople, and I have turned my attention again
> to the Turkish tongue, having predominantly practised reading the most
> difficult texts, just as I have previously studied Arabic as much as I could
> in both the written and the spoken language in Egypt, Syria and Palestine;
> this, with God's blessing, now enables me not only to translate texts in
> these languages, and to speak them, but also to write letters and other
> texts [...] I have also been able to build on my earlier efforts to learn
> Persian; in addition, I have had some practice in the extinct languages of
> Syriac and Samaritan [...][23]

Heyman regretted having been unable to travel to Persia, as he had intended:
'Had I been able to spend time in Persia, this journey would have been perfect.'
Heyman wrote the letter from Edirne ('Hadrianopel'), where he awaited the
company of a number of Dutchmen and Englishmen with whom he intended
to travel, because 'in Turkey one can only travel safely in a well-armed group'.
They were all still in Istanbul, but Heyman hoped that the company would be
able to leave Edirne 8 or 10 days later. The journey overland, via Belgrade and
Vienna, would probably take two or three months.[24]

　　Gisbert Cuper, who had received fewer letters from Heyman than he had
reason to expect, was anxious to meet Heyman and expected him to call
at Deventer before continuing to Leiden. Cuper may well have hoped to
strengthen his connections with Heyman, who was after all in his debt for his
patronage. Cuper also had specific questions for Heyman. For example, he had
received rubbings of medals with Arabic script on them from Berlin, one of
which he liked in particular. Cuper had asked for help from Adriaan Reland,
the Professor of Oriental languages at Utrecht, but to no avail, while Jacob
Rhenferd, who held the same position at the University of Franeker, had not
replied yet. On 12 November 1709 Cuper wrote to the Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon,
the French ecclesiastic and librarian to King Louis XIV, that

> Mr. Heyman, qui a été voyager pendant plusieurs années & apprendre les
> Langues Orientales tant mortes que vivantes, & qui a été fait à ma recom-
> mandation Professeur en ces Langues à Leyde, est malade à Vienne en
> Autriche. Il doit venir ici avec le fils de Mr. Le Consul de Hochepied,

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23　Heyman to the curators of the University, 5 June 1709, in *Bronnen ... Vierde deel*, ed. Mol-
　　huysen, pp. 120*–21*, doc. 970.
24　Ibid.

chargé d'Antiquitez, & c'est alors que je m'entretiendrai avec lui, sur une Médaille si extraordinaire.[25]

Less than two months later Cuper wrote to the Abbé Bignon that Heyman had stopped at Halle, with plans to make a detour to Berlin. He had been informed about this by Justinus Constantinus de Hochepied, the abovementioned son of the Dutch consul in Izmir and Clara Catharina Colyer, who had accompanied Heyman up to that point. Leaving Heyman in Halle, De Hochepied junior had travelled to Deventer, finding Cuper away from home, but bringing with him, on behalf of the English consul at Izmir, William Sherrard, 'de magnifiques Inscriptions Grecques anecdotes, une liste de Médailles où il y a des noms de Villes qui nous sont inconnuës, & d'autres raretez [sic] assez singulieres'. From the Dutch consul too Cuper was expecting soon to receive 'beaucoup de Reliques Profanes'.[26] To Cuper's great disappointment Heyman did not stop at Deventer at all on the last leg of the journey home. This perceived display of ungratefulness and disloyalty to Cuper on Heyman's part has been held against him,[27] but in the summer of 1714 Heyman had plans to visit Cuper at long last – once again with Justinus Constantinus de Hochepied, who had settled in The Hague by that time.[28] Whether Cuper and Heyman ever met is unclear.

Fables and Stories as Instruments for Language Acquisition

Beginners learning a foreign language often need simple texts to familiarize themselves gradually with the object of their studies. This applies as much to modern students as it does to those in the pre-modern era. Heyman, as we have seen, used a Turkish translation of Æsop's fables for this purpose at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[29] Since Heyman was a novice to Oriental

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25   G. Cuper, *Lettres de critique, de littérature, d'histoire, &c. écrites à divers savan[t]s …*, 1743; reprinted 1755, p. 233: Cuper to M. l'Abbé Bignon, 12 November 1709.

26   Ibid., p. 236, Cuper to M. l'Abbé Bignon, 1 January 1710.

27   Huussen Jr. en Wes-Patoir, 'Hoe een ambitieuze predikant te Smirna professor te Leiden werd'.

28   Cuper, *Lettres de critique*, p. 147, Cuper to M. [Maturin Veyssière] La Croze, 10 April 1714.

29   The John Rylands Library in Manchester also holds a copy of a Turkish translation of Æsop's fables with 'marginal corrections and readers' notes in French and English', but the manuscript is undated and the readers are unidentified. See J. Schmidt, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library at Manchester*, Leiden, 2011, pp. 256–7 (MS 152).

studies at the time, he may well have been unaware of the first Latin edition of the Fables of Luqmān on the basis of Arabic manuscripts by Erpenius already in 1615.[30] Later in the eighteenth century William Jones included some explicit recommendations on methods for learning a language in the Preface to his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, which was first published in 1771:

> When the student can read the characters with fluency, and has learned the true pronunciation of every letter from the mouth of a native, let him peruse the grammar with attention, and commit to memory the regular inflexions of the nouns and verbs: he needs not burden his mind with those that deviate from the common form, as they will be insensibly learned in a short course of reading. By this time he will find a dictionary necessary.

Jones then sings the praises of the *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium* by François de Mesgnien Meninski (d. 1698), which was first published in Vienna in 1680. Its four volumes included a dictionary of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian with Latin translations and explanations, as well as a Turkish grammar. Meninski had copied many of the Arabic and Persian words in the vocabulary from the dictionaries in these languages by Jacobus Golius, Johannes Heyman's predecessor as professor of Oriental languages in Leiden, while Meninski had added the Turkish vocabulary himself. Golius's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* was published in Leiden in 1653, while Edmund Castell included Golius's *Dictionarium Persico-Latinum* posthumously in the *Lexicon heptaglotton* (1669). The two dictionaries were invaluable instruments for students of Oriental languages, but many also compiled glossaries of their own. For example, the French diplomat Laurent (Chevalier) d'Arvieux, composed a Persian-Latin dictionary in 1666, which he copied in the margins of his copy of Golius's Arabic dictionary ('jusques au Dal'), saving the margins on the opposite side of the page for a Turkish vocabulary he was still planning to produce six years later.[31] In this period Antoine Galland was working on his Turkish-French dictionary in

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30   T. Erpenius, *Locmani sapientis Fabvlæ et selecta qvædam arabvm adagia cum interpretatione latina & notis Thomae* Erpenii, Leiden, 1615.

31   On early European dictionaries and grammars for both Persian and Turkish, see A. Hamilton and F. Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 73 et seqq.

Istanbul, finishing the first part in March 1672.[32] Albert Schultens (d. 1750), who was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden next to Heyman in 1732, also drew up an Arabic vocabulary on the basis of the Fables of Luqman and other texts.[33] It is difficult to say for which purpose these dictionaries were compiled, because none of them was ever published.

William Jones continues his advice to language students as follows:

> He [the student] may proceed by the help of this work to analyse the passages quoted in the grammar, and to examine in what manner they illustrate the rules; in the meantime he must not neglect to converse with his living instructor, and to learn from him the phrases of common discourse, and the names of visible objects, which he will soon imprint on his memory, if he will take the trouble to look for them in the dictionary: and here I must caution him again condemning a work as defective, because he cannot find in it every word which he hears; for sounds in general are caught imperfectly by the ear, and many words are spelled and pronounced very differently.

The references in these quotations to 'the grammar' must refer to Jones's own *Grammar of Persian*, but what he says also applied to such teaching tools in other languages. As for elementary reading, Jones advised that the student of Persian start with Saʿdī's 'Gulistan or *Bed of Roses* […] of which there are several translations in the languages of Europe'.[34] A comparison between manuscripts,

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32   A. Galland, *Voyage à Constantinople* (*1672–1673*), ed. C. Schefer, Paris, 2002, p. 70 (d'Arvieux), p. 78 (Galland).

33   LUL, MS Cod. Or. 1951. See J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the oriental Manuscripts of the Library of Leiden University*, vol. 2, Leiden, 2007, pp. 291–2.

34   In 1773, the Dutch Orientalist H.A. Schultens travelled to England, where he became close to William Jones. It was in London and Cambridge that Schultens started studying Persian under Jones' guidance. The Dutchman recorded that 'I have passed the grammar of Persian, and have advanced enough to continue with reading. Jones has advised me to start immediately with Saʿdī, of which he will lend me his copy. He has now copied an eulogy by Hafez for me with a literal translation and a paraphrase.' ('Het grammaticaale van 't Persisch ben ik door, en ver genoeg om met leezen voorttegaan. Jones heeft mij geraaden direct aan Sadi te beginnen waarvan hij mijn zijn exemplaar zal leenen. Hij heeft mij nu eene elegie van Hafez uitgeschreeven met eene woordelijke vertaaling en paraphrase.' Letter by H.A. Schultens to his father, J.J. Schultens, London, 23 February 1773, in *Een alleraangenaamste reys. Eigenhandige Dagelijksche Aanteekeningen van Hendrik Albert Schultens nopens zijn verblijf in Engeland in de jaren 1772 en 1773. Met de Oorspronkelijke Bijlagen*, eds C. van Eekeren and E. Kwant, Leiden, 1999, consulted online: <https://sites.google.com/site/haschultens/>.

which were easy to find, and the printed works was recommended so that the student would become familiar with various styles of handwriting.

> It will then be a proper time for him to read some short and easy chapter of this book, and to translate it into his native language with the utmost exactness; let him then lay aside the original, and after a proper interval let him turn the same chapter back into Persian by the assistance of the grammar and dictionary; let him afterwards compare his second translation with the original, and correct its faults according to that model. […] When he can express his sentiments in Persian with tolerable facility, I would advise him to read some elegant history or poem with an intelligent native, who will explain to him in common words the refined expressions that occur in reading, and will point out the beauties of learned allusions and local images. The most excellent book in the language is, in my opinion, the collection of tales and fables called Anvab Soheili by Aussein Vaéz, surnamed Cashefi,[35] who took the celebrated work of Bidpai or Pilpay for his text, and has comprised all the wisdom of the eastern nations in fourteen beautiful chapters.[36]

In India Jones read Bidpai's tales – which he considered the most likely source for the fables attributed to Æsop which Heyman had used for his studies – in his efforts to teach himself Sanskrit, so there is some evidence that Jones actually practised what he preached.[37]

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35   The Persian writer and preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, known as Kāshifi (d. 910/1504–5) was the author of *Anwār- i Suhaylī*, the Persian version of the story of *Kalīla wa Dimna*. The Leiden University Library holds a copy of a manuscript of this text with notes by an unidentified 18th-century European scholar (Cod. Or. 102), which suggests that Jones was not alone in considering this a suitable text for studying Persian. J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the oriental Manuscripts of the Library of Leiden University*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2007, pp. 50–1.

36   All quotations from *Grammar of Persian*, in: *The works of William Jones in six volumes*, London, 1799, vol. 2, pp. 129–31.

37   In a letter to Patrick Russell (who also owned a manuscript with fables by Æsop, i.e. John Rylands Library, MS Ar. 653) dated 28 September 1786, Jones wrote: 'My present study is the original of Bidpai's fables, called Hitopaesa, which is a charming book, and wonderfully useful to a learner of the language.' *The Letters of William Jones*, ed. G. Cannon, Oxford, 1970, vol. 2: no. 440, pp. 706–8, esp. p. 706. Copying out manuscripts by hand was also part of Jones's methods of (self-)teaching languages, but he does not mention it as part of the learning process in his *Persian Grammar*. For copies of Arabic manuscripts in Jones's own hand, see the John Rylands Library, Manchester, MSS Ar. 264–5, two volumes of *Sukkardān al-Sulṭān* (The King's Sugerbowl). Jones copied the first volume in

Other eighteenth-century scholars too were interested in fables. For example, the German philologist Johann Jakob Reiske (d. 1774), a student of Albert Schultens who also lived at his house, made a copy of the Leiden manuscript of al-Maydānī's *Majmaʿ al-amthāl* in 1745. Excerpts from Reiske's handwritten copy were later copied by Joannes Willmet (d. 1835) under the title *Fabulae Arabicae*. Interestingly, Willmet's copy has blank opposite pages, just like the Turkish manuscript of Æsop's fables Heyman had used for his studies a century earlier.[38] In 1746 Denis Dominique Cardonne made a French translation of the Fables of Æsop while he was still an interpreter (*dragoman*) in the service of the French consulate in Tripoli in Syria.[39] It seems doubtful, however, that this was a language exercise for Cardonne, because he had lived in the Ottoman Empire since 1730, having arrived there at the age of nine.[40]

Although stating that 'this is the exercise so often recommended by the old rhetoricians', Jones's advice about language acquisition appears to be based on the assumption that the Western student of Oriental languages himself resided abroad. More specifically, it is evident that his *Grammar of the Persian Language* was written as a text book for British officials in India who were expected to employ a *munshi* (language teacher) to train them. In fact, for some time the reimbursement of a salary for one's *munshi* was the East India Company's only way to stimulate junior British scribes to study Indian languages. Jones's foundation of the (later Royal) Asiatic Society gave an important impetus to the study of Indian languages and cultures, both ancient and contemporary, but the education of British officials was only properly formalized with the establishment of the Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800. The College employed various native speakers of the 'Asian' languages that were on the curriculum, and one of them was Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Shīrwānī, who was originally from Yemen. Shīrwānī also became responsible for editing a number of

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December 1766, the second about a year later. Jones had borrowed his exemplar from A. Russell, MD. *The Letters of Sir William Jones*, ed. Cannon, pp. 776–7.

38   J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam*, Leiden, 2006, pp. 51–52. Willmet's copy is MS Acad. 160; Reiske's manuscript is now MS Deventer, 1824.

39   The autograph copy of the translation is now LUL, MS Cod. Or. 1589, 1. It is dated 1159 AH, i.e. 1746 CE. Witkam, *Inventory ... Leiden University*, vol. 2, p. 186.

40   After he had been appointed the Professor of Arabic at the Collège Royal in Paris, Cardonne published several volumes of translations of fables and stories: *Mélanges de littérature orientale, traduits de différens manuscrits turcs, arabes et persans de la Bibliothèque du Roi, par M. Cardonne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1770, and *Contes et fables indiennes de Bidpaï et de Lokman. Traduites d'Ali Tchelebi-ben-Saleh, auteur turc. Ouvrage commencé par feu M. Galland, continué et fini par M. Cardonne*, 3 vols, Paris, 1778.

Arabic texts for the College's printing press, which principally produced text books for the College's own students. For example, Shīrwānī supervised the publication of Ibn ʿArabshāh's *ʿAjāʾib al-maqdūr fi nawāʾib Tīmūr*, Calcutta, 1818.[41]

Another important project Shīrwānī was involved in was the first printed edition of the Arabian Nights, which Muhsin Mahdi has described as 'a text-book for teaching Arabic to Company officers'. Shīrwānī's textual source for what came to be known as the Calcutta One Edition of the Nights was an Arabic manuscript from Syria. According to Shīrwānī that manuscript had itself been copied with the intention of facilitating the teaching of spoken Arabic. For this reason, Shīrwānī took the liberty to remove all traces of Syrian Arabic from the text, in the process of which he made additional editorial interventions.[42] There is scholarly consensus that the Calcutta One Edition was based, directly or indirectly, on the manuscript acquired by Alexander Russell, the Levant Company physician at Aleppo around 1750.[43] If this is cor-rect, then the Arabian Nights were already used for teaching purposes in Ottoman Syria in the 1750s.

Conclusion

Johannes Heyman's private correspondence shows that, when he arrived in the Ottoman port of Izmir in the year 1700, he had no knowledge of either Arabic or Turkish. In the course of his seven-years' residence in Izmir he did acquire these languages, as well as some Persian, first by taking private tuition from a local rabbi, and by studying texts. Some of the manuscripts he bought in Izmir

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41   Cf. H.H. Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts ... collected by the late Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1828, p. 117.

42   M. Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*)*: From the Earliest Known Sources. Part 3*, Leiden, 1994, p. 91.

43   D.B. Macdonald, 'Alf Laila wa-Laila', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [*First Edition*] *Supplement*, Leiden, 1934, pp. 17–21, esp. p. 19. Macdonald erroneously implies that it was Patrick Rus-sell, Alexander's half-brother and successor, who acquired the manuscript. On the Russell brothers, see M.H. van den Boogert, *Aleppo observed: Ottoman Syria through the Eyes of two Scottish Doctors, Alexander and Patrick Russell*, Oxford, 2010; id., 'Patrick Russell and the Republic of Letters in Aleppo', in *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, eds A. Hamilton et al., Leiden, 2005, pp. 223–64; and id., "Antar Overseas. Arabic Manuscripts in Europe in the Late 18th and Early 19th Century', in *O Ye Gentlemen: Arabic Studies on Science and Literary Culture in Honour of Remke Kruk*, eds A. Vrolijk and J.P. Hogendijk, Leiden, 2007, pp. 339–52.

in the early 1700s appear to have been produced specially for the purpose of learning. Heyman's copy of Æsop's *Fables* is a case in point. According to the Arab editor of the Calcutta One Edition of the Arabian Nights, manuscripts of that text were also being adapted for the purpose of language teaching in Ottoman Aleppo around 1750, while, towards the end of the eighteenth century, William Jones recommended fables and stories as the most suitable texts for students to start learning languages with. Other European scholars of this period – J.J. Schultens and Reiske, as well as Patrick Russell who acquired one of the largest collections of Oriental stories in European hands in Aleppo in the 1750s and '60s – also used fables and other kinds of stories to acquire Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.

According to Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, Thomas Erpenius had already 'translated and edited numerous basic Arabic texts especially for the purpose of teaching and for the Protestant missions.'[44] If his first publication, the edition of Luqmān ('the Arab Æsop'), was intended for educational purposes too, then perhaps the use of fables and other simple stories in teaching Oriental languages in Europe has a much longer history. It would certainly help to explain why so many European scholars were interested in Arabic manuscripts containing fables despite the fact that these and other stories and epics were not held in high regard in the Middle East itself.

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44   Vrolijk and van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, pp. 33–40, esp. p. 33 and p. 38.

The Life and Hard Times of Solomon Negri: An Arabic Teacher in Early Modern Europe*

John-Paul A. Ghobrial

Arabic teachers have played only minor cameo roles in the history of Orientalism. Too often, scholars have treated them as apparitions that reveal themselves for a fleeting moment in the lives of the giants they taught before they suddenly disappear again into the ether. Only in recent years have scholars started telling their stories as something more than a mere footnote in the intellectual history of early modern Orientalism.[1] In some ways, this is not surprising given the nature of the sources that survive for such people, not least those whose lives began in the Ottoman Empire but whose trajectories carried them across multiple religious and political boundaries in a Europe increasingly in need of their skills as teachers and linguists. It is striking, therefore, that Solomon Negri, a teacher of Arabic in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, has managed to elude biographers for so long. For in the case of Negri, there survives not only a handful of first-hand accounts written about his own experiences in Europe but also a rich store of correspondence

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1 See, for example, A. Hamilton, 'An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters: Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus the Copt', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57, 1994, pp. 123–50; *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664)*, ed. B. Heyberger, Paris, 2010.

and writings left behind by those who knew him alongside a spate of bureaucratic and archival documents related to his travels, his employment, and even his death.

Until the recent publication of an article about him in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the only accounts of Negri's life were contained in a few short entries in nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries and manuscript catalogues.[2] These accounts draw on only a handful of sources, and the consequence is that they tend to offer only a limited snapshot of Negri's life at any given moment rather than a full picture of the variety and diversity of his experiences in Europe. And yet, for a man who spent over thirty years of his life in constant movement across European and Ottoman boundaries, the sources about him remain scattered today across a sundry assortment of archives, libraries, and institutions. As such, this article draws on sources about Negri that have survived in both Arabic and European languages, and it does so with a view towards offering the first comprehensive study of Negri's life and career in Europe. This array of documentation also offers what is perhaps the most detailed glimpse into the life of an Arabic teacher in eighteenth-century Europe. Negri's experiences speak to some of the themes discussed in other chapters in this volume, for example the multiple spaces in which the study of the Arabic language took place in this period (many of which were beyond traditional university centres of Orientalism), the variety of *instrumentum studiorum* used by Arabic teachers and students, and above all, the challenges that faced a small category of people who sought to make a livelihood from their skills in Arabic. Such individuals found themselves in a constant search for students and patrons: for many of them, teaching functioned as but one practice alongside other tasks related to language and writing such as recordkeeping, copying, translation, and piecemeal work in libraries and archives.

Perhaps what is most interesting about Negri is the way in which his life reveals something of the actual experience of being an Arabic teacher in early modern Europe. The picture he paints is not a reassuring one. Across all of his writings, a single theme crops up over and over again: disappointment with his lot, complaint about his patrons, unhappiness in his isolation, anxiety about his future, and a keen sense of not being appreciated by those around him. Why should this be the case? Was this the experience of most informants from the Ottoman Empire, or rather was it a symptom of Negri's own idiosyncrasies?

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2   D. Weston, 'Negri, Solomon (bap. 1665, d. 1727)', *ODNB*, May 2013 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/105274>]. For earlier accounts, see C.F. von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle, 1811, pp. 377–9; L.G. Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1822, vol. 31, pp. 37–8; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols, The Vatican, 1944–1953, vol. 3, p. 108, and vol. 4, pp. 278–9, hereafter *GCAL*.

To answer such questions, this article attempts to place Negri's life in a wider context of the experiences of others like him who taught Oriental languages to Europeans in this period. Because Negri is one of the few individuals known to have taught Arabic in such varied confessional contexts as Italy, Germany, and England, this article also explores how the teaching of Arabic varied in important ways in different parts of the world in the early eighteenth century.

I

What little we can know about Negri's early life relies mainly on the stories he told about himself, most notably in a short autobiographical work that appeared posthumously under the title *Memoria Negriana*.[3] Although published only in 1764, the *Memoria* was probably written at some point around 1717, and it corresponds, more or less, with other accounts of his life that Negri included in various letters written to his contemporaries.[4] Some additional evidence also exists in the form of short notes and colophons scattered across the manuscripts that he composed, copied, or possessed during his life. Of special interest are the records of a probate case that occurred in the wake of Negri's death on 3 April 1727, which includes testimony from several individuals who knew him in his lifetime.[5]

From these sources, we can obtain only the most basic picture of Negri's youth in the Ottoman Empire. We learn nothing, for example, about the origins of the peculiar surname that he used in Europe. In the earliest example of his signature in Arabic, he referred to himself as 'Sulaymān b. Yaʿqūb al-Shāmī al-Ṣāliḥānī'.[6] In other instances, his name was recorded by contemporaries

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3   G.A. Freylinghausen, ed., *Memoria Negriana hoc est Salomonis Negri Damasceni vita olim ab ipsomet conscripta nunc autem accessionibus quibusdam illustrata*, Halle, 1764, pp. 1–4, hereafter *Memoria Negriana*.

4   See, for example, the copy of a letter he wrote to the Venetian Senate in 1705 in Appendix 1 of F. Lucchetta, 'Un progetto per una scuola di lingue orientali a Venezia nel settecento', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 1, 1983, pp. 21–22; a letter he submitted to the French ambassador in Istanbul in 1708 in the ANF, Affaires Étrangères 375, November 1708; and the collection of correspondence related to Negri that is preserved today in the Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle.

5   These records are preserved in TNA, and they include the inventory of Negri's estate in PROB 31/50/413, 26 July 1727, and the probate lawsuit of 'Fdellalah v Cassano and Croce' in PROB 18/41/18, 26 July 1727.

6   This appears in the colophon of a manuscript completed in Negri's hand in 1694, which is preserved today at the BL, MS Sloane 3035, fol. 32ʳ. The *nisba* is likely a reference to al-Ṣāliḥiyya, a town originally on the outskirts of Damascus but today integrated into the city proper. I am grateful to Bernard Heyberger for his advice on this matter.

as 'Salomon Niger';[7] later renderings, mostly from the nineteenth century onwards, sometimes present him as 'Sulaymān al-Aswad' (Ar. *aswad* meaning 'black'), although it is unclear whether this usage is simply a 'back translation' from the Latin 'Negri' to the Arabic '*aswad*'.[8] If the Arabic usage does in fact predate the Latin one, then it is possible that 'Negri' referred to an Arabic *kunya*, or nickname, from his youth – perhaps even a reference to his complexion. At any rate, the practice of adopting a Latinized name was emblematic of how other Eastern Christians described themselves in this period. In some cases, the Latin surname had a clear relationship to an original Arabic name as was the case with the Coptic scholar Yusuf Abu Dhaqn who adopted the name 'Giuseppe Barbato' or 'Josephus Barbatus' in the late sixteenth century.[9] Unfortunately, in the case of Negri, it remains difficult to identify the genealogy behind the surname he adopted in Europe.

We can be more certain when it comes to other details about Negri's early life. In the probate case that followed Negri's death, his parents were named as 'James' (Yaʿqūb) and 'Setelah'.[10] Neither of these names appears as an owner or patron of manuscripts in the standard catalogues of this period, making it difficult to say much more about Negri's family. For his part, he only ever refers to his family once in the *Memoria* when he mentions the intriguing detail that his parents were opposed to him travelling to Europe in the first place.[11] More importantly, the probate case also refers to his having been born in Damascus, and baptized there on 23 February 1665. If accurate, this suggests that Negri was a member of the Melkite Church at a time when it was under the leadership of the Patriarch of Antioch, Macarius b. al-Zaʿīm.[12] In his youth, Negri

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7   This was how Negri's name was rendered by one of his own students, Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, in his *Historia Congregationis cardinalium de propaganda fide*, Regiomonte, 1721, p. 9. See also E. Conte, *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787: i rotuli e alter fonti*, Rome, 1991, vol. 2, p. 1039, where he is registered for the years 1710–1714 as 'Salomon Niger Damascenus'.

8   See, for example, Graf, GCAL, vol. 4, p. 279; cf., Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, p. 377, where he appears as 'Salomon Al-Sadi', which is echoed in Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, p. 37. In other words, I have never encountered a single instance of the name 'Sulaymān al-Aswad' written in the Arabic script by Negri himself or by any of his contemporaries.

9   See Hamilton, 'An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters'.

10 See the responses to question 2 in TNA, PROB 18/41/18 ('Fdellalah v Cassano and Croce').

11 *Memoria Negriana*, p. 1.

12 For a wide-ranging study of Macarius and his world, see *Relations entre les peuples de l'Europe orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVIIᵉ siècle: Macaire III Ibn al-Zaʿīm et Paul d'Alep: actes du Iᵉʳ colloque international, le 16 septembre 2001*, ed. I. Feodorov, Bucharest, 2012.

almost certainly would have known Athanasius Dabbas, the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch from 1686 to 1694 and again from 1720 to 1724.[13] Like Negri, Dabbas had studied with the Jesuits in his youth. Later in his life, he would collaborate with Negri and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) on the publication of an Arabic New Testament, the manuscript copy of which Dabbas provided himself to the SPCK.[14]

Negri's origins among the Melkites in Damascus reveal something of his own experiences as a student of Arabic. In general, little is known about how Arabic was taught in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period. In part, this is because the study of Ottoman literacy itself has tended to focus on learned scholars like the *ulama* or particular institutions like the *madrasa*, neither of which reveals much about literacy across a wider segment of society.[15] But in Negri's case, we have a better sense of the pedagogy to which he was exposed because he refers in the *Memoria* to having studied with Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Already by 1637, the Jesuits had established themselves in Damascus, mostly under the initiative of the French missionary Jérôme Queyrot (d. 1655).[16] Jesuit correspondence of this period also suggests that the missionaries succeeded early on in their efforts to establish schools for local Christians at which Arabic and Greek were taught. Negri himself mentions that he studied Greek and Latin alongside Italian.[17] By

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13   For a sketch of Dabbas's life, see G. Levenq, 'Athanase III', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1930, vol. 4, pp. 1369–76. On his support for Arabic printing in this period, see V. Tchentsova, 'Les documents grecs du XVIIe siècle: pièces authentiques et pièces fausses. 4. Le patriarche d'Antioche Athanase IV Dabbâs et Moscou : en quête de subventions pour l'imprimerie arabe d'Alep', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 79.1, 2013, pp. 173–95 ; J-P. Ghobrial, 'The Ottoman World of 'Abdallah Zakher: Shuwayr Bindings in the Arcadian Library', in *The Arcadian Library: Bindings and Provenance*, eds G. Mandelbrote and W. de Bruijn, Oxford, 2014, pp. 193–231.

14   See, for example, the reference to the Patriarch of Antioch in *An Extract of Several Letters Relating to the Great Charity and Usefulness of Printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language*, London, 1725, pp. 30–31 and passim. The work was finally published by the SPCK in 1727.

15   N. Hanna, 'Literacy among Artisans and Tradesmen in Ottoman Cairo', in *The Ottoman World*, ed. C. Woodhead, London, 2011, pp. 319–32.

16   For a contemporary account of the establishment of the Jesuits in the Middle East, see J. Besson, *La Syrie Sainte, ou la mission de Jésus et des pères de la compagnie de Jésus en Syrie*, Paris, 1660. More recently, see, for example C.A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923*, Cambridge, 1983; B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique: Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIIe siècles*, Rome, 1994.

17   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 1.

1655, the Jesuits claimed some fifty students under their care.[18] As such, Negri would have been exposed to a particular style of teaching that revolved around the close study of printed Catholic works that were intended to convey the rudiments of Arabic alongside the essentials of Catholic piety. These included such works as the Arabic translation of Bellarmine's doctrine, the Arabic Psalter, and a catechism presented in the form of short questions and answers.[19] Even the copious missionary correspondence of this period provides only limited and anecdotal information about the actual practices used by the missionaries to teach Arabic. In 1653, for example, Adrien Parvilliers arranged for six of his best students to recite publicly extracts from Bellarmine's doctrine in Arabic.[20] In another report, Nicholas Poiresson described how the missionaries' success in proselytizing owed something to the 'echoes' of children who repeated their lessons back to their parents at home.[21] This form of studying Arabic relied, therefore, on a sort of rote memorization of material of a devotional and religious nature, although it is still unclear how the practices used by the Jesuits compared to those exercised by local, native teachers. Interestingly, the *Memoria* also suggests the possibility that language study worked in both directions: Negri claims that he educated some of the missionaries in Arabic.[22] At any rate, this missionary mode of teaching Arabic represented but one of several pedagogies that Negri would encounter during his life.

As is the case with many Eastern Christians who travelled to Europe in this period, we have no clear sense of why it was that Negri left Damascus in the first place. In some ways, the journey seems unremarkable when placed within the wider context of circulation that regularly carried Eastern Christians to Europe, Russia, and even the New World, often for the purpose of alms-collecting.[23] But outside this practice, it is also clear that at least some Eastern Christians were lured to Europe by false promises made to them by Europeans in the Ottoman Empire. Upon his arrival to England in 1641, Niqūlāwus b. Buṭrus al-Ḥalabī wrote to Edward Pococke describing how he had been duped into coming to Europe by the German Orientalist Christian Ravius only to find

18   A. Rabbath, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient*, Paris, 1905–1914, vol. 2, p. 239.

19   *Doctrina Christiana: al-Taʿlīm al-masīḥī*, Paris, 1635; cf., Rabbath, *Documents*, vol. 2, p. 220.

20   Rabbath, *Documents*, vol. 2, p. 220.

21   Rabbath, *Documents*, vol. 2, p. 239.

22   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 1.

23   B. Heyberger, 'Chrétiens orientaux dans l'Europe catholique (XVIIᵉ– XVIIIᵉ siècles)', in *Hommes de l'entre-deux: parcours individuels et portraits de groupes sur la frontière de la Méditerranée (XVIᵉ– XXᵉ siècle)*, eds B. Heyberger and C. Verdeil, Paris, 2009, pp. 61–92.

that his new patron offered no real prospects for him.[24] In a similar account, the Maronite Hanna Dyāb described his encounters with the French antiquarian, Paul Lucas, as he travelled through Syria in 1708. As he told it, Lucas said to him:

> A minister has dispatched me to this country to find someone who can read Arabic. If you come with me, I will establish you in the library of Arabic manuscripts, and you will be appointed by the King and live under his protection for all your life. You would gain many benefits. Would you like to come with me?[25]

In the *Memoria*, Negri intimates that similar promises had been made to him by the Jesuits under whom he had studied in Damascus. As he described it, the Jesuits were so impressed by his intelligence that they encouraged him to travel to Europe. At the age of eighteen, he made a journey to Jerusalem from where he continued onwards to Paris, despite his parents' opposition to him leaving. After arriving in Paris, Negri was disappointed to find that the Jesuits had misled him. In particular, they had said he would be 'educated with noblemen' and have everything he could wish for, but none of this materialised. For this reason – and for the sake of his health – he decided to part ways with the Jesuits, albeit, he writes, on friendly terms.[26] No records appear to survive related to Negri's early interactions with the Jesuits, although he would harbour a deep criticism of the order – and Catholicism in general – throughout the rest of his life.

Be that as it may, the probate case filed after Negri's death suggests that, in the course of his life, Negri also told a rather different story about why he came to Europe. Soon after Negri's death, a man called 'Michael Fdellalah', claiming to be Negri's kinsman, appeared in London and pressed a case to recover what

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24   The experiences of Niqūlāwus b. Buṭrus al-Ḥalabī, or Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo, have been the subject of great attention recently by Hilary Kilpatrick and Gerald J. Toomer. See the edition, translation, and study of Niqūlāwus's letters in Kilpatrick and Toomer, 'Niqūlāwus al-Ḥalabī (c. 1611–c.1661): A Greek Orthodox Syrian copyist and his letters to Pococke and Golius', in *Lias: Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources*, 43.1, 2016. I am very grateful to Hilary Kilpatrick for sharing this unpublished work with me, and for her kind and generous help with my many queries.

25   *D'Alep à Paris : les pérégrinations d'un jeune Syrien au temps de Louis XIV*, eds B. Heyberger, J. Lentin, and P. Fahmé-Thiéry, Paris, 2015, p. 70 ; for the Arabic see the Vatican Library, Sbath MS 254, fol. 8ᵛ. My translation.

26   *Memoria Negriana*, pp. 1–2.

remained of Negri's possessions. His meagre belongings had already been taken by Bartholomew Cassano and Peter Croce, two Greeks living in London who had apparently been close friends with Negri.[27] Fdellalah's appearance triggered a wide-ranging inquiry to gather as much information as possible about Negri's past, which included taking the testimony of those who had known him in London. The records of the case reveal that Negri's friends believed that Negri's migration to Europe had been incited by a threat of forced conversion to Islam. Specifically, they described how, in a chest of Negri's papers and belongings, they had discovered copies of the first letter of recommendation that Negri had carried with him from Damascus to Europe. This document was signed by the Head of the Franciscans in Aleppo, and it certified that 'Solomon Negri in or about the month of April 1688 being under fear of being forced to turn Turk and renounce Christianity fled from Damascus and went to Rome from thence to France and proceeded to Holland and afterwards to England, where he assumed and took upon him the surname of Negri'.[28] Interestingly, this is not a claim that crops up in any other source related to Negri, although it does resonate perfectly with strategies used by other Eastern Christians who sometimes used stories of persecution by Muslims in this period to secure passage from the Ottoman Empire to Europe.

Whatever the context of Negri's migration, the earliest evidence of his actual presence in France dates to August 1685 when he contributed some Arabic phrases to a book of dialogues in Greek, Arabic, Turkish, and Kurdish that was compiled in Paris by the librarian and Orientalist Louis Picques. In the margins of the manuscript, Picques marked the Arabic contributions, noting that: '*ce Jacques Salomon natif de Damas a escrit l'arabe anno 1685 mense augusto*'.[29] Picques compiled the corresponding phrases in other languages from individuals he had encountered passing through Paris. The manuscript reflects the collaborative nature of language study in this period as well as the importance that 'dialogues' would come to play in Negri's later career as an Arabic teacher. In the *Memoria*, Negri claims to have studied at the Collège de Clermont, before spending four years studying philosophy and theology at the Sorbonne. At the same time, he began teaching Arabic 'privately' to various

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27   On Cassano's role as a mediator between the Non-Jurors and the Orthodox church, see S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 318.

28   TNA, PROB 31/51/413, responses to question 3.

29   BnF, MS Arabe 4365, fol. 1. On Picques more generally, see F. Richard, 'Un érudit à la recherché de textes religieux venus d'Orient, le docteur Louis Picques (1637–1699)', in *Les Pères de l'Eglise au XVIIᵉ siècle*, eds E. Bury and B. Meunier, Paris, 1993, pp. 253–75.

students, one of whom was the Danish Orientalist, Frederick Rostgaard, then still a young man in his late teens. Rostgaard and Negri worked on a collection of Arabic proverbs, which would be published decades later in a format that contained Negri's original proverbs with notes by Rostgaard and further annotations by Johan Christian Kall, professor of Oriental languages in Copenhagen.[30] Indeed, the existence of a couple of manuscript copies of these proverbs suggests that they must have played an important role throughout his teaching.[31] During this period, he also began to embrace other roles: he worked as a librarian, for example, in the massive library of Jean-François-Paul Lefèvre, the Abbé de Caumartin, which was reputed to hold some seven thousand books and manuscripts.[32] His work for the Abbé also coincided with a period of employment in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, during which time he made copies of several Arabic manuscripts including a commentary on the Pentateuch,[33] an anonymous work of spiritual reflections on the days of the month,[34] a copy of al-Ghazālī's *Masālik al-naẓar fī masālik al-bashar*,[35] and a copy of *The Salvation of the Sinners* by Agapius of Crete.[36] Negri was also

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30   Several collections of Arabic proverbs exist dating back to the eighth century. For the earliest copy of Negri's proverbs, see BL, MS Sloane 3035 with the Latin title page in Negri's hand, *Proverbia Arabica maxime trivialia & familiari sermone quotidie usurpata quae nunquam hactenus typis excussa in usum clarissimi viri ac linguarum amantissimi Friderici Rostgaard exaravit; eidemque in amicitia pignus obtulit Jacobus Salomon Damascenus*, Paris, 1696. Negri renders the Arabic title as the 'Kitāb al-amthāl al-sā'irah bayn al-nās', the author of which he identifies as one 'Ibrahīm Qara al-Sayyid'. An annotated version of this same collection was published by Joannes Christianus Kallius as *Arabum philosophia popularis, sive sylloge nova proverbiorum* Copenhagen, 1764.

31   See, for example, other copies of proverbs in Negri's hand including BL, MS Sloane 3585/1–2 and BL, MS Harley 3370, fols 80–123. On the interest in Arabic proverbs more generally, see A. Vrolijk, 'The Prince of Arabists and His Many Errors: Thomas Erpenius's Image of Joseph Scaliger and the Edition of the "Proverbia Arabica" (1614)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 73, 2010, pp. 297–325.

32   See the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Monseigneur Jean-François-Paul le Febvre de Caumartin, Evêque de Blois, &c.*, Paris, 1734.

33   BnF, MS Arabe 83, which refers to BnF, MS Arabe 6 and was completed in 1685 by 'Sulaymān b. Yaʿqūb al-Shāmī'. For a full description, see G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes: Première partie : Manuscrits chrétiens*, Paris, 1972, vol. 1, p. 67.

34   BnF, MS Arabe 126, completed on 3 Ayyār 1685; Troupeau, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 91.

35   BnF, MS Arabe 1455, completed in 1692.

36   BL, MS Sloane 3028, completed in Paris in 1695 (see fol. 191); on the circulation of this work in Arabic, see C. Walbiner, '"Popular" Greek Literature on the Move: The Translation of Several Works of Agapios Landos of Crete into Arabic in the 17th Century', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 51, 2013, pp. 151–2.

enlisted to complete a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale.[37] This early period in Negri's life – obscure as it is – introduces an important point about his career in Europe, namely the extent to which his teaching of Arabic was pursued alongside a range of other activities, anything from record-keeping to translation to cataloguing and managing manuscript collections. It was Negri's uncanny ability to make himself useful that best explains how he managed so quickly and effectively to integrate himself into multiple circles of patronage in Paris.

Even so, Negri's opportunities in France did not reach as far as his own high opinion of himself. Indeed, the overriding theme of the *Memoria* is a long woeful tale of being under-appreciated, ill on account of the European climate, and bothered by his employers, students, and friends. After living in Paris for some five years, Negri writes that he was finally offered a post in the royal library by the Abbé de Louvois.[38] Yet when he found out how small the salary associated with the post was, he was so offended that he decided instead to travel onwards to England, where he appears to have arrived sometime around 1700.[39] In England, Negri managed to secure a position for himself as teacher of Arabic to students at St Paul's, at the time under the Mastership of the Orientalist John Postletwaite.[40] It was also in London that Negri first came into contact with Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, the secretary to Prince George of Denmark who had established a Lutheran chapel at the court of St. James and nephew to the Ethiopic scholar Hiob Ludolf.[41] It was this period that marked Negri's growing ties to a circle of individuals that would, over and over again, facilitate Negri's attainment of specific posts. Ludolf, for example, was closely connected

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37   Negri must have carried this catalogue, or a copy of it, with him to England for parts of it can be found today in BL, MS Harley 3370, which was probably commissioned from Negri by Humfrey Wanley on 12 February 1725. See *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715–1726*, eds C.E. Wright and R.C. Wright, London, 1966, vol. 2, p. 334.

38   The dating in the *Memoria* becomes confused at this point. Negri dates the offer of the post at the time of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, but he also writes that he had been waiting five years for it, which would place his arrival in Paris in 1692. If accurate, and if he did indeed come to Paris at the age of eighteen as he also wrote in the *Memoria*, that would make for a date of birth in 1674. This is not easy to reconcile with his year of baptism, which is listed in the probate case as 1665.

39   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 2.

40   On Postletwaite and Arabic teaching in England, see Mordechai Feingold's contribution to this volume.

41   See B.S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730*, New Haven, CT, 2014, especially chapter 3 and pp. 138–9; and, more generally, D.L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, Gottingen, 1993.

to August Herman Francke and the Halle Pietists, and it was at his suggestion that Negri travelled to Halle to teach Arabic at Francke's recently established school for orphans. Negri would stay in Halle for a year, a period of his life that he described dismissively as a time during which he 'dealt with various things in Arabic for the sake of many students'.[42] For reasons that are unclear, he remained in Halle for only about a year before deciding to travel yet again, this time to Venice. He blamed 'poor health' for his decision to leave Halle.

These early years of Negri's life suggest an important revision to our understanding of the teaching of Arabic in early modern Europe. Traditionally, the history of Arabic studies has been told as a history of institutions, most notably the establishment of chairs of Oriental languages at universities across Europe from the sixteenth century onwards. As such, the history of Orientalism is often rattled off as a string of new professorships in Rome, Paris, Leiden, Cambridge, Oxford, and so on. While universities clearly played an important role in the history of academic Orientalism, Negri's experiences point to the importance of alternative spaces for Arabic study and teaching, including private and bespoke teaching to individuals. Indeed, for most of his career, Negri would teach Arabic on the margins of universities, for example to young noblemen like Rostgaard or at secondary schools such as St Paul's or the orphan school in Halle. Not only were such contexts distinct from what is usually regarded as the real centres of Orientalism, but the fact that Arabic study took place in such spaces highlights the potential for divergent modes and practices of Arabic learning to coexist alongside each other and, moreover, the potential for a more 'popular' interest in Arabic study that has so far been neglected by scholars.[43]

II

Of course, Arabic was as much a living language as a subject of study in the eighteenth century. It is interesting, therefore, that Negri's activities as a teacher of Arabic would carry him back to the Ottoman Empire when he attempted to make use of his skills in the diplomatic and mercantile networks centred around Venice. After his brief stay in Halle, Negri resumed his travels,

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42   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 2.

43   I am inspired here, in part, by Pier Mattia Tommasino's fascinating study of popular interest in the Qur'ān in seventeenth-century Tuscany, 'Lire et traduire le Coran dans le Grand-duché de Toscane', *Dix-septième siècle*, 268.3, 2015, pp. 459–80, and Mordechai Feingold's contribution to this volume.

this time heading eastward. In 1703, Negri met a professor from Padua who brought him to the attention of a group of patricians eager to set up a new school in Venice for the instruction of Arabic and Turkish translators. To this end, he was sent to Istanbul with the Venetian *bailo* Carlo Ruzzini. Francesca Lucchetta has described this Venetian endeavour to set up a new school for languages in some detail.[44] For his part, Negri writes in the *Memoria* that he spent some three years studying Turkish and Persian in the Ottoman capital, and this period of his life would prove crucial to all that followed in several ways. Firstly, Negri's interlude in Istanbul represented his first opportunity for the study of other Oriental languages, Persian but more importantly Turkish, which remained a language of greater importance than Arabic in the everyday diplomacy and trade of the Ottoman capital. Secondly, it was during his stay in Istanbul that Negri first came into contact with Ottoman modes of language study in use by the Ottoman scholars he encountered there. This was a mode of language study that was entirely different from what he had experienced as a child at the hands of Catholic missionaries in Damascus.

There remains as yet no systematic study of language learning and teaching in Istanbul in this period, but it is possible to glean a view of what was taking place from a memorandum prepared by Negri and submitted to his contacts in Venice in 1708.[45] The memorandum included a list of those works that Negri identified as being necessary to the study of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, all of which he requested should be obtained for the new school in Venice. The list consists mainly of Arabic-Turkish-Persian dictionaries and lexicons, many of which dated back to the classical age of Islamic learning such as the *Muqaddimat al-adab* of Zamakhsharī (d. 1075) and the *Mirqāt fī l-lughat al-fārsiyya* by al-Naṭanzī (d. 1103 or 1105).[46] There were also more recent works on Negri's list such as the Ottoman chronicle of Hoca Saʿd ad-Dīn Efendī (d. 1599) or the *Süleymānnāme* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendī Qarā Çelebizāde (d. 1657). But perhaps the most interesting feature of Negri's 'reading list' was the presence of contemporary authors, some of whom may have even been Negri's own teachers. In Istanbul, Negri began studies with an Ottoman *hoca*,

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44   F. Lucchetta, 'Un progetto per una scuola di lingue orientali a Venezia nel settecento', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 1, 1983, pp. 1–28.

45   For a copy of the memorandum, see the 'lista dei manoscritti orientali che il Negri si impegna di acquistare a Costantinopoli per la futura scuola di lingue orientali di Venezia', in Appendix 3 of Lucchetta, 'Un progetto per una scuola di lingue orientali a Venezia nel settecento', pp. 25–7.

46   The *Mirqāt* was already known to European scholars in the early seventeenth century. See, for example, A. Hamilton, '"Nam Tirones Sumus" Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*', Leiden, 1613, in *De Gulden Passer*, 66–67, 1988–1989, p. 583.

and he mentions, for example, an otherwise unknown *inshā'* manual by one 'Abd al-Karīm Efendī. Similar works were among the manuscripts that Negri brought with him back to Europe from Istanbul, many of which are preserved today in the archive of the Franckeschen Stiftungen in Halle (AFSt/H). They include a copy of the beginning of the Persian text of Sa'di's *Gulistan*,[47] a (now lost) Turkish dialogue written by one 'Betros Dil' of Aleppo in 1702,[48] a specimen of Arabic calligraphy,[49] a treatise on Islamic law,[50] a copy of the *Pendnāme* by Farīd ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār,[51] an *inshā'* manual by Ibrāhīm Efendī,[52] an Italian-Turkish vocabulary,[53] and a commentary on an Arabic-Turkish-Persian dictionary completed by Negri for the Marquis de Ferriol in Istanbul in 1704.[54]

The way in which Ottoman scholars connected Arabic, Persian, and Turkish is an important reminder of the distinct way in which they conceived of Arabic grammar as compared to prevailing approaches among European Orientalists. The most popular European grammar of Arabic in Negri's time, of course, was Erpenius' *Grammatica Arabica* (Leiden, 1613), which presented Arabic through paradigms in an approach reminiscent of Latin. The Istanbul-centred approach to Arabic was also distinct from approaches to Arabic study taking place out in the Arab provinces. François Pétis de La Croix, who taught Arabic

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47   AFSt/H, MS K 87 b 12–35, which was copied by Negri in 1717. This same manuscript contains other works in Ottoman Turkish with notes in the hand of Johann Callenberg. For full descriptions of the Halle manuscripts, see E. Pabst, *Orientalische Handschriften im Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle*, Halle, 2003.

48   This text is referred to in BL, MS Sloane 3585a as 'Dialogues in the Turkish language, composed by Betros Dil of Aleppo, in the year 1702 with a few glosses in Latin and Italian'. The actual work is no longer bound in the Sloane manuscript, but it seems likely it was obtained by Negri during his time in Istanbul.

49   AFSt/H, MS K 87 b 3–11, which was copied by Negri in 1702.

50   AFSt/H, MS Q 24, which was dated 30 January 1661 and copied by one Muṣṭafā ibn Ḥasan al-Khatīb.

51   AFSt/H, MS Q 32, which includes a note by Negri to the effect that he had translated this work into Latin and wanted to publish a copy of it.

52   AFSt/H, MS Q 57, with the title *Centum Sententiae Turcicae stilo Curiae vulgò Divanino dicto scriptae, ad discendam Calligraphiam Turcicam, quas Constantinopoli accepit à suo in Turcicis et Persicis praeceptore Ibrahim Afendi, Salomon Negri.*

53   AFSt/H, MS Q80, dated 1703, although it is unclear where this work was completed.

54   BL, MS Sloane 3583, with the title *Vocabularium (Arabico) Turcico, Persico, metrice conscriptum, singulas voces secundum ordinem carminum Arabice, secit Elhag Mous, filius Hossan Elabbasi, qui tum opera sua merebatur apud Marchionem de Fariol, regis Galliarum ad portam Othomannicam, legatum anno Hegiarae iiiv. i.e., 1117, Solomon Negri emendavit & Latinam interpretationem addidit, integramque auctoris seil. Shahidi, poetae apud Turcas celeberrimi prefationem Latine de integro secit, A.C. 1704, Constantinopoli.*

at the Collège Royal in Paris from 1692 to 1713, prepared an Arabic grammar
of his own for use in teaching his students. Interestingly, his grammar reflected
more of the interaction (and tension) between scholarly written Arabic and
dialectal Arabic – or what he called '*l'arabe litteral*' and '*la langue vulgaire*' –
which he had encountered during his travels in Aleppo and Baghdad in the
1670s.[55] Taken together, Erpenius, Pétis de La Croix, and Negri's engagement
with Arabic reflect at least three distinct understandings of where the Arabic
language sat in relation to other written and spoken registers and languages,
all of which is an important reminder again of the multiple worlds of Arabic
pedagogy that coexisted in this period.

Negri's aspirations for establishing the school in Venice ultimately came
to nothing. His service to the Venetians lasted until about November 1708, at
which point Negri approached the French and British embassies in Istanbul
in search of a new post. It was at this time that Negri submitted a curious pro-
posal to the French ambassador in Istanbul, the Marquis de Ferriol.[56] Negri
had heard news of the recent failed attempt of the French vice-consul in
Damietta, Lenoir du Roule, to travel to Ethiopia. Du Roule had left Cairo in
1704, and he was murdered six months later near Gondar. In his letter, Negri
offered a detailed analysis of Du Roule's missteps, ranging from the ostentation
with which he travelled to his having enlisted an uneducated Copt as his inter-
preter. Instead, Negri insisted, the French king needed to enlist a '*savant*' who
was as well versed in the ways of the locals as he was skilled in the whole gamut
of Mediterranean languages. Among his own linguistic skills, Negri referred
to his talents in ancient Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic,
Turkish and Persian. Moreover, Negri insisted that he had been trained 'in the
sacred and profane sciences' and that he possessed 'all the erudition befitting
a man of letters'. He also cited his vast experience of travels across Europe
and Asia and, in particular, his travels through France, England, Holland,
Germany, Italy, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. As if such self-promotion was
not enough, Negri also appended a more detailed description of his education
and the variety of posts he had held throughout his life. He wanted to use all
of this experience, he concluded, to serve the French king in any way he could:
he mentioned a new mission to Ethiopia but also suggested he might be the
perfect replacement for Barthélemy d'Herbelot, the recently deceased chair of
Syriac at the Collège Royal. The letter offers an intriguing glimpse into the con-
tinuous self-fashioning performed by Negri. Given the reputation of danger

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55   P. Ageron, 'Le programme pédagogique d'un arabisant du Collège royal, François Pétis de
        La Croix (1653–1713)', *Arabica*, 61, 2014, pp. 406–12.

56   A copy of the proposal exists in ANF, Affaires Étrangères 375, November 1708, fols 356–67.

associated with travelling to Ethiopia in this period, it is also a testament to the lengths to which he would go to secure any sort of employment for himself. In the *Memoria*, Negri writes that both Sir Robert Sutton and the Marquis de Ferriol sought to retain Negri's services but that it was he who decided he had grown tired of life in Istanbul. He left the Ottoman capital and was brought 'by unexpected chance' to Rome, sometime in 1710.[57]

In Rome, Negri established contact with the powerful cardinal and bibliophile, Giuseppe Renato Imperiali, who helped Negri obtain the chair of Syriac at La Sapienza, which he held from 1710 to 1714 alongside a lectureship in Arabic at the College of the Propaganda. Strangely enough, he writes in the *Memoria* that he accepted these posts 'unwillingly' while waiting for a better position to become vacant at the Vatican Library.[58] This is a curious way to characterize his arrival in Rome, not least because, in securing these positions, Negri had managed to achieve for himself the sort of post that other Eastern Christians in his position could only dream of. In Rome, Negri would have found himself at the heart of Catholic Orientalism and attaining the Syriac chair at the La Sapienza would have been a real achievement given that this position had long been dominated by well-connected Maronites such as Faustus Naironus Banesius or, in a later period, Joseph Assemani.[59] Unlike the Maronites, whose presence in Europe benefitted from the centuries-long tradition of good relations with Rome not to mention their proximity to powerful patrons like the Barberinis, Negri had few connections to support him and so his attainment of such teaching posts was clearly to his credit. Notwithstanding his previous close links to German Protestants, Negri took to the new confessional context like a fish in water. Alongside his teaching, he proposed writing an anti-Islamic polemical work although he writes in the *Memoria* that he was unable to obtain copies of the manuscripts he needed to complete the project.[60] During this time, he also translated a sermon by Clement XI into Arabic and Syriac, copies of which exist today in Glasgow and Moscow.[61] For whatever reason, Negri's stay in Rome came to an end abruptly. After four years of waiting for a

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57   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 3.

58   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 3.

59   See, for example, the list of appointments in E. Conte, *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787: i rotuli e alter fonti*, Rome, 1991, vol. 2, pp. 1038–40 for Syriac (with Negri in post from 1710–1714).

60   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 3.

61   A copy of the sermon was completed by Negri in Halle in April 1717 for his student, Georg Jacob Kehr. This was likely the basis for GUL, MS Hunter 325, in which Kehr's handwriting imitates that of Negri. Another copy in Negri's hand is held today in Moscow Fund 191, No. 13, fols 169-40, which probably was given to Bayer by Kehr either in Halle in 1717 or, after

post at the Vatican Library, a period during which he claims he grew tired of the 'superstitions of these people' (presumably, the Catholics), Negri decided to leave Rome. He told his colleagues in Rome that he planned to return to Syria but instead he decided to travel back to England.[62]

Back in England, Negri renewed his contacts with the German Lutheran community in London, and they encouraged him once again to return to Halle to teach Arabic. The *Memoria* suggests that Negri remembered with fondness the time he had spent at Halle. Mindful of the old 'friendship, humanity and Christian character' of those whom he had known in Halle, he decided that he would return there in hopes of finding 'the last stage of his life and the end of his wanderings'.[63] Negri spent a further sixteen months in Halle, teaching Arabic and preparing several manuscripts for publication. Although Negri describes this period of his life in depressing tones in the *Memoria* – he writes that he never became accustomed to the climate, food, or drink in Halle, and that he continually experienced poor health – the manuscript evidence surviving from this second stay in Halle reflects a period of intense teaching and collaboration with his students who included (during this and the earlier stay in Halle) the likes of Christian Benedikt Michaelis, Johann Heinrich Callenberg, Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, Georg Jacob Kehr, and Johann Gottfried Lakemacher. The close relationships he developed in this period are also signalled in the strong feelings these students maintained years later for the school in Halle. William Christian Schneider, for example, had been a student in Halle from 1704 to 1708, and he later donated a Syriac manuscript to the school in Negri's honour.[64] While the actual relationships that existed between Negri and his students are difficult to document in the sources, the fact that Schneider would remember his teacher in this way reveals something of the esteem in which Negri was held by at least some of his students.

It was probably at some point during this period that Negri also wrote a short treatise on the study of the Arabic language, which was included in the published version of the *Memoria*.[65] Interestingly, his preferences in this treatise reflect neither the context of Arabic study he had first known with the missionaries in Damascus nor the Ottoman context of language study that he

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1732, in St Petersburg. I am grateful to David Weston for his advice on this, and to Dmitry Morozov for providing me with details of the holdings in Russia cited here and below.

62   *Memoria Negriana*, p. 4.

63   Ibid.

64   The Syriac manuscript can be found in AFSt/H, MS Q 2. In addition, an Arabic phrasebook, possibly in the hand of Negri, was also given to the school as a gift by William Christian Schneider, see AFSt/H MS Q 62.

65   See 'De studio linguae Arabicae observationes' in *Memoria Negriana*, pp. 4–6.

encountered in Istanbul. Instead, Negri's observations are restricted mainly to a commentary on the essential works in use by European Orientalists in this period. He refers, for example, to Erpenius and Golius as 'the only two men who should be called most expert masters of the Arabic language in Europe'. He insists that the most useful Arabic books have been published in Holland and England, most notably Golius's *Dictionary* and Erpenius's *Grammar* as well as the 'many useful things' edited by Pococke. Although he acknowledges that some good work had been published in France – he singles out Richelieu's catechism as an example – Negri saves his greatest criticisms for Arabic works published in Italy, especially those published by the Propaganda Fide. 'The worst of all', he writes, 'are the sacred books edited by the Maronites,' which he regarded as worthless with the exception of those by Abraham Echellensis, Gabriel Sionita and George Amira.

Interestingly, Negri's treatise on the teaching of Arabic differed in fundamental ways from how Negri himself appears to have taught Arabic to his students. When reviewing the notebooks of his students, for example, it appears that Negri did not use Erpenius's *Grammar* or any of the works he mentioned in his treatise. Instead, he drew on a wide assortment of Arabic texts as samples for the study of Arabic much in the same way that modern Arabists read across different set texts in reading groups. Some of the texts Negri used are unsurprising. A copy of the second and third suras from the Qur'ān is preserved today in the notes of the young Callenberg.[66] Other works include an Arabic version of the Psalms, dated to 1716.[67] Negri also appears to have prepared his own translations of Protestant works to rival those widely disseminated by the Catholics: alongside his aforementioned translation of the sermon of Clement XI,[68] for example, his students also studied Negri's own Arabic translation of Luther's catechism.[69] His students' notebooks reveal that he had a particular interest in the use of dialogues and conversations for

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66   AFSt/H, MS K 82, which consists of a Latin translation with an Arabic-Latin glossary in the hand of Callenberg in 1716.

67   AFSt/H, MS Q 67, which is in Negri's hand and dated 1716.

68   AFSt/H, MS Q73, completed in Rome in 1711, and the other parts of the manuscript include a Turkish-Latin vocabulary and a description of the Bosphorous, perhaps dating to Negri's stay in Istanbul.

69   See AFSt/H MS Q70 for Negri's translation of *Die christliche Lehre* as *al-Taʿlīm al-masīḥī*, dated 23 September 1716 in Halle. This manuscript was the basis for a copy completed in Halle in 1717 by Negri's student Georg Jacob Kehr, found in AFSt/H MS Q71, fol. 36ᵛ. The translation was printed years later by Callenberg as *Catechismus Lutheri Minor Arabice quem olim sub ductu B. Sal. Negri Damasceni in hanc linguam transtulit et vulgavit J. Henr. Callenberg*, Halle, 1729. Another translation by Negri of Luther's *Enchiridon* is in GUL, MS

teaching Arabic, which recalls his early use of proverbs with Rostgaard in the 1690s. Callenberg, for example, translated a collection of German-French dialogues into Arabic under Negri's supervision, copies of which were used by other students and later published by Callenberg after Negri's death.[70] It was perhaps Negri's ecumenical approach to study materials that explains the proclivities of some of his students in later years. Perhaps the most striking case is that of Callenberg who published several works intended for Arabic study from 1729, among which we find many of the same texts he had studied with Negri as well as miscellaneous documents that he had acquired himself such as a copy of a letter sent from an Archbishop in Egypt to a prince in Saxe-Gotha that reported on the travels of Wansleben through Egypt.[71] While such publications are normally associated with his students, it is important to remember how large Negri's own shadow looms over these publications. That they only appeared in published form after his death – and with the names of his students attached to them – is perhaps another reason why Negri's contributions have been overlooked for so long.

In addition to the wide variety of texts used by Negri to teach Arabic, it is worth considering as well the register of Arabic that he was teaching. It is a strange thing that native speakers of Arabic were criticized by their European students for not really knowing Arabic. Some contemporaries even went so far as to denounce them as illiterate frauds. In 1611, for example, Thomas Erpenius criticised his teacher, Joseph Barbatus, for his limited knowledge of Arabic. As Erpenius put it, Barbatus had taught him 'many Arabic words', but of the 'corrupt language' spoken at the time 'by Egyptians and others', and Erpenius doubted that Barbatus could even read Arabic.[72] Such comments betray a

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Hunter 17, which was also completed in Halle in 1716. Another copy by Kehr is in Moscow in Fund 191, no.16, fols 88–91 and no. 23, fols 32–4.

70   The original work appears to be an unidentified edition of C. Mauger, *Les dialogues François & Flamends*, Utrecht, 1687, perhaps that published in 1715 as *Nouveau parlement, c'est à dire dialogues François-allemands*, Nuremberg, 1715. It was adapted into a set of Arabic dialogues by Callenberg and published after Negri's death as *Colloquia Arabica idiomatic vulgaris sub ductu B. Sal. Negri Damasceni olim composuit iamque in usum scholae suae vulgavit*, Halle, 1729. An expanded version would be published in 1740. A copy of Callenberg's translation with Negri's corrections was made by Kehr in 1717, see AFSt/H MS Q 64.

71   The Arabic text of the letter was published under the title 'Joannis Archipresbyteri Alexandrini epistola ad Ernestum Pium Saxoniae Principem Arabice ex primigenio exemplari vulgavit', Halle, 1729. The original letter is held today in the FBG, Chart. A 101. and I was able to consult it thanks to Asaph Ben-Tov's generous and kind hospitality during my visit to Gotha.

72   The citation is from Hamilton, 'An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters', p. 128.

fundamental misunderstanding on the part of early modern Europeans about the nature of the Arabic language itself. In part, modern scholars have sometimes repeated the prejudices of early modern Orientalists because of how few examples we have of the written Arabic used in everyday communication by people like Negri. But in the case of Barbatus, we are fortunate that a letter that he wrote to Joseph Scaliger in 1608 has survived.[73] Even a cursory review of the Arabic in the letter gives a general impression that it is more dialectal and more akin to a type of Arabic that linguists today refer to as 'Middle Arabic'. When faced with such a form of written Arabic, it is not surprising that European scholars doubted the abilities of their informants, not least given the apparent disparities between such a register of Arabic and the sort of Arabic they would have encountered in the sort of manuscripts that interested them most. Yet, in recent years Arabic linguists have made a forceful, persuasive case for the argument that the traditional distinction between classical, written Arabic and dialectal, spoken Arabic is not useful for understanding a much wider spectrum of written communication that took place in a register of Arabic that retained many features of dialectal Arabic.[74] Indeed, at least some European Orientalists already recognised this in the seventeenth century, as we have seen in the case of François Pétis de La Croix's understanding of Arabic in both its scholarly and dialectal forms, both of which could be written.[75] In other words, if Europeans were disappointed by the Arabic used by their teachers, it was more a reflection of the expectations that Europeans brought to the Arabic language than of the actual abilities of their Arabic teachers.

III

The *Memoria*'s account of Negri's life ends in 1717, just at the moment when he had decided that he wanted to leave Halle and return to England. In England, Negri would spend the remaining ten years of his life mostly in London with occasional visits to Oxford.[76] In this final stage of his life, Negri's activities as a

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73   It is preserved in LUL, MS Or. 1365 (4), and I am grateful to Arnoud Vrolijk for providing me with a copy of it.

74   For the most forceful and persuasive articulation of this, see J. Lentin, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue arabe au Proche-Orient à l'époque moderne*, 1997.

75   See, for example, Aurélien Girard's comments in this volume on 'vernacular Arabic' as imagined by Antonio dall'Aquila and Domenico Germano.

76   Negri first admission to the Bodleian was recorded on 20 July 1721, see 'Admission to Bodleian, Admissions Register, 1683–1833', in the records of the Bodl. Oxf., MS e.534, fol. 32^r.

teacher faded into the background as he endeavoured to take on several new ventures. First, he became involved with the SPCK on a project to publish a revised version of the New Testament in Arabic. Alongside this work, Negri also established contacts with scholarly circles in Oxford, most notably with the Bodley's librarian Humfrey Wanley, whose diary makes several references to Negri's assistance in identifying Oriental manuscripts and inscriptions for him.[77] This was also a period during which Negri translated a great deal of material from Arabic into Latin.[78] Even so, his working papers (preserved today in the British Library but still neglected by scholars) are a tribute to his other interests in translation into Turkish, his exploration of different scripts and alphabets, and an interest in calendars.[79] Indeed, the manuscripts dating to this period of Negri's life reveal him developing more and more into the 'man of letters' that he tried to persuade others he was. Between 1723 and 1727, Negri also served as the first interpreter of Oriental languages for the King, although it remains unclear what exactly this role comprised in this period.[80] Alongside all of these roles, we do not know whether Negri continued to offer private instruction in Arabic to anyone. There has long been speculation that Negri's students included George Sale, the first English translator of the Qur'ān (1731), although no evidence exists to support this claim apart from the fact that the two men worked during the same period on the publication of the Arabic New Testament by the SPCK. Nonetheless, it is a testament to Negri's reputation as a teacher that he is widely believed today to have been the obvious teacher of such a figure as George Sale.[81]

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77   The entries cover a period of time spanning from April 1720 to August 1725. See, for example, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, vol. 2, pp. 39, 116, 145, 218, 334, 355, and 365.

78   See, for example, GUL, MS Hunter 44, *Vitae et Opera Medicorum Arabicorum*; MS Hunter 133, Arabic and Latin versions of al-Razi's treatise on smallpox and measles; MS Hunter 211, entitled *Fasciculus Manuscriptorum Orientalium Videlicet*; and MS Hunter 393, with Latin translations of the lives of several oriental physicians. For full details, see J. Young and P.H. Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1908.

79   See BL, Add. MS 20,783 A/B, which comprises Negri's working papers. These papers have never been the subject of any scholarly attention, apart from a brief mention in BL catalogues including, most recently, *Subject Guide to the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Library*, ed. C.F. Baker, London, 2001.

80   See, for example, the records held in TNA, SP 44/123.

81   See, for example, A. Vrolijk, 'Sale, George (b. in or after 1696?, d. 1736)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edition, May 2015 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24529>], and D. Weston, 'Negri, Solomon (bap. 1665, d. 1727)', *ODNB*.

The last months of Negri's life are shrouded in the same obscurity that prevents us from knowing much about his youth. The probate case that ensued after his death notes that he resided at the 'Sign of the Crown near the New Church in the Strand' and that his landlord was one William Pinfold. From time to time, he attended church services in the house of the Archimandrite Gennadius in Exeter Exchange Court near the Strand. The inventory of his possessions includes the usual assortment of objects one might expect – 'green window curtains, brass candlesticks, three pairs of shoes' – but also more cryptic objects: five long black wigs, a sword, and a silver watch, all signs that perhaps he had found at least some material comfort in the course of his itinerant wanderings. As for any signs of his long life as a teacher and scholar, all that the inventory mentions is 'three hampers full' of books. They were handed over to one 'Mr Charles Kirke' who held in his possession letters from Negri indicating that his papers should be entrusted to him. As is usually the case in such situations, the notary who drew up the inventory did not provide any further information about the books. The same goes for Mr Kirke, who never published any catalogue or description of the contents of the three hampers he inherited from Negri. Indeed, even Kirke himself remains a ghost, unknown to modern scholars and noticeable in the historical record only for the fact of his being one of a few people that Negri must have counted as a friend during the last days of his life.

For all the paper left behind by Negri and his many travels, one still struggles to capture a glimpse of the life he lived and the role he played in the study of Arabic in eighteenth-century Europe. Like so many others, his influence – on his students, on early modern Orientalism, on the societies in which he lived – was all too quickly forgotten. Perhaps the most explicit sign of this is the fate of a portrait of Negri that for some time was on display in the Bodleian Library itself. The portrait had been made by the artist Thomas Hill, the same painter who would be commissioned to make portraits of Negri's better-known contemporaries like Humfrey Wanley and William Wake. As late as 1790, the presence of the portrait was mentioned along with others on display in the Bodleian Library under the simple title, 'Salomon Negri, of Damascus, by Hill'.[82] Unfortunately, visitors to the Bodleian Library today will have no luck in capturing a glimpse of Negri. Whether he is dressed in Oriental or European costume, no one will ever now. For at some point after 1790, the portrait was misplaced, and its whereabouts were forgotten like so many Arabic teachers

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82   *A Catalogue of the Several Pictures, Statues, and Busts in the Picture Gallery, Bodleian Library, and Ashmolean Museum at Oxford*, Oxford, 1790, p. 6.

whose presence in the historiography of Orientalism remains elusive even today.

In many ways, Negri's constant complaining about his life resonates with the laments of other migrants in early modern Europe. The themes of Negri's life are common ones: the exhaustion and anxiety of an itinerant life, the constant attempt to make himself relevant and useful to his contemporaries, and amid all this hustle and bustle, a sense of constant loneliness. We know this was the case for Negri from an intriguing detail mentioned in the testimony of one of his friends in the probate case that followed his death. These friends doubted the claims of Michael Fdellalah, the man who had presented himself as Negri's kinsman. Instead, they remembered something that Negri had blurted out many years before when he exclaimed that he 'had had brothers' once in his life but 'that he had now no relation but God'.[83] This was an unsurprising but sad end to a life lived in perpetual motion.

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83   TNA, PROB 31/51/413, responses to question 4.

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