

The Orient in Utrecht

Adriaan Reland (1676-1718)
Arabist, Cartographer, Antiquarian and
Scholar of Comparative Religion

Edited by
Bart Jaski, Christian Lange,
Anna Pytlowany, and Henk J. van Rinsum



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The Orient in Utrecht

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Acknowledgements

On 5 February 1718, Adriaan Reland, professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht, died suddenly, a mere 41 years old. Exactly 300 years later, on 5 February 2018, the editors of the present volume convened an international symposium in Utrecht, accompanied by an exhibition of some of his publications and manuscripts, to celebrate Reland's life and work.

We thank the University of Utrecht, Reland's alma mater, and Utrecht University Library for their hospitality. We are grateful to the Descartes Centre for the History and Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities of Utrecht University and the Vossius Center for the History of Humanities and Sciences of the University of Amsterdam for their financial contributions toward the symposium. After the inspiring event in early 2018, preparing a collected volume almost seemed an inevitability. We would like to express our gratitude to the contributors. Some of them were present at the symposium, while others generously agreed to write chapters at a later moment.

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The editors

Utrecht, 1 November 2020

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Adriaan Reland (1676–1718): Early Modern Humanist, Philologist and Scholar of Comparative Religion

Bart Jaski, Christian Lange, Anna Pytlowany, and Henk J. van Rinsum

Grelot's journey to Constantinople [is] certainly a book worth reading and often aroused a great desire in me to go and see Constantinople myself, a desire that I would certainly have fulfilled if fate had allowed me to live as I wished.¹

•••

Reland, a judicious student, had travelled over the east in his closet in Utrecht.²

••
•

This book covers the intellectual achievements of a remarkable man: Adriaan Reland, professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht from 1701 to 1718. Born in a village in North Holland, Reland never travelled beyond the borders of his home country. However, he had an astonishingly broad worldview. He spent much of his working life in his study, where he read about the world of the Orient, fashioning himself into a central figure and a point of exchange between scholars, publishers, antiquarians and collectors, as well as Dutch East India Company officials, travellers, and Calvinist missionaries overseas. This book illustrates Reland's many accomplishments. It follows his

1 'Ita & Grelotus in itinerario Constantinopolitano (libro sane lectu dignissimo, & qui vehemens saepe in me desiderium excitavit ipsam Constantinopolin adeundi, cui profecto satis facerem, Me si fata meis paterentur vivere vitam Auspiciis)'. See Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (1705), p. 151. Guillaume-Joseph Grelot (1630–1680) published his *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* in 1680.

2 Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 5, p. 114 n. 101.

scholarly trajectory as an Orientalist, a linguist, a cartographer, a poet, and a historian of comparative religion.

1 Reland's Life

The chapters of this book illuminate specific aspects of Reland's biography. Here, we offer only a brief sketch.³ Reland was born in De Rijp, a small village between Alkmaar and Purmerend, on 17 July 1676. His father Johannes had just accepted a position as a Dutch Reformed Church minister in Alkmaar, and soon afterwards moved to Amsterdam. Reland therefore also called himself an Amsterdammer, in addition to identifying himself as a Rijpenaar. Reland was the eldest of two sons; his younger brother Peter later worked in the judiciary. His father quickly recognised his elder son's precocious academic talents and in 1687, at the age of eleven, sent him to the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam.⁴ One of Reland's teachers there was Petrus Francius (1645–1704), professor of rhetoric, who introduced him to poetry. Reland became acquainted with the Latin and Greek classics and with the liberal arts. Willem Surenhuizen (c. 1664–1729) and Everard van der Hooght (1642?–1716) taught him Hebrew (and possibly some Arabic).

In 1690, at the age of fourteen, Reland entered the University of Utrecht. In the first four years he read philosophy, then for the next two years he focused on theology. During this time, he lived in the house of Melchior Leydecker (1642–1721), a professor of theology who was also skilled in Oriental languages. The university's *Album studiosorum* of 1694 mentions the student 'Adrianus Relandus Ripa-Batavus'.⁵ In that year, which fell under the rectorate of Johannes Munnicks, about seventy students were registered at the university, one third of whom came from abroad. Around that time, Reland befriended the German student Heinrich Sike (Sikius) (1669–1712), who taught him Arabic. In 1696 we find them in Leiden at the auction of the manuscripts of the deceased professor of mathematics and Arabic, Jacobus Golius (1596–1667). Years later, Utrecht awarded Sike an honorary doctorate, which facilitated Sike's appointment as a professor of Hebrew at Cambridge in 1705.

3 This is based, for the most part, on a number of short biographies of Reland in Dutch, including Van der Aa, 'Relandus', Van Amersfoort, 'Adrianus Reland', Hoek, '300 jaar Adriaan Reland', and Van Rinsum, '1705'. In some of the articles of Alastair Hamilton, a prominent scholar on Reland, the reader may find biographical information in English. See also Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, pp. 65–72.

4 The Athenaeum Illustre, a city-sponsored school, provided propaedeutic education for the university.

5 *Album studiosorum*, p. 92.

In September 1694 Reland defended his doctoral thesis, a *disputatio* entitled *De libertate philosophandi* (About the liberty to philosophize) but he was only given the title of *Philos. Doctor et A.L.M* (Doctor of Philosophy and *Artium Liberalium Magister*) on 18 February 1699. Reland continued his education at the University of Leiden, where from 1697 to 1698 he attended lectures by the two theologians, Johannes à Marck (1656–1731) and Friedrich Spanheim (1632–1701). He also followed the classes of Wolferdus Senguerdus (1646–1724), professor of experimental physics, best known for his air-pump, a device he liked to demonstrate during his lectures. In the meantime, Reland gave private lessons to Henry (1682–1726), the son of Hans Willem Bentinck (1649–1709), Count of Portland, the most important advisor and confidant of Stadholder/King William III (1650–1702). When he was asked to join the court in England to continue Henry's education, Reland declined, albeit reluctantly, because of his father's ill health. Later he was asked to become a professor at the University of Lingen, an appointment he also declined.

Finally, in 1699, he accepted an offer from the University of Harderwijk to teach experimental physics. His inaugural lecture in 1700 in Harderwijk dealt with the development of the new philosophy of his age (*De incremento quod Philosophia coepit hoc seculo*). Probably due to his personal connections with the higher political circles, in that same year he got an offer from the authorities of the University of Utrecht to teach Oriental languages, which he accepted, and from 1713 he also taught Biblical Antiquities (*antiquitates sacri*). He lived and worked in Utrecht from 1701 until his untimely death in 1718. In 1702, in a small church in Doorn, near Utrecht, Reland married the daughter of a former mayor of Zierikzee, Johanna Catharina Teelinck. They lived in the Domsteeg in Utrecht and had two daughters and a son. During his professorship at Utrecht Reland received prestigious offers from the universities of Franeker and Leiden, but on both occasions he decided to stay in Utrecht. In 1708/1709 he served as Rector Magnificus of the university. On February 5, 1718, at the age of 41, Reland died suddenly from smallpox.

2 Arabist, Cartographer, Antiquarian and Student of Comparative Religions

The impact of Reland's most well-known work, the 1705 'manifesto'⁶ *On the Mohammedan religion* (*De religione Mohammedica*), can only be called transformative. However, we should beware of reducing Reland to the status of a defender of Islam. Nor should we pigeonhole him as an 'enlightened Christian',

⁶ Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 83.

or a ‘Cartesian’, or a ‘radical philosopher’. Instead, as Henk J. van Rinsum argues in the opening chapter of this book, Reland’s personality and intellectual life was much more complex: he was, amongst other things, an ‘apologetic, reformed theologian’ *as well as* ‘an early Enlightenment Cartesian thinker’. He was a new type of scholar: an Early Modern humanist. Guy Stroumsa has suggested that the modern study of religion did not start in the second half of the nineteenth century, but around the turn of the seventeenth century, with critical philology and methodological skepticism at its core, and with Reland as one of its main protagonists.⁷ Reland thus emerges as an early harbinger of modern *Religionswissenschaft*, the study of religion that is no longer subservient to Christian missiology. His work owes as much to the rationalism and methodological rigour of Robert Boyle (1627–1691), Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and René Descartes (1596–1650) as it does to critical *ad fontes* philology and to the humanism of the likes of Montaigne (1533–1592) and Erasmus (1466–1536).

Reland’s primary interest, it should be noted, was in languages and textual traditions. His excellent classical education is most clearly visible in his devotion to the Latin Muse. Dirk Sacré’s chapter in this volume introduces Reland’s Neo-Latin love elegy *Galatea*, a poem that Reland worked on until the end of his life, resulting in about 70 variant readings. *Galatea* was an international bestseller; it was published, republished and translated in booklet form well into the late nineteenth century.⁸ Reland is especially remembered, however, for his contributions to the study of the three Abrahamic religions, including both their textual and material traditions. His interest in studying religion not from a theological but from a comparative, ‘scientific’ perspective extended to the *geographia sacra*, or biblical geography, which led him to produce maps without much reference, let alone deference, to the alleged authority of earlier scholarship. Speaking about the methodology followed in Reland’s seminal work *Palestina illustrata*, Zur Shalev observes that

Reland explains that his main task is one of cleansing—removal of the heaps of assumptions and uncorroborated traditions regarding the geography of the Holy Land. He does not bother to enter into arguments with the fellow researchers, and prefers to construct the map of the land himself, on the basis of compilation and comparison of ancient sources. The maps included by Reland in the book (11 in all), are indeed clean and empty looking, and the reason for this, he explains, is because he refrains

⁷ Stroumsa, *A New Science*.

⁸ In Appendix 4, the reader is offered a taste of *Galatea* by the fragment *Elegies for Galatea*, no. 2, in the translation of Jason Harris.

from mentioning villages and cities whose location is not certain. Reland even censures his predecessors for randomly scattering mountains and rivers on the map. [...] This process of cleansing not only fits in with the ideas of the early Enlightenment, but also with Reland's Protestant beliefs, according to which the Catholic tradition corrupted a purer ancient reality.⁹

Reland's academic career was relatively short, but he was a prolific writer.¹⁰ The importance of *De religione Mohammedica* for the European view of Islam is immense, as several chapters in this book demonstrate. Lot Brouwer notes in her contribution that *De religione Mohammedica* is a pioneering work, based on a careful selection of primary sources and on rigorous philological analysis. Reland offers a well-considered view of the Islamic religion and refutes many long-lasting misconceptions that had their origins in Christian apologetics and in previous mistranslations of Arabic sources, thus giving an important impulse to the emancipation of the study of Islam as an autonomous discipline. Outside academia, where the work was translated into various vernacular languages, *De religione Mohammedica* was mainly presented as a source of information about Islam, useful in the fight against its adherents. Nevertheless, it is safe to state that Reland's refutation of traditional misconceptions contributed to the spread of a more balanced view of Islam amongst scholars and the general public alike. In this respect it is quite telling that Reland dedicated *De religione Mohammedica* to his brother Peter, and that he drew a parallel with his brother's work in the judiciary ('qui & colis Justitiam', i.e. 'who also fosters Justice').¹¹

Reland's work on Islam had a modest but interesting prelude. As Remke Kruk and Arnoud Vrolijk discuss in their chapter in this volume, Reland was involved in the second edition (1701) of the Dutch translation of the Arabic philosophical allegory, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, by the Andalusian Muslim philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185). The story of Ḥayy b. Yaqzān ('Living, son of Wakening'), a man growing up on a desert island and reaching the highest levels of practical and theoretical knowledge, including the knowledge of God, has been a source of enduring fascination for European thinkers, and for the advocates of natural theology in particular. Reland was not a follower of natural theology, but his 'global curiosity' drew him to the topic. His annotations to the Dutch *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* of 1701 give an impression of his broad familiarity with Islamic

9 Shalev, *Hadriani Relandi Palaestina*, p. 2.

10 Appendix 1 provides an overview of his writings.

11 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (1705), fol. *3r.

philosophy and theology. Also, we may legitimately assume that Reland was in touch with the mysterious 'S.D.B.', the person responsible for revising the original 1672 Dutch translation. (The identity of 'S.D.B.' is revealed in Vrolijk's chapter.) This circumstance casts an interesting light on the network of translators, booksellers and publishers in the days of our Utrecht professor, as well as on books that were controversial or even forbidden, such as the writings of Spinoza or indeed, later, of Reland himself.

Let us reiterate that Reland was a man of many interests. He was not only interested in Islam, its languages and cultures, but, besides his classical and cartographic studies, he also devoted himself to the study of Hebrew philology, biblical archeology, and numismatics. Reland's significance for the study of Hebrew in particular is hard to overestimate. Reland's works on Jewish antiquities were arguably as significant and influential as his Islamic studies, as Ulrich Groetsch suggests in his contribution. For Reland, Jewish antiquities were more than just texts. To quote Zur Shalev once again, even though 'the era of empirical-scientific biblical archeology had not yet begun' in the time of Reland, he was nonetheless driven by a keen interest in the 'material culture of the Jewish nation', carrying out 'studies of Hebrew and Samaritan coins, Temple rituals and the liturgical vessels from the Temple that Titus took to Rome'.¹² As for numismatics, Reland assembled his own coin collection and also wrote on the subject. Over the years he gradually moved beyond a concern with Samaritan, Hebrew and Roman coins, and made forays into Middle Eastern and Far Eastern numismatics. In his contribution to this volume, Jan Just Witkam presents an introduction and annotated translation of Reland's 1708 treatise on Islamic gems and seals. The handful of objects discussed by Reland was held largely in the private collections of wealthy members of the Amsterdam bourgeoisie, with whom he maintained friendly connections. Several of the seals are inscribed with short credal statements, including one that bears the entire 112th chapter of the Qur'ān. The treatise also includes copper engravings of the seals, based on what seem to be original drawings by Reland. In his explanatory notes Reland repeatedly cites from letters he wrote to their owners. He expresses admiration for the beauty of the seals' calligraphy and impresses upon his upper-class friends the message he had already announced in *De religione Mohammedica* a couple of years earlier, namely that Muslim culture has much to recommend itself and should not be dismissed out of hand.

¹² Shalev, *Hadriani Relandi Palestina*, p. 1.

There is no better way to appreciate the scope of Reland's scholarship than to browse through the 1718 sales catalogue of his *Nachlass*, as well as the catalogue of his manuscripts, auctioned off in 1761. In his chapter on 'The manuscript collection of Adriaan Reland in the University Library of Utrecht and beyond', Bart Jaski notes a formidable obstacle encountered by Reland upon his appointment to the Utrecht chair: he found the university library ill-stocked with Oriental manuscripts. There were only a few dozen, most of them in Hebrew. As Jaski explains, Reland consequently had to acquire Oriental literature on his own initiative and with his own means. On the whole he either bought manuscripts from the *Nachlass* of deceased colleagues such as Golius (1596–1667) in Leiden, from whom he secured 31 manuscripts, or received them through contacts he had in the East. After Reland's death, however, the university did not buy a single one of the over 2,500 books in his collection and only purchased a modest batch of his 200 or so manuscripts (for which see Appendix 2), auctioned off in 1761. Most manuscripts sold at that auction were bought by individual scholars and collectors, while the only institution that bought manuscripts in significant numbers was the Vatican—which is not without irony, since the Vatican had been quick to put Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* on its index of forbidden books. They became the foundation of the collection now known as *Vaticani Indiani*.

Today most of Reland's manuscripts and books are to be found in Leiden University Library, having arrived there through sundry channels. In his second contribution to this volume, Arnoud Vrolijk investigates the role of Reland as a manuscript collector and its traces in the holdings of the Leiden University Library. In 1710, for instance, the French antiquary, numismatist and translator of the *1001 Nights* Antoine Galland (1646–1715) sent two Persian manuscript copies with a Latin translation in his own hand to Reland, hoping that he would find the time to edit them. In the extant Leiden manuscript catalogues the Galland provenance is duly noted, but the Reland connection is ignored. Vrolijk tackles the question of whether other Reland manuscripts can be identified with the help of the 1761 auction catalogue, adding reflections on how to read the information buried in the laconic and often misleading descriptions provided by the auctioneer. Leiden bought nothing at the auction, but in spite of this a total of 39 items with a Reland provenance can be identified with varying degrees of certainty. Ironically, this makes Leiden the largest single Reland collection in the world. Building on the legacy of Erpenius (1584–1624) and Golius, Leiden blossomed into the centre of Dutch Oriental studies, including the study of Arabic and Islam. Were it not for his premature death, Reland's great renown as a scholar would likely have firmly established Oriental studies at Utrecht University and helped it to flourish for many decades after his death.

3 Reland as an Orientalist

While the previous section has explained the subtitle of the present volume, our use of the term ‘Orient’ in the main title requires us to reflect, albeit briefly, on the question of Orientalism, a concept whose continued importance in the humanities today is widely acknowledged.¹³ Orientalism, according to Edward Said, is a discourse of political domination that hinges on a sharp division between ‘the West’ and ‘the East’; a ‘style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and (most of the time) “the Occident”’.¹⁴ Orientalists position themselves as being ‘exterior’ to the Orient, ‘both as an existential and as a moral fact’, which buttresses their claim to authority and the aura of truth in which they clothe their discourse.

In this regard it is instructive to examine, as Christian Lange does in his chapter, how Reland thought and wrote about the prophet of Islam. As Lange’s study of *De religione Mohammedica* and Reland’s hitherto unexamined treatise on the Islamic law of war shows, in comparison with the likes of Grotius (1583–1645), Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), and Voltaire (1694–1778), but also the learned Barthélemy d’Herbelot (1625–1695), Reland offered a new perspective in several ways. First, he hardly ever talked about Muhammad in the derogatory terms that were customary at the time, simply referring to him as ‘the prophet’. Secondly, Reland insisted on the exclusive use of authoritative Muslim sources to offer a balanced account of Islam. Reland, thirdly, wanted to listen to Muhammad and his followers as they expressed themselves through texts, judging them to be ‘free to follow their own light’.

It is important to remember that in the seventeenth century the concept of the Orient was suddenly extended from the Levant to the Far East and East Indies. Orientalists no longer talked about the entire Orient in the same terms. As Ellen R. Welch notes, ‘[i]nfluenced by a long tradition of contact and representation, travellers to the Levant portrayed a threatening land ruled by tyrants and mined with seductive, sequestered women’. By contrast, ‘[t]he Indes orientales [...] appeared as a fertile paradise of natural riches peopled by indolent or violent barbarians. This depiction of the Indies as a land of unexploited precious resources both reflected and encouraged European economic intervention’.¹⁵ What, then, was Reland’s position in this shifting landscape?

13 Ahmed, *What is Islam?*, p. 526 n. 230. See also Varisco, *Reading Orientalism*.

14 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 2. Nuanced and critical rejoinders to Said’s seminal work include Hourani, ‘The Road to Morocco’; Clifford, ‘On *Orientalism*’.

15 Welch, ‘Review of *Veiled Encounters*’, pp. 459–460.

Did he simply have a ‘lust of knowing’, the genuine academic curiosity of Orientalist scholars, as stressed by Robert Irwin?¹⁶ Or was he, at bottom, an ideological advocate of the colonisation of the East by Western states, such as the Dutch Republic? We know, for example, that Reland was in contact with travellers, missionaries and ministers working overseas and in the Dutch colonies, including the minister and naturalist François Valentijn (1666–1727). The church council of Batavia, moreover, wrote a letter on 14 November 1701 to the church council of Amsterdam in which they applauded the appointment of Reland in Utrecht. The council members expressed their hope that the theologians under Reland’s care would be trained in the Oriental languages to the extent that they would be able to master the Indian languages.¹⁷ No doubt knowledge of Eastern cultures, including their languages, was part of the repertoire of ‘cultural technologies of [colonial] rule’.¹⁸

The reasons for Reland’s linguistic curiosity are explored in Toon van Hal’s chapter in this volume. Reland’s interest in foreign languages, which stretched well beyond the classical and Semitic languages he originally studied, was driven by the search for the linguistic kinships that would ultimately help to reveal the original language, and thereby the prehistory of mankind. Reland’s linguistic achievements should thus be assessed against the backdrop of debates current at the time—debates which he was not always able to transcend. Notably, Reland was unable to go beyond the Biblical framework positing Hebrew as the world’s original language, even when the specimens he collected suggested otherwise.

Elaborating on the topic of Reland’s methodology and the issue of Orientalist ‘exteriority’ in particular, Tobias Winnerling, in his contribution to this volume, takes a closer look at Reland’s cartographic work, focussing on two maps by Reland: the somewhat neglected map of Persia from 1705, and a more well-known map of Japan from 1715. The central question is whether Reland’s well-recognised approach of combining maps with further research on the topic, relying on contemporary indigenous sources, can also be discerned in his single maps. Analysing Reland’s methodology and comparing it with that of his contemporaries, Winnerling finds evident parallels between the two maps, especially in the use of source material from the regions concerned. The two maps share a common methodological framework, thus connecting more closely to Reland’s overarching research patterns than has been previously recognised.

16 Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*.

17 Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*, p. 252.

18 See e.g. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Form of Knowledge*, pp. 3–5; Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*, p. 3.

Several chapters in this volume show that Reland was constantly engaged in correcting the ‘invented traditions’ regarding the Orient. Nowhere is this more aptly demonstrated than on the title-page of the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica* (1705), which promises that the book will ‘examine some of what is falsely attributed to the Mohammedans’ (‘examinat nonnulla, quae falso Mohammedanis tribuuntur’). Reland advocated independent research, the rejection of traditional authority—a key theme of his disputation *De libertate philosophandi* of 1694—and promoted the correction of false representations, even if they concerned ‘competing’ religions. Moreover, he urged everyone to master documents and manuscripts in the original languages.

In his contribution Richard van Leeuwen explores ‘to what extent Dutch Oriental studies at the time [of Reland] were placed at the interface between economic and political interests and religious debates’. Reland’s Protestantism, in fact, further complicates debates about his alleged Western or Orientalist bias. Thanks to the increasing contact between Europe and the Muslim world, the Islamic pilgrimage, or Hajj, became a focus of interest for both scholars and for transregional actors such as travellers and merchants. The Hajj was seen as a ritual that was gradually being purged of its medieval mystifications. As such, it could contribute to a better comprehension of certain controversies between Catholics and Protestants. ‘The Hajj not only symbolised the differences between Islam and Christianity, but also the differences between the northern European Protestants and the Roman Church’. In this respect, Van Leeuwen concludes, the Hajj ‘is illustrative of the change in the judgement and appreciation of Islam: in Protestant Oriental studies as practiced by Reland, Islam is not so much a reprehensible Christian sect, but an autonomous religion deserving a thorough and unbiased examination’.

4 Reland in the Republic of Letters—and Beyond

As we saw, Reland spent his whole life in Utrecht, far away from the Orient. However, thanks to his talents and his personality, his relatively isolated hometown became a hub for the exchange of information about the Orient between the Dutch Republic, the rest of Europe, and the colonies in the East. Besides the scholars who inhabited the European Republic of Letters, Reland communicated with Dutch East India Company officials, as well as travellers and missionaries. He was in close contact with two magistrates, scholars and collectors of artefacts from the Orient, Gisbert Cuper (1644–1716), mayor of Deventer, and Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), mayor of Amsterdam and a one-time *bevindhebber* (‘supervisor’) of the Dutch East India Company. At Reland’s request Witsen

intervened to assist him in collecting manuscripts from ministers and travellers in the colonies, including the minister Petrus van der Vorm (1664–1731) and the artist and traveller Cornelis de Bruyn (1652–1726/7).¹⁹ In her contribution to this volume, Anna Pytlowany reconstructs Reland's wide-ranging social and business network based on what is left of Reland's less formal legacy: his personal and business letters; the books and manuscripts offered to him; and the items mentioned in his auction catalogue, such as coins and scientific instruments. In his funeral oration for Reland, Joseph Serrurier (d. 1742) says that Reland corresponded with scholars and collectors from across the whole of Europe: France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, England, and the Netherlands.²⁰ In many cases, only some letters have come down to us, and often none at all. Book dedications, celebratory poems, and inscriptions in several *alba amicorum* offer glimpses of Reland's private life, friendships and business dealings. From these fragments of Reland's life, a multifaceted image emerges: Reland the scholar and networker; Reland the antiquarian and poet; Reland the colleague and friend. They also give us a taste of the cultural and intellectual climate of Utrecht around 1700. When studied together with the other materials examined in this volume—his scholarly writings, poems, maps, books and manuscripts—they conjure up the image of a man of many talents, a scholar subject to a curious mixture of influences, a critical intellectual endowed with a strong will and a great independence of mind. Reland, as the chapters in this volume demonstrate, developed a new and modern vision of the study of human culture, its artefacts, languages and religions. His vision resonated throughout Europe and continues to inspire to this day.

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¹⁹ Peters, *De wijze koopman*, p. 488 n. 30.

²⁰ Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, pp. 39–40.

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PART 1

Reland in His Time



Adriaan Reland (1676–1718) and His Formative Years

A Prelude to De Religione Mohammedica

Henk J. van Rinsum

[S]ometimes it takes a manifesto to get the world's attention. In 1705 Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), a professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht, sent to the presses a compact octavo that would resonate across Europe out of all proportion to its modest size.¹

ALEXANDER BEVILACQUA

• • •

Reland may not have been a follower of Descartes in every respect—and indeed, how many Dutch Cartesians were?—but the influence of the new philosophy is evident in the novelty of his approach to the many subjects which he studied.²

ALASTAIR HAMILTON

• • •

Nostrum est integros accedere fontes.³

ADRIAAN RELAND

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¹ Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 83.

² Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht', p. 105.

³ Reland, *De consensu Mohammedanismi et Judaismi*, p. 9.

1 Introduction⁴

Writing about the work and influence of Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), it is tempting to place him in clear-cut intellectual-academic categories, neatly describing him and the *dramatis personae* surrounding him as Cartesians, humanists, Protestant theologians, Spinozists, and so on. In doing so we may avoid contradiction in a superficial sense; in reality, however, we obfuscate complexity. Similarly, it is fallacious to think about Reland and his time in linear developmental terms, speaking of major periods such as the ‘Middle Ages’, ‘Renaissance’, ‘Enlightenment’, or ‘Romanticism’. Intellectual developments are often paradoxical, contradictory, overlapping, and persistent. In people who live and work in times of major intellectual change, complexity is necessarily present. Reland, the subject of this chapter and this book, lived in one such period of great intellectual ferment.

Reland was born and raised in a Protestant family; his father was a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church. He never left his country, yet showed a deep interest in other countries, peoples, languages and religions, and was receptive to new methods of study. Although Reland wrote about many other subjects, attention is almost disproportionately focused on his *De religione Mohammedica*, which was first published in 1705. This ‘manifesto’ has a long preface in which Reland provides a justification for writing the book. As such, the preface offers a valuable insight into his ideas and is a good launchpad for our present investigation. ‘Most religions that used to exist in this world or that are confessed today’, Reland begins, ‘have suffered the same fate: their opponents have not understood them properly, or they have been denounced with improper slander and in an unfair manner.’⁵

One thing is paramount: ‘truth, wherever it is, should be investigated.’⁶ This is why, according to Reland, it is important to describe another religion such as Islam ‘as it is taught in the houses of worship and in the schools of the Muslims.’⁷ Reland states that he feels sorry for students who are interested in studying the Islamic religion but are referred only to the *Summa controversiarum* of Hoornbeeck (1617–1666), the apologetic *Confusio sectae Mahometanae* of

4 This chapter could not have been written without the help of my colleague and friend, the classicist Gert M. Knepper. I thank Christian Lange and Bart Jaski for their valuable feedback on a draft of this chapter. I thank the reviewers for their helpful comments.

5 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica*, 1705, Praefatio, I, n.p.: ‘Plerarumque religionum, quae in orbe terrarum olim viguerunt aut videntur hodieque, idem fatum fuit, ut ab adversariis suis non satis bene intellectae, aut calumniose contra fas & aequum fuerint traductae.’

6 Ibid., Praefatio, IV, n.p.: ‘Veritas ubicunque est indagari debet.’

7 Ibid., Praefatio, IV, **3: ‘[...] sed ita uti docetur in Templis & Scholis Mohammedicis [...]’.

Johannes Andreas Maurus (fl. 1487–1515), or the version of the Quran translated by Robertus Retenensis (Robert of Ketton) (fl. 1143), ‘and to others who have vehemently fantasized about this subject’,⁸ while they should rather learn Arabic in order to get to know Islam from within.

This chapter is about individuals, institutions, disciplines, and world views. It is also about (the study of) religion and religions. In this respect, the year 1676 may be regarded as a fault-line. The key actors in this story are Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), professor of theology, Hebrew, and other Oriental languages in the faculty of theology of the University of Utrecht from 1634 until his death in 1676; and Reland, professor of Oriental languages in the faculty of philosophy at the same university from 1701 until his untimely death in 1718. Voetius died on 1 November 1676, after a long and industrious life devoted to defending the reformed theology. Reland was born in De Rijp, a small village in the northern part of the province of Holland, on 17 July, only a few months before.

What united Voetius and Reland was a deep interest in religion. However, although both were reformed Christians, they differed fundamentally about how the religious systems of others should be studied, the relationship between philosophy and theology, and the nature of science and scientific methodology. One may argue that the transition from Voetius to Reland can be described as one from *Glaubenswissenschaft* to *Religionswissenschaft*.⁹ In *Glaubenswissenschaft* ‘[...] it is necessary then [...] to try to bring back to one of these religions all of its rivals, which shall be held to be “false” thanks to the establishment of “marks” guaranteeing the “true” one [...]’. By contrast, in *Religionswissenschaft*,

religion begins to be perceived from the outside. It is classified in the category of customs, or else in that of historical contingencies. [...] Religion no longer signifies a religious order or the Church in the singular: as Georges Gusdorf has remarked [in his *Dieu, la nature, l’homme au siècle des Lumières*, Paris: Payor, 1972], ‘Hereafter religion can be spoken of in the plural’. The contents of belief are subject to analysis from an increasing distance in respect to the act of believing. Religion tends to become

8 Ibid., Praefatio, VII ***2.: ‘[...] aliosque, qui in hoc argumento vehementer hallucinati sunt’. Reland described the Qur’ān version by Robert of Ketton as ‘ambigua’ (see Reland, *De symbolo Mohammedico*, p. 10).

9 Here I find myself in line with Spaans and Touber, ‘Introduction Enlightened Religion’, and Krop, ‘From Religion in the Singular to Religions in the Plural’, both in a recent publication: Spaans and Touber (eds), *Enlightened Religion*.

a social object, and hence an object for study, in ceasing to be for the subjects that which allows them to think or to behave.¹⁰

The emergence of a comparative study of religions at universities is mostly situated in the second half of the nineteenth century, when chairs in religious studies were established at various universities. In *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason*, Guy Stroumsa develops a different perspective on the genesis of the study of religion. He traces the genesis of a comparative study of religious phenomena 'back to the age of reason, broadly defined (the long Enlightenment, from 1600 to 1800):¹¹ It is significant that Reland features prominently in his book.

In this essay, I will analyse Reland's formative years in Amsterdam, Utrecht and Leiden, particularly the tense intellectual-theological atmosphere at the University of Utrecht, and the role played by Voetius. Following this I will examine some of Reland's earlier writings, and extract features which I will describe as building blocks of the young Reland's critical philosophy and methodology. I want to show that Reland himself experienced a separation between the old and the new, between the philosophy of scholasticism and the new philosophy of nature, but also the separation between the domain of theology and (modern) philosophy. This will help us to understand why, a few years later, Reland was able to write *De religione Mohammedica*, which attracted so much attention in Europe and continues to do so today.

2 Reland at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam

At the age of eleven Reland began to attend to the city-sponsored Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam which, in the second half of the nineteenth century, became the University of Amsterdam.¹² Education was mainly centred on the artes liberales.¹³ It did not feature the classical division into the four faculties of theology, law, medicine and philosophy, with the first three as the higher faculties. At the Athenaeum Illustre, Reland followed two trajectories that continued to influence his work until the end of his life. The first was training in the classics under the supervision of Petrus Francius (1645–1704), a professor of

10 Certeau, *The Writing of History*, p. 152.

11 Stroumsa, *A New Science*, p. viii.

12 See Van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*.

13 These liberal arts are divided in the trivium, including logic, grammar and rhetoric, and the quadrivium, including arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy.

rhetoric in a classical-humanist vein. The second was a strong philological trajectory with—initially—a strong emphasis on the study of Hebrew, supervised by Willem Surenhuis (c. 1664–1729) and Everard van der Hooght (1642?–1716).

Petrus Francius became professor of Roman history at the Athenaeum Illustre in 1674. He also taught rhetoric and Greek, and published partial editions by his pupils mainly of Ovid and Horace. A contribution by Reland, then only thirteen, was published in 1689, and another one in 1690.¹⁴

Willem Surenhuis (Surenhusius) was the son of a German-born minister. He studied at the University of Groningen, and later taught in Amsterdam. He was a scholar of Hebrew, known for his Latin translation of the *Mishnah*, the compilation of Jewish oral traditions, which was published from 1698 to 1703. As Peter van Rooden has noted, Surenhuis was probably the ‘most philosemitic Christian Hebraist of the seventeenth century. [...] In general, Surenhuis wanted to keep the study of rabbinical literature separate from the theological polemics against Judaism’.¹⁵

Everard van der Hooght was a minister who also taught Hebrew at the Athenaeum Illustre as a private lecturer. He made his name by publishing an *Athias-Leusden* edition of the *Biblia Hebraica*. The first and second editions were published by Joseph Athias, the Jewish printer of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam, together with Johannes Leusden (1624–1699), professor of Hebrew at the University of Utrecht, and later the teacher of Reland. This 1705 edition was widely regarded as the *textus receptus* in Europe. Reland was one of several authors who wrote a *judicium* about this 1705 edition of his former teacher and predecessor, Johannes Leusden. Reland may also have been in contact with some of the Jewish scholars living in Amsterdam, first through Van der Hooght and then through Leusden.

The young Reland must have developed a strong devotion to the classical authors of antiquity and to Oriental languages, particularly Hebrew and rabbinical literature. Van der Hooght called him ‘the wonder of his age’ because of his talent for learning Latin, citing Cicero when he was only thirteen, as well as Hebrew and ‘Chaldeeuwisch’ (Aramaic).¹⁶ His mind was moulded by the atmosphere of the *artes liberales*, the Renaissance *studia humanitatis* in a humanistic-philological tradition, and the world of Oriental languages. The next step in his education was the University of Utrecht.

14 Reland, ‘Saeculum argenteum, aeneum, ferreum’; and Reland, ‘Q Horatii Flaccii, Epodon Od. 6. Quo, quo, scelesti, ruitis? &c., Lib. 4. Od. 14’. Apparently, one of his co-authors, Bartolomeus Bolck, joined Reland at the University of Utrecht. He wrote a poem in one of the Reland’s early disputations, *De fine mundi conditi*.

15 Van Rooden, ‘The Amsterdam Translation of the Mishnah’, p. 265.

16 Van der Hooght, ‘Voor-reeden’, n.p.

3 The Intellectual Milieu of the University of Utrecht

City magistrates took the initiative to establish the University of Utrecht in 1636. Its main purpose was to train lawyers for the administrative hub that Utrecht was at that time; doctors; but above all ministers for the reformed churches in the Netherlands. They were meant to be trained in a strictly reformed orthodoxy. As early as 1634,¹⁷ Gisbertus Voetius was appointed professor of theology in the faculty of theology. It was about theology, and reformed theology only. Voetius became a towering figure at the university in Utrecht—also known as the *Academia Voetiana*—devoting his life to the development and protection of the reformed theology. This orthodox reformed theology was codified by the Synod of Dordt in 1618–1619.

Voetius's reformed theology determined his engagement with philosophy as an academic discipline. According to him, philosophy was the mere handmaiden ('ancilla') of theology.¹⁸ This philosophy was a rigorous Aristotelian neo-scholasticism with its traditional notion of substantial forms in a Christian mould, thanks to Thomas Aquinas, who synthesized the philosophy of Aristotle with Christian theology.

Voetius, therefore, proved to be a fierce opponent of René Descartes (1596–1650), who lived in Utrecht for some time. The University of Utrecht became a battleground for the intellectual and theological conflict between Voetius and Descartes known as *La Querelle d'Utrecht* (the Utrecht Quarrel). Van Ruler describes this 'conflict between Scholastic and Cartesian ideas of natural change' as 'a conflict between finalistic and non-finalistic theories of causation'.¹⁹ Are natural processes determined by divine providence or by mathematical physics? By freeing philosophy from the tentacles of a Protestant theology, Descartes jeopardized the sole authority of the Scripture, the principle of sola scriptura, not only in the domain of faith but also in the domain of the knowledge of nature. It meant that *ratio* and *fides* were positioned in a new relationship with one another. Cartesianism meant a 'complete revision of theological method', thus 'reopening the debate on Orthodoxy'.²⁰ Voetius concluded that Cartesianism would eventually lead to atheism. The Dutch Cartesians counteracted this charge by advocating a strict separation between philosophy and the

17 From 1634 until 1636 the university was an Illustre School.

18 See e.g. Goudriaan, *Reformed Orthodoxy and Philosophy*, pp. 29–36, and Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, p. 6.

19 Van Ruler, *The Crisis of Causality*, p. 6.

20 Verbeek, 'Descartes and the Problem of Atheism', p. 222.

higher faculties, including theology, law, and medicine. Philosophy and theology now came to serve different and more or less exclusive purposes.

The faculty of philosophy at Utrecht served theology, teaching the languages necessary for the proper interpretation of the Bible. Philosophy was a preparation for this 'higher faculty', and was supposed to sustain the theological disciplines. Only later did the academic discipline of philosophy emancipate itself in a process of differentiation in the humanities, including philology, the study of languages, philosophy; and natural philosophy, which increasingly developed in the direction of the 'experimental' natural sciences.

4 Voetius, *religio vera*, and the Use of Oriental Languages

According to Voetius, theology was actually missiology. In his *De Plantatione Ecclesiarum* he developed a broad definition of missiology as the establishment and growth of the Reformation and its doctrine. This fundamentally shaped his ideas about other religions. The binary *religio vera/religio falsa* was deeply rooted in his theology and missiology. An important example of the *religio falsa* was Islam. In his polemical disputatio *De Muhammedismo*, Voetius defines Mohammedanism as the 'complete apostasy in the denial of the true God and covenant of the gospel'.²¹ He divided his disputatio into two parts, one about the 'nature of this evil', and the other about the 'healing of this evil'. In his preface to the 1656 edition of the *Confusio Sectae Mahometanae*, Voetius often used adjectives with a distinctly negative connotation, including 'falsa', 'absurda', 'injusta', 'inhonesta' and so on, in opposition to the 'veritas religionis Christianae'.²²

Voetius's perspective on Islam was theologically driven by the concept of refutation, and not a vision based on a comparative study of religion(s). He assessed and appreciated Islam solely on the basis of knowledge of the revelation to the Jewish people and of Jesus Christ.²³ In this sense, Voetius was the ultimate custodian of a (reformed) Glaubenswissenschaft.

21 Voetius, *Disputatio de Muhammedismo*, p. 66o: 'apostasia completa in abnegatione veri Dei & foederis Euangelici'.

22 Voetius, 'Praefatio', in Andreas, *Confusio sectae Mahometanae*.

23 See Van Asselt, 'De islam in de beoordeling van Johannes Coccejus en Gisbertus Voetius', p. 229.

5 Oriental Languages at Utrecht

Knowledge of Oriental languages at Utrecht was dominated by the reading, understanding and interpretation of the Old Testament, with Hebrew seen as the most important language. It was the mother of all languages, the holy language of the Old Testament. It was Johannes Leusden who established a widely acknowledged tradition in the study of Hebrew and Jewish scholarship, partly based on his contact with the Jewish community in Amsterdam where he had stayed for some time, establishing, in the words of Turner, 'regular contact across a hostile border' separating learned Jews from Calvinist philologists.²⁴ There he was taught by two masters, one of them an Arab Jew who probably also taught him Arabic. Leusden also worked closely with the Jewish printer Athias, 'an example of the new kind of cultural and religious exchange that was possible in seventeenth-century Amsterdam'.²⁵

The study of Arabic was regarded as important for two reasons. First, Arabic provided greater insight into the Hebrew language. And second, it enabled theologians to develop greater knowledge of the rival religion of Islam. In this respect, Voetius was also well aware of the importance of knowledge of the Arabic language and the Qur'ān. In the *Dedicatio* at the beginning of the *Historia Orientalis* (1651) by the Swiss Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), Voetius is quoted ('scribit Gisb. Voetius, Theologus Ultrajectinus') emphasizing the need for an annotated edition of the Qur'ān with a Latin translation.²⁶

After all, in order to be able to fight the *religio falsa*, one needed to be familiar with its writings and language. Voetius himself had already begun to learn Arabic during his stay in the vicarage in Heusden. He even travelled to Leiden to consult the Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) about teaching materials and the pronunciation of Arabic. And when the University of Utrecht did not succeed, after several attempts, in securing the services of the Walloon minister and Orientalist Louis de Dieu (1590–1642), Voetius was asked to teach Hebrew and other Oriental languages as well as theology.

24 Turner, *Philology*, p. 42.

25 See Dunkelgrün, 'Like a Blind Man Judging Colors', p. 88.

26 Hottinger, *Historia orientalis*, *Dedicatio*, n.p.: 'Alkoranum enim Arabicè cum versione Latina, et notis textualibus typis publicari deberet [...]':

6 Reland as a Young Student at Utrecht

At the age of fourteen, Reland moved to the University of Utrecht. His father found him lodgings at the house of the reformed theologian Melchior Leydecker (1642–1721), a faithful follower of Voetius. The Utrecht historian (and city mayor) Caspar Burman (1696–1755) called him very learned and skilful in Oriental languages.²⁷ Reland's father had taken him there to keep him on the right track, in 'lubrica ista aetate' (Dutch: in 'deezee glibberjeugt', or English: in 'this hazardous state of youth').²⁸ Although the quarrel between Voetius and Descartes had subsided, some of the theology and philosophy professors still worked in the Voetian tradition.

In his first four years at Utrecht, from 1690 to 1694, Reland studied in the faculty of philosophy. In this period, the following professors were active in the faculty: Johannes Graevius (1632–1703), professor of politics, history and rhetoric from 1661 onwards. Graevius played a crucial role in the *Collegie der Sçavanten*, a group of Cartesian soulmates in Utrecht.²⁹ One of his colleagues was Gerard de Vries (1648–1705), professor of philosophy and theology from 1674 onwards. He was called the 'Malleus Cartesianorum' ('hammer of the Cartesians'), who had come from Leiden to Utrecht after being bullied by Cartesian sympathisers at Leiden. Johannes Luyts (1655–1721) was a professor of physics and mathematics from 1677 onwards. And Johannes Leusden, professor of sacred languages, taught from 1650 on.

In a way, this faculty was a mixture of the study of philology and Oriental languages, more particularly Hebrew (Leusden), of anti-Cartesian philosophy (De Vries and Luyts), and of a more humanistic and Cartesian-minded study of rhetoric, politics, and history (Johannes Graevius).

As a student in the faculty of philosophy, the following exercises (either 'disputatio' or 'exercitatio') bear Reland's name. I also include the name of the professors who chaired the disputes:³⁰

27 Burman, *Trajectum eruditum*, p. 176: 'fuit revera vir multae lectionis et orientalium linguarum peritissimus'.

28 Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 16.

29 On the 'Collegie der Sçavanten', see Gootjes, 'The Collegie der Sçavanten'. Gootjes argues that Graevius stressed the scholarly element of the College.

30 A point of discussion related to the disputationes concerns authorship. Either the professor himself was the author, and the student reacted with theses (*annexa respondentis*) in the disputation, or the student himself wrote the disputation. A number of the disputationes explicitly mention 'Adrianus Reeland Auctor'. Note that Reland's assignments (*disputationes* and *exercitationes*) were mostly labelled as philosophical or philological-theological.

1. *Vindiciarum disquisitionis De mente non ipsa cogitatione* (On the mind, not being thinking itself). Chair Gerard de Vries, 25 April 1694;³¹
2. *Exercitatio Philosophica De fine mundi conditi* (On the purpose of the creation of the world). Chair Gerard de Vries, 2 May 1694 ('Adrianus Reeland, Auctor');
3. *Exercitationis physico mathematicæ De umbra Pars Prior* (On the Shadow). Chair Johannes Luyts, 11 May 1694.³²

On 25 September 1694, at the age of eighteen, Reland defended his *disputatio philosophica Inauguralis De libertate philosophandi* (Pro doctoratus in Philosophia Gradu,³³ to be conferred by Gerard de Vries) before an audience at the University of Utrecht.³⁴ More than four years later, on 18 February 1699, he received his doctorate.³⁵

After his studies in philosophy, Reland continued his studies in theology. His professors were Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706), Melchior Leydecker, Hermannus Witsius (1636–1708), Hermannus van Halen (1633–1701), and Paul Bauldry (1639–1706). Witsius, coming from the University of Franeker, was a moderate theologian, and Bauldry a Huguenot living in Utrecht. Van Halen and Bauldry were less prominent, working mainly in the field of church history. Van Mastricht and Leydecker still taught in the Voetian tradition. However, we must guard against a strictly monolithic perception of the intellectual-theological milieu in Utrecht at that time.

During his studies in Utrecht, Reland met the German student Heinrich Sike, from whom he learned Arabic, and they became close friends. Sike was also closely connected to the Cartesian professor Graevius.³⁶

31 This *disputatio* was probably written by Gerard de Vries himself. This disputation included *Annexa Respondentis*, possibly written by Reland.

32 This *disputatio* was probably written by Johannes Luyts himself.

33 Contrary to the *disputatio sub Praesidio*, the *disputatio inauguralis* gave access to the doctorate degree.

34 In the *Acta et decreta senatus*, it is stated: 'Adrianus Reland, Ripa-Batavus, praemissis ordinariis examinibus, inauguralem in Philosophia habuit disputationem "de libertate philosophandi"; "placuit Senatui summos honores academicos ipsi concedere, conferendos per virum clariss. Gerardum de Vries, quandocunque ei visum fuerit illos a nobis petere." See Kernkamp, *Acta et decreta Senatus*, vol. 2, p. 142.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 162: 'Adrianus Relandus, die op 24 Sept. 1694 een disputatione had gehouden "de libertate philosophandi", is gepromoveerd tot Philos. Doctor et A.L.M'. De Haan suggests that the long intermission between the defence in 1694 and the formal receipt of the degree in 1699 might be related to the young age of Reland at the time of the public defence (he was just 18 years old). De Haan, *Het wijsgerig onderwijs*, p. 71.

36 See Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht'.

The following exercises in the faculty of theology bear Reland's name (the name of the chair of the dispute is also included):

1. *Dissertationis historico-theologicae De sermone Dei in origine universi, Pars Tertia & Ultima* (On the speaking of God at the beginning of the Universe). Chair Melchior Leydecker, 27 May 1696. 'Adrianus Reeland, Resp.';³⁷
2. *Exercitatio philologico-theologica De consensu Mohammedanismi et Judaismi* (On the points of community between Mohammedanism and Judaism). Chair Melchior Leydecker, 29 May 1696. 'Adrianus Reeland auctor';
3. *Exercitatio philologico-theologica De symbolo Mohammedico (non est Deus nisi Unus) adversus quod S.S. Trinitas defenditur* (On the Muslim creed (there's only one God) against which the Holy Trinity is defended). Chair Herman Witsius, May 1696. 'Adrianus Reeland auctor'.

7 Reland at the University of Leiden

From 1697 until 1698, Reland continued his studies at the University of Leiden, where he followed lectures in theology with Friedrich Spanheim (1632–1701), professor of church history and a fierce opponent of Descartes; with Jacobus Trigland (1652–1705), professor of theology; and with Johannes à Marck (1656–1731), professor of theology and church history. Marck was known as the 'Marckse Voetiaan'.

Reland also took courses in experimental physics (Dutch: 'proefondervindelijke physica') with Wolferdus Senguerdus, and did so with great interest. Senguerdus (1646–1724), son of Arnoldus Senguerdus (1610–1668), a professor at Utrecht and later at the Amsterdam Gymnasium, was appointed professor of philosophy in 1674. He was expected to teach Aristotelian philosophy, but during his professorship his views developed in various other directions. 'Nonetheless', as Ruestow notes, 'his own natural philosophy proved to be a strange and incongruous blending of obstructive traditionalism, Cartesianism, atomism, and experimentalism'.³⁸ With his colleague Burchard de Volder (1643–1709), Senguerdus is regarded as the founder of the teaching of experimental physics at Leiden, and prepared the transition to the 'experimental

37 This *disputatio* was probably written by Melchior Leydecker himself. Reland is one of the respondents.

38 Ruestow, *Physics at Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Leiden*, p. 79.

philosophy' of the eighteenth century. Experimental physics became a distinctive feature of instruction at Leiden.

In 1679 Senguerdius designed an air pump which he used in his teaching. When Reland took courses at Leiden it had become a popular demonstration device. Following Francis Bacon (1561–1626), for Senguerdius the academic programme of the philosophy of nature was the 'marriage' of *ratio* and experiment (*Rationis atque experientiae connubium*).³⁹ 'In fact', as Anne van Helden notes, 'it [the air-pump] had become a symbol of the new experimental philosophy. Indeed no instrument tuned in better than the air-pump with the rise of Baconism that so greatly influenced the scientific world in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century'.⁴⁰ Serrurier's obituary of Reland mentions the latter's enthusiasm for the 'experimentis physicis & mechanicis faciendis' that Senguerdius used in his teaching. Serrurier articulates a forceful dividing line that Reland experienced between the old and obsolete doctrine and the new way of uncovering the secrets of nature.⁴¹

As a student at Leiden the following student assignments bear Reland's name:

1. *Dissertatio historica De Philippi imperatoris patris, et filii, credito temere Christianismo* (On the father and son Emperor Philippus who are blindly believed to be Christians). Chair Friedrich Spanheim, May 1698.⁴²
2. *Disputatio theologica De paradisi sede temerè apud Jordanem quaesita* (On the place of paradise that was inconsiderately searched for near the Jordan). Chair Johannes à Marck, 5 July 1698.⁴³

During his studies at Leiden, Reland wrote extensive notes in a book by Johann Heinrich Otth (1651–1719), *Historia doctorum misnicorum, ... Additae sunt huic editioni notae ab harum literarum studioso* [i.e. Reland], which was published in 1699. According to Joseph Serrurier, Reland's notes attracted the attention of Jacob Rhenferd (1654–1712), professor of Oriental languages and Hebrew at the University of Franeker, who believed Reland had shown that he took the Jewish people and the Rabbinic writings seriously.⁴⁴ In the prolegomena to the *Historia doctorum misnicorum*, Reland writes about the peculiar relationship

39 This is the title of a book of Senguerdius, published in 1715. It aptly summarises his academic work.

40 See Van Helden, 'The Age of the Air-Pump', p. 171. See also Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*.

41 See Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 20.

42 This disputatio was probably written by Friedrich Spanheim himself.

43 This disputatio was probably written by Johannes à Marck himself.

44 *Ibid.*: 'equiori animo esse in gentem Judaicam'.

between Christianity and Judaism: ‘For what is the Christian religion other than a reformed Judaism, whose true principles it confirms and preserves?’⁴⁵

8 Early Academic Career until 1701

After concluding his studies, Reland briefly taught Hendrik Bentinck, the son of Hans Willem Bentinck, confidant of the Stadtholder William III (1650–1702). As a result he stayed frequently on the estate Sorghvliet in The Hague, where he was also part of a ‘society of students of wisdom.’⁴⁶ In this period, Reland made extensive notes in a book by TanneGuy Le Fèvre (1615–1672), the distinguished professor of Greek at the Academy of Saumur. It was supposed to serve as teaching material for Hendrik Bentinck and other students. The book, entitled *Les Vies des poètes grecs en abrégé*, was published in 1665 and again in 1700 in Amsterdam, *Avec des Remarques*, made by Reland.

In 1662 TanneGuy Le Fèvre published an edition of Lucretius’s *De Rerum Natura*. In the entry on Empedocles (c. 495 BC–c. 435 BC) TanneGuy also mentions Lucretius (d. c. 55 BC). In this respect Reland noted that some see not only Empedocles but also Lucretius as a philosopher rather than a poet. This led Reland to comment: ‘But perhaps this testimony will not be worth much to some people, who argue that Lucretius himself does not deserve the title of Poet. As for me, I do not want to dispute a tribute that the greatest Geniuses of antiquity have seen fit to bestow upon him. A few years ago, I wrote an Ode on this person, which appears at the end of these Remarks.’⁴⁷

In 1700, Reland’s *Ode In Poësin Lucretianam*—apparently first published already in 1695—was indeed included in this publication. In 1701, this *Ode* was again included in a Dutch translation of Lucretius which was seen by Thijssen-Schoute and Hamilton, among others, as a token of Reland’s alleged Cartesian sympathies.⁴⁸

45 Otth, *Historia doctorum misnicorum*, p. 4: ‘Quid enim est Christiana Religio, nisi reformatus Judaismus, cujus vera principia confirmat, & tuetur’.

46 Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 24: ‘societate virorum, quos vero nomine sapientiae studiosos appellandos esse censebat’. I have not found further information about this scholarly society. It might have resembled the College der Sçavanten in Utrecht (see n. 29 above).

47 Le Fèvre, *Les Vies des poètes grecs*, Remarques pag. 69, n.p.: ‘Mais peut-être ce temoignage ne vaudra pas beaucoup aupres des certaines gens, qui soutiennent que Lucrece même ne merite pas le titre de Poëte. Pour moy, je ne luy veux pas disputer une louange que les plus grands Genies de l’antiquité luy ont accordée. Il y a quelques années, que j’ay fait une Ode sur ce sujet, qui pourra paroître à la fin de ces Remarques’.

48 Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands cartesianisme*, p. 432, and Hamilton, ‘Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht’, p. 104.

In 1699, Reland was appointed as professor in experimental physics at the University of Harderwijk. In 1700 he delivered his inaugural address entitled *De incremento, quod Philosophia coepit hoc seculo* (About the progress that philosophy made in this century). Through the mediation of William III, Reland was soon asked to move to Utrecht as professor of Oriental languages and successor to Johannes Leusden, who had died in 1699. Apparently Reland felt relieved because he disliked the aggressive polemics conducted by supporters and opponents at the universities around Descartes' new philosophy. He started his appointment in Utrecht with an inaugural address entitled *Pro lingua Persica et cognatis litteris Orientalibus* in which he emphasized the importance of Persian and related Oriental languages for a better understanding of Hebrew, and with it the Old Testament, but also the '*religio Mohammedica*'.

His neo-Latin poem *Galatea, Lusus poëticus*, was published in the same year, but without his knowledge. This love poem fits in perfectly with the tradition of the *studia humanitatis*, as well as with Reland's education at the Amsterdam gymnasium.⁴⁹

9 Reland's Critical Philosophy and Methodology

Based on an analysis of some of his early publications, I argue that the young Reland's intellectual work displays the following four features: (1) the absolute freedom of a philosopher; (2) a transition from the old (neo-)Aristotelian, scholastic philosophy to the new Baconian empirical-experimental methodology of science; (3) critical philology and intellectual curiosity as an *ars critica*; and (4) an epistemological separation between theology and philosophy, with a corresponding interest in religions. These features testify to a critical philology and philosophy as a prelude to his *De religione Mohammedica*—an example of a newly developing Religionswissenschaft.

9.1 *The Absolute Freedom of a Philosopher*

A common thread running through Reland's early work is his view that scholars should never simply rely on the authority of any author whether of classical Antiquity or of the recent past. Scholars should always search critically for the truth and re-examine all the sources cited by other authors.

Already in 1694 he began one of his first exercitationes by referring to Descartes as a scholar 'who admits in the *Méthode* that as soon as his age allowed him to emerge from the control of his teachers, he took the decision only to seek knowledge found either in himself or in the great book of the

49 See Dirk Sacré's discussion of this poem elsewhere in this volume.

world'.⁵⁰ Reland does not shy away from noting that this precept also applies to rising scholars in his own time, including Descartes, even when your teacher is as esteemed as Socrates. These notions of intellectual freedom and the rejection of authority are central to *De libertate philosophandi*, but also prominent in many of Reland's other writings.

In a way, the core of *De libertate philosophandi* is the aphorism that Reland cites: 'Φίλος Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ φιλτάτη ἢ ἀλήθεια' ('Socrates is my friend, but the truth is an even better friend').⁵¹ Reland constantly warned against adopting preconceived opinions and the indiscriminate imitation of existing writings or teachers without independent critical investigation. This, he believed, was why every philosopher should strive for intellectual independence. This perception of the need for critical research appeared in his early printed annotations of the works of Otth and Tanneguy.

In *De libertate philosophandi*, Reland presents himself as a philosopher who writes not so much about the content of philosophy as about the fundamentals of actually practising philosophy. And this young man made it abundantly clear that true philosophy means the distrust of any intellectual authority. Knowledge can only be based on one's own independent and critical research. Otherwise, philosophy is just another form of slavery to authority. The real virtue of the philosopher is that he accepts something, not on the basis of human testimony, but because it presents itself as true to him.⁵² 'The magnificent palace of philosophy would rest on a weak foundation if one only followed one's teachers'.⁵³

Notably, Reland was not driven by methodic Cartesian doubt but by an awareness of the need for critical and independent research. This is also evident from his inaugural address in Harderwijk when he warns against preconceived opinions and forced authority. In his view, scholars should be guided only by reason.⁵⁴ The inaugural addresses in Harderwijk and Utrecht may differ in content—the former dealt with the development of experimental

50 Reland, *De fine mundi conditi*, p. A.2: 'qui & ipse in Methodo fatetur, se, ubi primum per aetatem licuit e praeceptorum custodia exire, consilium cepisse, nullam in posterum quaerendi scientiam, nisi quam, vel in se ipso, vel in vasto mundi volumine reperiret'.

51 Reland, *De libertate philosophandi*, p. A.2. This aphorism, cited by Reland, was known in classical times although Plato sometimes features in the aphorism instead of Socrates.

52 Ibid., p. 5: 'Intelligimus itaque per Libertatem Philosophandi, illam Philosophi virtutem, qua ipse, nullius hominis impulsus testimonio, rei cuiquam, tantum quia ut vera offertur, praebet assensum'.

53 Ibid., p. 6: 'Infirma itaque basi praeclarum nitetur Philosophiae palatium, si solius Praeceptoris mens attendatur'.

54 Reland, *De Incremento*, p. 29: 'Libere philosophandum est, Auditores'; p. 37: '[...] praeconceptis opinionibus liberi, nullius auctoritate coërciti, nullis ducti partium studiis solaque Ratione [...]'].

physics, and the latter with the importance of the study and knowledge of Persian and other related Oriental languages—but not in methodology, that is, the emphasis on independent critical research.

9.2 *A Division between the Old (Neo-)Aristotelian Scholastic Philosophy and the New Empirical-Experimental Methodology of Science*

Already in his *De libertate philosophandi* Reland was highly critical of the scholastic philosophy based on Aristotle's work:

So the Scholastics have made themselves very irrelevant to the Philosophical cause: fools, what do I say: idiots of Aristotle, who are attached to him, whom they are not ashamed to call the outer boundary of the human intellect. [...] people whom, if Aristotle had come back to life, he would have called natural slaves.⁵⁵

Reland continued this line of argument in his inaugural lecture at the University of Harderwijk in which he reviewed the development of the new philosophy. He showed that he was well informed about the new natural philosophers, including Francis Bacon, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Descartes. He again praised the philosophers Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) and Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) for uprooting Aristotelian philosophy, and noted that he is conscious of the fact that he is living in a time of a fundamental separation between the 'old' and the 'new', between an old-fashioned Aristotelian philosophy and the new perspectives of modern philosophy:

Nowadays [there are] no substantial forms, no qualities that make things work [...], [there is] no aversion to the vacuum or horror of nature, no suction or attraction, no forces that set in motion, [...]. True and more civilized Physicists ignore them [these notions], because they have learned better things through the experiments with the pneumatic pump. That is the machine that has taught us the hitherto unknown nature and condition of the air around us, and not only that, but of almost all bodies considered by the curiosity of the philosopher.⁵⁶

55 Reland, *De libertate philosophandi*, p. 16: 'Pessime ergo meriti de re Philosophica Scholastici, moriones, miriones, inquam, Aristotelis eique quem limitem ingenii humani dicere non erubuerunt, adhaerentes'; p. 17: 'homines, quos, si revixisset Aristoteles, natura servos pronunciasset'.

56 Reland, *De Incremento*, p. 18: 'Nullas hodie Formas substantiales, nullas qualitates rerum effectrices [...] nullam vacui fugam aut Naturae horrorem, nullas suctiones attractionesve, nullas potentias motrices [...]'; p. 19: 'Negligunt illa germani & politiores Physici,

In many of his early writings, Reland presented Descartes as a rising star of his time, and writes about him in lyrical terms. However, at the same time—in line with his own emphasis on the absolute freedom of every philosopher—he also critically engaged with the philosophical writings of Descartes.

In the Harderwijk inaugural lecture, Reland praised the experiments and publications of two people in particular, namely Robert Boyle (1627–1691) and Francis Bacon. He had already written about Boyle in positive terms in his earlier disputations. Senguerdius's lectures on experimental physics in Leiden played an important role in this respect:

It is he [Francis Bacon] who was the first to make plausible, and exercise, the experimental philosophy, without which he quite rightly declared that the knowledge of nature was fruitless. He saw, and he also laughed, that great man, about philosophers who, philosophizing from the cells of their imagination as from Plato's cave, refrained from a proper investigation of natural things, and stubbornly stuck to prejudiced opinions, and everywhere followed and admired Aristotle as the only leader. The philosopher [Francis Bacon] did not endure this slavery of a mind that had been cleansed a little, but deliberately exhorted that philosophy should be restored from its foundations (a great work, indeed, that could not be done by one person) with experiments and daily attention to the things that fall under the senses.⁵⁷

9.3 *Critical Philology and Intellectual Curiosity as an ars critica*

Reland's work up to and including his inaugural lecture in Utrecht in 1701 appears to be that of a critical philologist. He was keenly interested in language, text, and (cultural and historical) context, in how various peoples had spread throughout the world, and how their languages related to each other.

exhibitis per antliam Pneumaticam Experimentis meliora edocti. Haec illa machina est, quae ignotam hactenus aeris nos ambientis naturam & dispositionem docuit, nec illam tantum, sed omnium fere corporum, quae curiositas Philosophi contemplatur'.

57 Ibid., pp. 10–11: 'Hic est, qui primus Philosophiam commendavit, & excoluit ipse, Experimentalem, sine que sterilem esse cognitionem Naturae verissime pronunciauit. Videbat, & ridebat quoque Vir Magnus, Philosophos ex phantasiae suae cellulis tanquam ex specu Platonis philosophantes a rerum naturalium indagatione justa abstinere, pertinaciter adhaerere praepudicatis opinionibus, unumque passim ducem sequi & admirari Aristotelem. Non tulit hanc seruitutem defaecationis ingenii Philosophus sed instaurandam esse a fundamentis Philosophiam, (Magnum Opus, reuera, nec ab uno perficiendum) Experimentalis & attentione quotidiana ad res quae sub sensu cadunt, prudenter monuit'. Here, Reland explicitly refers to Bacon's grand scheme of the advancement of knowledge, the *Instauratio Magna*.

He saw himself in line with famous predecessors, including Scaliger, Erpenius, Salmasius, Golius, Bochart, Pocock, Selden, Hottinger and many others and he wanted to revive this tradition of the *studia humanitatis*. Much to his regret, Reland concluded ‘that the passion for this form of study seemed to have faded. It was not so much a neglect of, but a shameful aversion (‘turpe fastidium’) to, the letters of the East (‘literarum Orientis’):⁵⁸

All of Reland’s works display a high level of intellectual curiosity. However, he was also aware of the social scepticism about the tangible benefits of this *studia humanitatis*. After all, he writes with an undertone of irony, ‘What is our connection with Arabs or Persians, people who live so far away from our world? [...] The peoples of Europe enjoy such a great light of literature that we expect in vain any increase in knowledge from those barbarians.’⁵⁹ Reland is clear about his mission: ‘As you can all see, there is nothing more for me to do than to disprove those benefactors of ignorance and to prove that this study is very much worthwhile for you to dedicate yourselves to with all your heart.’⁶⁰

The freedom of the philosopher and post-Aristotelian perspectives were important elements of his work, but its core was critical and contextual philology. For Reland, language and text were the pre-eminent sources if one did not wish to rely on established authority. He was also aware of the need to place language and text in the context of history and chronology, culture, religion, and the morality of groups of people. In his Harderwijk inaugural lecture, Reland spoke excitedly about the importance of the new experimental physics. One could argue that he brought a Boylean-Baconian empirical-experimental method to the domain of critical philology, and that he sought to use an inductive methodology based on collected information. However, Reland was happy with his quick shift to Utrecht where he could work more quietly in the field of the *studia humanitatis*, the field he loved most.

9.4 *An Epistemological Separation between Theology and Philosophy, with a Corresponding Interest in Religions*

Some writers point out that Reland was a reformed Christian first and foremost, and that his work on Islam (as well as his early *Disputationes*) should

⁵⁸ Reland, *Oratio Pro lingua Persica*, pp. 6–7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7: ‘Quid nobis cum Arabibus aut Persis, populis ab orbe nostro remotissimis? [...] Gentes Europaeae tanta fruuntur literarum luce, ut frustra à Barbaris istis aliquod eruditionis augmentum expectemus’.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8: ‘Nihil ergo mihi prius cogitandum & agendum esse videtis omnes, quam ut istos ignorantiae fautores refellam, & dignissimum esse hoc studium probem, in quod toto pectore incumbatis’.

be evaluated in this perspective as well.⁶¹ However, I believe the relationship between his personal beliefs and his academic work was more complicated.

Reland begins or ends many of his writings with a devout prayer to God. He shows himself to be a religious and devout person who thanks his Lord for the academic work he can do. However, in sharp contrast with Voetius but in line with Descartes, he draws a fundamental and even epistemological distinction between faith and science. In line with his emphasis on the freedom of philosophizing and never accepting intellectual authority without proper critical enquiry, he also holds strong views on how philosophy relates to theology, or rather, on how both fields are separate and even exclusive ‘categories’ of knowledge that cannot be conflated.

Already in his *De fine mundi conditi* (1694), Reland essentially distinguishes between two sources of knowledge that should be independent of each other. He wants to separate ‘Theologia’ from (Cartesian) ratio.⁶²

In his *De libertate philosophandi*, young Reland is very explicit about this separation. He speaks about different *categories*, different modes of knowledge production. Philosophy is distinguished from theology because one is based on science (‘scientia’), the other on faith (‘fides’). These are as different from each other as the freedom to philosophise is from slavery. Science investigates through reason, faith assures through a testimony. In theology God’s voice commands us to believe, in philosophy *recta ratio* commands us to know (‘In Theologia Dei vox credere; in Philosophia *recta ratio* scire jubet’). One is based on the light of grace, the other on the light of nature (‘Illa Lumine gratiae, haec naturae nititur’). But when a philosopher believes a testimony of someone (‘credere’) and the theologian knows (‘scire’) causes that should be investigated by *ratio* (‘ratione investigari’), they are both ‘equally successful in washing an Ethiopian’ [washing off a black skin], committing a self-evident ‘μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος’ (‘transition to a different category’).⁶³

61 See e.g. Bijlefeld, *De islam als na-Christelijke religie*, p. 20.

62 Reland, *De fine mundi conditi*, p. 26.

63 Reland, *De libertate philosophandi*, p. 8: ‘Tum & hoc caetera criterio a Theologia dignoscitur Philosophia, quod haec *scientia*, illa *fide* nititur. Quae tantum inter se differunt, quantum a servitute philosophandi Libertas. Scientia rem per causas & conclusiones inde deductas demonstrat. Fides testimonio confirmat. In Theologia Dei vox credere; in Philosophia *recta ratio* scire jubet. Illa Lumine gratiae, haec naturae nititur. Si quis ergo Philosophus credere velit dicentis testimonio hujus aut illius, i.e. se mancipare alicujus opinionibus, atque ita assensum praebere veritati autoritate tantum confirmatae, idem facit, ac si Theologus scire per causas, & tremenda, quae fide revelat, mysteria (quae mysteria esse desinerent, si ratione investigari possent) obtusa ingenii caligantis acie studeat indagare. Uterque igitur pari successu aethiopem lavat, & manifestam μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος instituit’. Reland took this expression from Aristotle.

In his Harderwijk lecture, Reland again refers to Descartes in the following terms: 'We like the rule of Descartes, that whatever God has revealed, even if it goes beyond the powers of our mind, should be believed with unquestionable faith.'⁶⁴ Reland found himself in the company of a number of Dutch Cartesians who defended the separation between philosophy (conceived as the mathematical philosophy of nature) on the one hand, and theology and its practical knowledge on the other.⁶⁵ Precisely because Reland was educated in the intellectual atmosphere of *ad fontes* and critical methodology, and because he drew a rigorous separation between faith and science, he was able to follow the dual track of Christian-reformed believer (*credere*) on the one hand, and critical philosopher and especially philologist (*scire*) on the other. This enabled Reland to go beyond the paradigm of the dichotomy of *religio falsa/religio vera* and to have an eye for the study of different religions (and differences and similarities between religions) with their own creed, their own texts and their own rituals.

In this respect, let us examine the two disputations that dealt with the comparison of Judaism and Islam and the defence of the Christian creed of the Trinity. They are sometimes mentioned as early documents in which Reland used derogatory language about Jews, Muslims, and particularly Muhammad, whom he described as the 'pseudopropheta'. But his portrayal of Muhammad seemed ambivalent. Muhammad was an illiterate and downright uncivilized prophet but he was also endowed with an ingenious mind.⁶⁶ Reland presented Islam as the 'reboiled cabbage of Judaism'⁶⁷ However, consider this extract from chapter VII of the *Generalia* of the *Exercitatio philologico-theologica De consensu Mohammedanismi et Judaismi*, in which he discusses the way in which one should investigate the Muslim faith:

Let us then consider here the Islam that is not wrapped in philosophical and theological shrewdness, as it is taught today in African Academies and elsewhere, but honest, pure and, as they say, in its natural state, as

64 Reland, *De Incremento, quod Philosophia cepit hoc saeculo*, p. 22: 'Nobis illa regula placet Cartesii, quodcunque Deus revelaverit, licet ingenii nostri vires excedat, indubia fide credi oportere'.

65 See Douglas, *Spinoza & Dutch Cartesianism*. Chapter two in particular deals with the Dutch Cartesians and the Separation Thesis.

66 Reland, *De consensu Mohammedanismi et Judaismi*, p. 7: 'Ipse enim, licet callido praeditus ingenio, propheta tamen illiteratus & plane rudis'.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 5: 'Mohammedicam fidem, recoctam Judaismi cramben'.

recorded by Muhammad in the Qurʾān and confirmed by the practice of its followers. [...] It is our duty to go to the pristine sources.⁶⁸

After the *Generalia*, he discussed the points of community between the Mohammedans and Jews—both in creed and practice—in great detail, with extensive references to Jewish and Arabic sources, dealing in section I more specifically with the theory of religion, in section II with religious rites and customs, and in section III with stories and histories.⁶⁹

10 Conclusion

In Reland, we see a young man caught up in the complexities of intellectual development. He came from a Protestant family, and was educated in the *artes liberales* at the Amsterdam Atheneum. He was then exposed to a Voetian reformed-pietistic theology at Utrecht (and Leiden); a humanist tradition of rhetoric, history and literature at Utrecht;⁷⁰ a (neo-) Aristotelian world view that was gradually crumbling; Cartesian philosophy; the growth of experimental physics; a tradition of the study of Oriental languages, including Hebrew and Arabic; and the discovery of new worlds with religious systems never seen before.

Reland integrated these—sometimes abrasive—strands with his *leitmotif*: the desire for knowledge about, and critical study of, language, text and context. Instead of ‘critical’, I might have chosen ‘modern’, ‘Cartesian’, ‘enlightened’, or even ‘radical’. However, ‘critical’ best conveys the notion that Reland was pre-occupied with an independent critical examination of the world—its cultures, texts, languages and religions—around him. Moreover, the adjective ‘critical’ also restrains us from a single and exclusivist framing of his intellectual work.⁷¹

68 Ibid., p. 9: ‘Caeterum spectabimus heic Mohammedanismum, non palliatum argutiis Philosophicis & Theologicis, prout hodie in Africanis Academiis & alibi docetur, sed integrum, purumque, & in naturali, quod ajunt, statu, quemadmodum a Mohammede in *Alcorano* constitutus est & praxis sequacium confirmatus. [...] Nostrum est integros accedere fontes.’

69 Ibid., p. 10: ‘Sectio I. Speciatim in ARTICULIS RELIGIONIS, & THEORIA Consensum ostendens’; p. 40: ‘Sectio II In RITIBUS Religiosis & PRAXI Consensum demonstrans’; p. 53: ‘Sectio III In FABELLIS & HISTORIIS’ Mohammedanorum & Judaeorum Consensum ostendens’.

70 An area for further research is the influence of the scholar, teacher and colleague Graevius on young Reland.

71 An interesting example of this—possibly unintentional—framing process is Reland’s involvement with the Dutch translation of the Arabic story of the life of Hai ibn Jokdan.

For Reland, academic work is first and foremost an *ars critica*. The Belgian scholar Michel Bastiaensen gives a balanced picture of the complexity of Reland's position in the following terms:

It seems that the role of Reland was that of an intermediary between scholarly orientalism and the philosophy of the Enlightenment; this is the meaning of the tribute that Voltaire bestowed upon him: '... until the time when "le sage Reland" gave us clear ideas of the Muslim belief'. And yet, we cannot say that Reland announces the Philosopher, this new model of humanity. Locked in his closet [...] somewhat isolated from the world, he seems to us rather like a Renaissance scholar ['un savant de la Renaissance'].⁷²

We started this chapter by pointing to different intellectual currents that did not necessarily succeed each other in a linear fashion. Reland stood in a longer tradition of philological scholarship. His predecessors in the Netherlands included Scaliger, Golius, and Erpenius. In this respect he confirms the revisionist perspective developed by Dmitri Levitin when he rejects 'narratives of intellectual change from the linear and inconclusive emphasis on "enlightenment"'.⁷³ However, at the same time, Reland himself experienced and articulated these personal experiences in his early writings, notably that he was living in a time of separation between the old and the new. In this, he almost literally—Reland lived from 1676 to 1718—embodied the (to some outdated) perspective of Paul Hazard's classic *La crise de la conscience européenne*, who characterised the period 1680–1715 as a sudden intellectual transition.⁷⁴

Reland, a devout Protestant, was a savant, a critical ad fontes philologist, a Hebraist and Arabist, and a true representative of 'defenders of the text',⁷⁵ not a radical philosopher. What enabled Reland to go beyond the paradigm of a

This story acquired a pantheistic-Spinozist connotation. Some authors regard Reland's involvement in the Dutch translation in 1701 as an involvement in the new philosophy. However, as early as 1696 Reland quoted Abi Jaafar Ebn Tophail in Arabic in *De symbolo Mohammedico*, and referred to this as an 'Epistola sua elegantissima de Hai Ebn Jokdhan' (p. 9). In his *De consensu*, Reland again refers to this story (p. 27). There is no indication that in 1696 the young student Reland was aware of the Spinozist connotation this story would have later on.

72 Bastiaensen, 'Adrien Reland et la justification des études orientales', p. 26. Translation is mine.

73 Levitin, 'From sacred history to the history of religion', 2012, p. 1117. See also his *Ancient Wisdom*, 2015.

74 Hazard, *The European Mind*, p. 7.

75 Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*.

Glaubenswissenschaft and to have an eye for different religious phenomena was a remarkable mix of intellectual curiosity, critical philology and critical methodology, grounded in the separation of theology and personal belief from science. He showed himself to be a scholar of religion who compared different religions, particularly the Abrahamic religions, in terms of creed, ritual, and text. Reland wanted to do justice to (the study of) religions and their adherents. Thus, he anticipated the ‘emic’ methodology of modern anthropologists and scholars of religion.⁷⁶

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⁷⁶ The *emic* approach is used to describe the religion of others in a way that believers in those religions will recognise themselves. According to Jan Platvoet, ‘Students who practice this approach aim to do full justice to each particular religious world and to oppose their empathic, adherent-derived descriptions to the many biased representations of religions’ (Platvoet, *Comparing Religions*, p. 4.). By contrast, the *etic* approach focuses on the contextualization of religion as part of the development of a specific society or region, or the study of similarities of religions.

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Adriaan Reland's Legacy as a Scholar of Islam

Lot Brouwer

In 1705 Adriaan Reland published his *De religione Mohammedica*,¹ which has been regarded as a turning point in Western attitudes to Islam.² In his preface Reland describes the primary objective of the work as 'enquiring into the Mahometan Religion, and representing it as it really is'.³ As Reland argues, the study of other religions in general is often tarnished by misconceptions due to the struggles both between Jews, Muslims and Christians, and between Christian confessions.⁴ Consequently, he continues, the current image of Islam is primarily a Christian invention and does not correspond to reality. Reland had already mentioned the many misconceptions and 'absurdities' that characterised the traditional study of Islam in his inaugural lecture at the University of Utrecht in 1701. As he had then argued, a better, more objective study of the religion was of the utmost importance.⁵ He writes in his preface to *De religione Mohammedica*: 'Truth, wherever it is, should be search'd after', and the aim of his publication is therefore to present the Islamic religion 'as it is taught in the Mahometan Temples and schools'.⁶

On the one hand recent scholars have praised Reland's *approach* to Islam. David Pailin's *Attitudes to other Religions* lists the author as one of the most important scholars responsible for the changing attitude towards Islam in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Gerard Wiegers agrees that Reland's publication was the first attempt to provide an authentic image of Islam based on primary sources.⁷ Similarly, Alastair Hamilton describes Adriaan Reland as an 'outstanding Orientalist' who studied Islam 'in

1 My references are to the contemporary English translation: Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion, Two Books*, London 1712, p. 8. This, however, is a translation of the first Latin edition of 1705. When referring to the second Latin edition of 1717 I shall refer to the Latin.

2 See Hamilton, 'From a "closet at Utrecht"', p. 243; Van Leeuwen and Vrolijk, 'Oriëntalistiek in de Lage Landen', p. 86.

3 Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, London 1712, p. 8.

4 Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, pp. 5–9. See also Roling, 'Humphrey Prideaux, Eric Fahlenius, Adrian Reland, Jacob Ehrharth und die Ehre des Propheten: Koranpolemik im Barock', p. 71.

5 Hamilton, 'Adrianus Reland (1676–1718)', p. 26.

6 Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, p. 8.

7 Wiegers, 'De Nederlanden en islam in de zeventiende eeuw'.



FIGURE 2.1 Adriaan Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (1705), frontispiece of the second edition (with a 'Turkish scene'), 1717.

COURTESY ALLARD PIERSON, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, OTM: OK 61-1596

the light of reason'.⁸ On the other hand *De religione Mohammedica* has also received attention for its *content*. It is characterized as an important source of information that contributed significantly to the contemporary European state of knowledge about Islam. In his *Islam and the West* Norman Daniel describes it as 'the most important of several books that helped to clear away legend and substitute fact, and only fact',⁹ and Christien Dohmen calls it 'the first (Western-European) scholarly account of the Islamic institutions'.¹⁰ While the author had previously written two dissertations that related to Islam,¹¹

8 Hamilton, 'Adrianus Reland (1676–1718)', p. 28.

9 Daniel, *Islam in the West*, p. 318.

10 '[De] eerste (West-Europese) wetenschappelijke beschrijving van de islamitische instituties'. Dohmen, *In de schaduw van Sheherazade*, p. 65.

11 *Exercitatio philologico-theologica De symbolo Mohammedico (non est Deus nisi Unus) adversus quod S.S. Trinitas defeditur* (1696), and *Exercitatio philologico-theologica De consensu Mohammedaismi et Judaismi* (1696).

this was his first and only publication fully dedicated to the exposition of the religion.¹²

1 Studying Islam ‘from Within’

De religione Mohammedica consists of two main books, preceded by a preface and followed by an Index. The first book is entitled ‘A Short System of the Mahometan Theology’ and contains a brief theological compendium, or a confession of faith, in both the Arabic original and a Latin translation. This text was probably taken from the first manuscript that Reland listed in his Index, under the Arabic title *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī u ṣūl al-dīn*.¹³ As Reland himself also suspected, this text must have been based on a work by al-Ghazālī, which was itself a condensed version of the latter’s magnum opus *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*.¹⁴ Most of the first book, however, is taken up not by the compendium itself but by extensive footnotes in which Reland explains, or elaborates on, specific terms and/or passages on the basis of additional (primary) sources and publications, including the works of European scholars and Orientalists. In these footnotes he identifies current misunderstandings with regard to these issues, traces their origins, and corrects them on the basis of his own philological and historical knowledge. Such misunderstandings are also the focus of Book Two, which is subtitled ‘Treating of several Things falsely charg’d upon the Mahometans’ and in which Reland refutes thirty-eight misconceptions that have been falsely attributed to the Islamic faith.

12 As Alexander Bevilacqua argues, *De religione Mohammedica* proved ‘a great success for a little work by a scholar who was not exclusively or even primarily occupied with the study of Arabic or Islam’. Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 83.

13 I am very grateful to Christian Lange for indicating this manuscript as the source of Reland’s theological compendium, as well as for identifying and tracing the corresponding work by al-Ghazālī. I am also thankful to Bart Jaski for sharing the current whereabouts of the original manuscript used by Reland; see also Appendix 2, A fol 1.

14 This work is known in English as *The Forty Principles of Religion*. While the original work contains a total of forty principles or topics, Reland’s theological compendium only seems to have included a selection of these, concentrating on the belief in, and knowledge of, God and the external practices of faith. It is unclear, however, whether Reland only copied part of the manuscript, or if the manuscript itself was only a partial reproduction of al-Ghazālī’s text. Determining this would require the consultation of the original manuscript, which is held at *Det Konglige Bibliothek* in Copenhagen, Denmark (LIX (no. 18 in quarto) = Cod. Arab. 59). See also Bouyges, *Essai de Chronologie des Œuvres de al-Ghazali*, pp. 50–51.

In 1717 *De religione Mohammedica* was published in a second, expanded edition. Its list of sources includes two new manuscripts, and, in Book Two, two additional misconceptions are refuted—forty in all. Moreover, in this edition Reland makes use of, and criticizes, the works of an additional number of European Orientalists, above all Ludovico Marracci's Latin translation of the Qur'ān.¹⁵ It shows how, for Reland, the study of Islam was an ongoing process in which the availability of new sources and the progressive knowledge of the Arabic language could be used to create a better understanding of the religion.

In his preface Reland laments the fact that those who want to learn about Islam are often referred to the works of Christian scholars, which were written against the background of Christian apologetics and are frequently filled with polemical bias and misconceptions. According to Reland, the religion should instead be studied 'in the light of reason'¹⁶ and on the basis of Arabic sources, rather than through the eyes of someone else.¹⁷ This attitude has often been celebrated as highly 'enlightened', and seems to have characterized Reland's views on science and knowledge in general.¹⁸ However, the idea that Islam had to be studied 'from within', on the basis of genuine Islamic sources such as the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic commentaries or *tafsīr*, had already been expressed since the twelfth century by Christian theologians and scholars who could not necessarily be described as 'enlightened'. It had then led to the collection of the so-called *Corpus Toletanum*, a compilation of Latin translations of texts about Islam and its history intended to offer more information about Islam in the light of the Spanish Reconquista. The collection contained a large number of important sources, including a Latin translation of the Qur'ān—made by Robert of Ketton (c. 1110–c. 1160)—and excerpts from Qur'ānic commentaries.¹⁹

15 It is unclear why Reland had not already included the work in his initial publication in 1705, considering that it had already been published in 1698. A likely, yet surprising, possibility is that no copy of the work had yet reached Utrecht before 1705. See Hamilton, 'After Marracci', p. 179.

16 In his preface Reland demonstrates several times how, according to him, the plausibility of a religion should be determined by the extent to which, on the basis of its sources, it conflicts or agrees with the 'light of reason'. See Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, pp. 9, 13.

17 'If any one of our Youth apply himself to the study of Theology ...' Reland complained about the education of prospective Arabists (*Of the Mahometan Religion*, p. 12), 'he is not advis'd to learn the Arabick, to hear Mahomet speak in his own Tongue, to get the Eastern Writings, and to see with his own Eyes, not with other Peoples'.

18 In all of his scholarly work Reland placed great emphasis on the study of original and authentic sources related to the subject. See Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, pp. 615–616.

19 About the *Corpus* and Robert of Ketton's Qur'ān translation, see Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom 1140–1560*; Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*; Burman,

Often driven by anti-Islamic sentiments as well as by the interdenominational polemics of the Reformation, theologians and scholars over the next few centuries voiced the idea that every religion, including Islam, should be studied fundamentally and understood on its own terms. In 1543 such sentiments led to the first printed edition of the *Corpus Toletanum*—a project that was initiated by Theodore Bibliander (1509–1564) and supported by the Reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, who both wrote a preface to the work. In an introductory ‘apology’ Bibliander argues that accurate knowledge about Islam would be beneficial to both the defence of Christianity and the conversion of Muslims. And, for a humanist like him, such knowledge had to be extracted from texts.²⁰ Bibliander’s publication has been regarded as the starting point of a new approach to Islam, in which ‘distorted second-hand knowledge’ was replaced by more reliable sources about the religion²¹—an approach that also formed the basis of Reland’s *De religione Mohammedica*.

Even among the theologians at the University of Utrecht Reland was not the first to express the idea that Islam should be thoroughly studied according to authentic Arabic texts. More than half a century earlier, the professor Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) had already condemned the ‘coarse ignorance about Mohammedanism’ in the West in his *Disputatio de Mohammedanismo* (1648).²² As Voetius had argued, this ignorance was to blame for the Christian failure to defeat Islam. In order to refute the religion, and—Voetius expressed the hope—to convert Muslims through debate, Christians should approach Islam in a scholarly fashion. To this end, they should collect and publish Arabic manuscripts, and study these ‘with knowledge of the philosophy and the languages, especially Arabic.’²³ Despite being two generations younger, Reland may have indirectly carried out these instructions by Voetius.²⁴

‘*Tafsīr* and Translation’ pp. 703–732; Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, pp. 46–55.

20 Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, p. 26.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 26. Bibliander even replaced several of Robert of Ketton’s Qur’ān passages by what he considered more accurate translations. See Bobzin, *Der Koran*, pp. 171–175.

22 Voetius as quoted in Hamilton, ‘From a “Closet at Utrecht”’, p. 246. On Voetius’ *Disputatio de Mohammedanismo*, including the original Latin text and a Dutch translation, see Van Amersfoort and Van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?*

23 Voetius as quoted in Hamilton, ‘From a “Closet at Utrecht”’, p. 246.

24 See Van Amersfoort and Van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?*, p. 28.

2 The Institutionalization of Arabic Studies and Access to New Islamic Sources

Adriaan Reland's approach to the study of Islam was thus not new. However, at the start of the eighteenth century he was able to rely on improved linguistic abilities, greater knowledge about Islam, and a larger availability of primary sources.²⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century the persisting idea that Islam should be understood on its own terms, and with a sound knowledge of the religion and its sources, had contributed to the revival of the study of Arabic.²⁶ Facilitated by the increasing contacts with the Islamic world, which granted greater access to Arabic and Islamic sources, Arabic historical, theological, and scientific texts were collected and translated by European scholars such as Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) and Jacob Golius (1596–1667) in the Netherlands, and Edward Pococke (1604–1691) in England. These texts were often primarily used for the study of the Arabic language, but their Islamic content also contributed to the improvement of knowledge about the religion and the history of the Islamic world. Previously, Islamic history and culture had been studied mainly on the basis of Byzantine histories, but now these works were superseded by newly available texts by Arab historians.²⁷ Moreover, with the advancing knowledge of Arabic, corrections could be made to previous (mis)translations.

Adriaan Reland was well aware of the benefits of Arabic studies for the study of Islam, and his philological approach is clear throughout his *De religione Mohammedica*. In many instances he attributes the prevalent misconceptions about Islam to the lack of understanding of Arabic by scholars and translators such as Robert of Ketton. Reland was able to benefit from the activities and achievements of Orientalists before him.²⁸ Most of the manuscripts included in the bibliography (24 out of 30) were part of his own library and were acquired either via Orientalists such as Golius, or via contacts within the Dutch East India Company.²⁹ Two other manuscripts were located in the library in Amsterdam, and the remaining four were in the private possession of Reland's friend and tutor Heinrich Sike (1669–1712). In addition to Arabic texts these manuscripts include religious documents in Persian, Malay, and

25 Loop, 'Islam and the European Enlightenment', p. 24.

26 Hamilton, 'From a "Closet at Utrecht"', p. 247.

27 Ibid.

28 See Hamilton, 'From a "Closet at Utrecht"', and Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 83.

29 See the *Index codicum Orientalium manuscriptorum* at the end of *De religione Mohammedica*, right before the alphabetical index.

Javanese, which Reland used to examine the ways in which certain ambiguous Arabic (Qurʾānic) terms and passages were translated into other ‘Islamic’ languages.³⁰ In addition to these manuscripts Reland’s work contains many references—both with regard to the study of Islam and of Arabic—to the works of Orientalists such as Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), Edward Pococke, Barthélemy d’Herbelot (1625–1695), Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700), Johannes Leunclavius (1541–1594), Jacob Golius, and others.³¹

In terms of factual information about Islam *De religione Mohammedica* mainly seems to be a reflection and assessment of the contemporary state of knowledge and information about the religion. The work thus added little to what was already known and available. It suggests that Reland’s aim was not necessarily to provide new or exhaustive information.³² Rather, it was to demonstrate how the study of Islam could and should benefit from an improved knowledge of the Arabic language. Reland shows this in several ways: first, his translation of the Arabic treatise demonstrates what kind of Arabic sources should be used, and reveals the sort of information that such sources contain. Secondly, the footnotes show how the understanding of such texts could be improved with the help of other Islamic sources, the enhanced knowledge of Arabic, or other information from the scholarly field of Oriental studies. They also show how these sources could contribute to a better understanding of other Islamic texts, for example by documenting the Islamic understanding of the Qurʾān. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, *De religione Mohammedica* reveals how current misunderstandings about Islam could be refuted and corrected with the help of a thorough knowledge of Arabic and Arabic texts. In his footnotes in Book One, and, more explicitly, in Book Two, Reland identifies these misconceptions and misunderstandings, traces their origins, and corrects or refutes them on the basis of his own understanding of the Qurʾān and

30 In this respect he saw the translations by other (Persian and South East Asian) Muslims as more authoritative than those of European orientalist such as Marracci. This is also emphasized by Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 84.

31 As he writes, he has ‘several Systems of the Mahometan Theology’ in his possession, of which this particular one is the shortest: ‘But when I had got several Systems of the Mahometan Theology, and these of great Authority, and compos’d by very famous Men, of all which this is the shortest, and written in a good order, which I here present thee with; I could not allow myself to deny it to the World’. Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, pp. 17–18.

32 This may also be why Reland’s preface, in which he expresses his intentions and his ‘Enlightened’ approach to the religion of Islam, has received more attention in modern scholarship than his exposition of Islam itself. See, for example, Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 11–21; Van Amersfoort and Van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?*

other Islamic sources. This shows how the greater knowledge of Arabic could be used to rectify misconceptions that were initially caused by mistranslation and that were then perpetuated, and it demonstrates how the exclusive use of genuine Arabic and Islamic sources would reveal those misconceptions and false beliefs.

3 From Christian Apology to 'Enlightened' Polemics

Although the knowledge contained in *De religione Mohammedica* already seems to have been available to, and known by, contemporary Orientalists and readers, it existed within an even larger pool of misconceptions and misunderstandings about Islam. Despite the availability of new source material and the advances in the field of Oriental studies, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century publications about Islam were often still interlaced with polemical and apologetic stereotypes and Christian misconceptions.

A clear case in point are the writings of Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724). In his *A Letter to the Deists* (1696) and *The True Nature of Imposture* (1697), the Oxford scholar displays an ambiguous attitude towards the study of Islam. On the one hand, he uses the works of contemporary Orientalists to correct old Christian misconceptions about the religion. The stories of Muhammad teaching a bull to bring him the Qurʾān on his horns, and training pigeons to 'converse' with him, for example, are dismissed as 'idle Fables'.³³ While they have no foundation in truth, Prideaux writes, even great men such as Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) have blindly accepted them.³⁴ On the other hand, Prideaux still relies heavily on traditional Christian apologetic works, such as Montecroce's *Confutatio Alcorani* and Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina*, and he uses new knowledge from the field of Oriental studies in order to support old anti-Islamic arguments.³⁵ He insists, for example, on Muhammad's lust for sensual pleasure and worldly power, and presents Muhammad's followers as 'rude and illiterate Barbarians'.³⁶ Islam, in turn, is characterized as a deceitful religion that was spread through delusion and aggression, and the Qurʾān is described as a

33 Prideaux, *The True Nature*, p. 50.

34 Ibid.

35 About 'science as a polemical weapon' ('Wissenschaft als Waffe der Polemik') in the work of Humphrey Prideaux, see Roling, 'Koranpolemik', pp. 62–69.

36 Matar, 'The True Nature'. See Prideaux, *The True Nature*, p. 41; *A Letter to the Deists*, p. 40.

storybook full of ‘fighting, bloodshed, and conquest’.³⁷ Prideaux thus seems both unable and unwilling to part with the Christian apologetic tradition of Islamic studies. Although his name is absent from the list of authors that are opposed by Reland, it has been suggested that Reland was in fact directly responding to Prideaux’s *The True Nature of Imposture*.³⁸ Indeed, Prideaux’s approach to Islam reflects all that Reland was arguing against in his *De religione Mohammedica*.

Even scholars who relied exclusively on Arabic sources in their study of Islam, however, could fail to distance themselves from such persistent polemical stereotypes. One of the works that is both used and criticized by Reland in his second Latin edition of 1717 is Marracci’s *Alcorani textus universus*. Driven by the idea that, in order to effectively refute the Islamic religion, one had to know it—or the idea that ‘polemic required philology’³⁹—the Catholic priest Ludovico Marracci published what is now considered the first scholarly European translation of the Qur’ān in 1698. Despite the quality of the translation itself, which is acknowledged by Reland as ‘the best translation of the Qur’ān that has been published until this day’,⁴⁰ the text was accompanied by polemical and apologetic annotations containing old anti-Islamic arguments, thus attesting their persistence. These arguments had no scriptural basis, and therefore, according to Reland, no place in a work about the religion of Islam. As he argues, such arguments ‘do not fight with the Mahometan religion, but with their [these Christian writers’] own shadows’.⁴¹ In this context, Reland’s aim seems to have been not only to demonstrate with the help of his ‘Labour’⁴² how Islam should be studied, but also how this study should break down these old stereotypes and misconceptions by relying on authentic Islamic material and by (re)assessing secondary works on the basis of an improved philological understanding of these sources.⁴³

37 Matar, ‘The True Nature’; Røling, ‘Koranpolemik’, pp. 62–69.

38 Røling, ‘Koranpolemik’, p. 72.

39 Bevilacqua, ‘The Qur’an translations of Marracci and Sale’, p. 95.

40 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, Utrecht 1717, sig. *****3r. For Marracci’s prominence in the second edition of *De religione Mohammedica*, see Hamilton, ‘After Marracci’, pp. 179–180.

41 Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, p. 15.

42 On several occasions, Reland describes his own work as an exercise. See Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, pp. 8, 18.

43 Such a ‘reassessment’ of secondary works can also be found in a Dutch account of the life of Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān (written ‘Hai Ebn Jokdan’), in which a Dutch translation of Pococke’s Latin translation of the Arabic text by Ibn Ṭufayl (‘Abu Jaaphar Ebn Tophail’) is ‘newly compared with the Arabic source text, and is enriched with notes about several curious places and sayings’ by Adriaan Reland. The author’s name is absent from the work, but

Reland's mission to refute longstanding misconceptions about Islam seems to have been (partly) motivated by his Cartesian view of the nature of the religion.⁴⁴ According to the author one of the gravest misconceptions was the idea that Muslims were irrational and that Islam was an 'unreasonable' superstition.⁴⁵ This view, too, had its roots in Christian apologetics, and it had led to many of the prevailing misconceptions and misinterpretations, such as the idea that Muslims believed in a material God and that they believed they could literally wash away their sins.⁴⁶ Reland, however, writes that 'sense and reason are equally distributed among Men'⁴⁷ and Muslims should thus be seen as a rational people.⁴⁸ The success of Islam, he argues, can only be explained by the fact that 'that religion, which hath largely spread itself over Asia, Africa, and even Europe, commends it self to Men by a great Appearance of Truth, which is ready to allure them; nor is it so foolish as many Christias esteem it.'⁴⁹

That Reland viewed Islam as a 'rational' religion did not, however, mean that he saw it as 'true'. Similarly, the author's objective approach did not free his work of polemics. Throughout the publication Reland expresses the longstanding idea that Islam could—and should—be refuted on the basis of a proper, 'Islamic' understanding of the religion.⁵⁰ In this respect, Reland's focus on misconceptions about Islam was not only meant to correct the current image, but also to demonstrate that anti-Islamic arguments based on such misconceptions were futile. With regard to prevailing misconceptions that do not have any foundation in Islamic writings or practices but rather in Christian perception and bias, Reland argues that Muslims will simply not feel addressed, as they do not recognize their own religion in these arguments. Moreover, he

the *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* lists it as one of Reland's publications. See *De natuurlyke wysgeer*.

44 Hamilton, 'After Marracci', p. 179.

45 In stating this, Reland is said to have clearly responded to Ludovico Marracci, who stated in his Qur'an translation that the triumph of Islam could be explained by the fact that the world was populated by fools. See Hamilton, 'From a "Closet at Utrecht"', p. 247.

46 Saviello, *Imaginationen*, p. 158.

47 Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, p. 13.

48 It is a direct reference to Descartes' *Discourse on the Method and the Meditations*, Part One, in which Descartes writes that 'Good sense is, of all things among men, equally distributed ...' The Cartesian influence in Reland's work is also recognized by Alastair Hamilton and Ziad Elmarsafy. See Hamilton, 'Adrianus Reland (1676–1718)', p. 25, and Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 14.

49 Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, p. 13.

50 Loop, 'Islam and the European Enlightenment'.

demonstrates how such misconceptions are often historically incorrect and caused by insufficient understanding of the Arabic sources.⁵¹

In other instances Reland takes on the role of devil's advocate in order to show how a Muslim would be able to rebut certain traditional misconceptions. In doing so he often appeals to reason and logic, as well as to his historical and linguistic knowledge.⁵² With regard to the old accusation that the Qur'ān identifies the Holy Virgin Mary with the sister of Moses, for example, Reland argues that, while the Qur'ān calls Mary 'the sister of Aaron', it is never specified that this Aaron is the brother of Moses. It could therefore easily be argued that this Aaron was another Aaron, especially since names are not unique.⁵³ Even *if* Muhammad himself was ignorant enough to believe that the Holy Virgin could historically be the sister of Moses and Aaron, Reland continues, it would be highly unlikely that all his followers and the Qur'ān commentators would accept this irrational belief.⁵⁴ With regard to the claim that the Qur'ān wrongfully locates Mecca in Ammon—traditionally used to point out the conflicting and deceptive nature of the Qur'ān—Reland asks the reader if Muhammad would really have been 'such a Fool' as not to have known the whereabouts of his own place of birth and fatherland. Instead, he writes, this idea is based on a Christian mistranslation.⁵⁵

Even when Reland seems to appreciate the religion or culture of Islam, this usually serves a polemical purpose. When he discusses the religious tolerance of Muslims, for example, this is contrasted with the religious persecutions by Christian rulers. Similarly, Reland praises the fact that Muslims value one another for their skills and talents, rather than for their family status and noble birth. Such usage of Islam in confessional polemics and cultural criticism had a long history, and the very same arguments had already been expressed by authors such as Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622).⁵⁶ While Reland thus expressly aimed to detach the study of Islam from centuries of Christian bias and stereotypes, which in itself may have formed a positive step towards the

51 See also Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 85.

52 Reland's appeal to 'human reason' ('gesunden Menschenverstand') is also pointed out by Roling, 'Koranpolemik', p. 72, as well as Hamilton, 'Adrianus Reland (1676–1718)'.

53 In arguing this, Reland writes in his preface, he speaks 'according to the mind of the Mahometans', rather than his own opinion or interpretation. Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, p. 18.

54 Reland, *Of the Mahometan Religion*, pp. 79–81.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

56 In his *Reyßbeschreibung* of 1608, Schweigger writes that Ottoman nobility stems not from birth, but from virtue. Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 160. See also Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', p. 20; Geier, 'Zur Rhetorik', p. 20.

emancipation of the field of Islamic studies, *De religione Mohammedica* was still firmly rooted in traditional anti-Islamic, as well as confessional, polemics.⁵⁷ Ultimately, the work calls for the refutation of Islam with rational arguments founded upon a proper understanding of the religion and its texts—something that was facilitated by contemporary linguistic abilities, specialised knowledge of Islam, and the wider availability of primary sources.⁵⁸ What these arguments should be, however, is never made explicit.

4 New Editions and Translations

The significance of Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* was quickly recognized by other scholars such as Edward Gibbon (1737–1794),⁵⁹ George Sale (1697–1736),⁶⁰ and Jean-Frédéric Bernard (1680–1744),⁶¹ who used it as an important source in their own writings. Not only did they use it to inform themselves about the religion of Islam, but they also echoed Reland's argument that Islam and its history deserved to be studied objectively both in the light of Christian theology and history, and for its own sake—as the religion and history of a great society.⁶² Reland's refutation of the misconceptions about Islam, on the other hand, directly inspired scholars such as Jacob Ehrharth, who went still further in his defence of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, whom he even

57 Alastair Hamilton agrees that Reland's arguments for the study of Arabic, including the refutation of Islam, 'show little sign of progressing beyond the standard apologies which had been appearing since the Renaissance'. What was new, Hamilton claims, was Reland's determination to do so on the basis of an objective examination of Islamic sources, which would also refute the longstanding myths about Islam. See Hamilton, 'Adrianus Reland (1676–1718)', p. 30.

58 See also Loop, 'Islam and the European Enlightenment'.

59 Gibbon praises Reland and his works in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* vol. 3 [1781]. See Hamilton, 'From a "Closet at Utrecht"', pp. 244 and 250, and 'Adrianus Reland (1676–1718)', p. 30.

60 Sale's Qur'ān translation contains many references to Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* in the footnotes, especially with regard to debates about the proper translation of Qur'ānic terms. See Sale, *The Koran*, and Bevilacqua, 'The Qur'an Translations of Marracci and Sale', p. 122.

61 In his *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, which appeared in a series from 1723 to 1743 with engravings by Bernard Picart (1673–1733), Bernard drew extensively on Reland's treatise, both in the original Latin and in its French translation of 1721. See Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The Book that Changed Europe*, pp. 261–264.

62 *Ibid.* and Hamilton, 'Western Attitudes to Islam', p. 82.

called 'gifted'.⁶³ At the other end of the spectrum churchmen such as Joseph White (1745–1814) used Reland's treatise for the very opposite reason—in order to combat the 'Deist' sympathy for Islam that was expressed by individuals like Ehrharth.⁶⁴ The value of Reland's work was also recognized outside the field of Oriental and Islamic studies and theology. The Enlightenment historian Pietro Giannone (1676–1748) congratulated Reland on his much-needed research, which, indeed, called for the emancipation of the study of Islam and culture.⁶⁵ The German Enlightenment philosopher Christian Wolff, in turn, praised Reland as an important figure of his time, and as the scholar who had, up until then, contributed most to a more tolerant image of Islam.⁶⁶

It is nevertheless hard to determine the direct influence that Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* had on the study of Islam. While the author may have been happy to contribute to a genuine representation of Islam in works such as that of Picart and Bernard, he ultimately meant his work to form an example and inspiration, rather than a new and authoritative source for the study of Islam which, as Reland argued, should be examined on the basis of its *own* sources. Even when works about Islam published after *De religione Mohammedica* first appeared show substantial similarities, a direct influence cannot be irrefutably established unless made explicit by the author. As we saw, other scholars before Reland already expressed similar approaches, methods, and concerns, and, indeed, Reland himself also built upon the heritage and efforts of such scholars. It is thus hard to put the author and his *De religione Mohammedica* at the start of a movement or tradition. Rather, Reland and his work seem to have been a prominent reflection of a movement towards the more objective and authentic study and representation of Islam that had started earlier and still continued after the first publication of *De religione Mohammedica* in 1705.⁶⁷

Regardless of its direct influence, the contemporary success of *De religione Mohammedica* is reflected by its new editions and translations: In 1717, a second expanded Latin edition was published, and the work appeared in translation

63 'Mohammed war kein Epileptiker, wie die Apologeten behauptet hatten, er war Enthusiast, ja er war begnadet', Roling, 'Koranpolemik', p. 74.

64 Hamilton, 'From a "Closet at Utrecht"', p. 250.

65 Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, p. 615.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 615.

67 Indeed, Jonathan Israel refers to Adriaan Reland as 'prominent amongst a number of scholars during this period who made respectable adjustments to the West's image of the Muslim religion', thus attesting the fact that, while he was an important proponent of this movement, he was by no means the only one. See Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, p. 615.

in English, German, Dutch, and French, thus demonstrating its wide influence even beyond the academic field.⁶⁸ Although Reland's work originally seems to have been above all a scholarly plea advocating a more objective approach toward the subject, the emphasis changed slightly as the work was presented to a wider audience. In its English translation, *De religione Mohammedica* was best known as part of a collection of texts about Islam entitled *Four Treatises Concerning the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Mahometans*, which contains Book One and Book Two of Reland's *De religione* (as two of the four treatises), a text about Turkish liturgy, pilgrimage, circumcision, and care for the sick by the Polish author Bobovius, and a treatise written by the French Orientalist and historian Mathurin Veyssière de Lacroze, discussing and comparing Islam and Socinianism. These texts, of course, have their very own history, but within the English collection they were presented first and foremost, along with Reland's work, as sources of authentic information about Islam.⁶⁹

A similar collection of works, but without a publication date or place, can be found in the British Library under the title *Tracts on Mohammedism 1697–1717*. It contains the English translation of Adriaan Reland's work and the treatises of Bobovius and Mathurin Veyssière de Lacroze, as well as Humphrey Prideaux's *The Life of Mahomet* and a short text by Simon Ockley entitled *Sentences of Ali*, which, the title-page states, was translated from 'Authentick Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library'. In this collection, again, Reland's work was incorporated as a source of authentic information about Islam and was incorporated into a new English 'canon' of European texts about the religion of the Muslims. Although the texts in this collection all claimed to be based on genuine source material, thereby reflecting the shifting attitude towards the study of Islam, the inclusion of works such as Humphrey Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet* shows that this new canon of texts was still unable to distance itself from the old polemical tradition. It therefore failed to carry out Reland's wishes and instructions successfully.

Outside the English-speaking world it might actually have been Reland's call to use authentic information about Islam in the fight against it that accounted for its great influence and its many editions and translations. The second, revised edition of Reland's work, which was published in 1717, was, as we saw, largely an expansion of the original work. In addition to the original sources

68 Mention is often made of an additional Spanish translation of the work, e.g. by Van der Aa, Israel, and Hamilton, but I have been unable to trace it.

69 *Four Treatises Concerning the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Mahometans*. See Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, p. 82.

Reland also made use of contemporary travel literature about the Ottoman Empire and he further supported his exposition with visual material.⁷⁰ Four informative copper plates are added to the text. They contain a diagram of the genealogy of Muhammad, an illustration of the various postures of Muslim prayer, a contemporary view of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and a view of the Holy Mosque, including the Ka'aba, in Mecca. Reland's search for authentic information is even reflected in these images. The view of Mecca was a copy of an illustration sent to him by the Swedish Orientalist Michael Eneman (1676–1714). Reland notes, however, that he had changed the dimensions in order better to reflect the proportions of, and distances between, the buildings from this particular perspective. In doing so he had relied on descriptions in Arabic texts.⁷¹

At the same time the second edition of *De religione Mohammedica* contained a more curious addition that seems to violate, rather than support, the author's mission. This is a frontispiece depicting a 'Turkish scene', which is characterised by a certain degree of both decadence and aggression [Fig. 2.1]. The illustration depicts what is probably the Turkish sultan standing on a stage surrounded by an Ottoman crowd. At the back of the stage a male figure stands holding an open book and pointing upwards—most likely representing an Islamic scholar reading from the Qur'an.⁷² At the foot of the stage are two decapitated heads of what appear, judging by the lack of headgear, to be executed non-Muslims, thus illustrating Islamic aggression against the non-Islamic world.⁷³ The fact that such an illustration was added to the work suggests a slight shift of emphasis in the way in which this publication targeted its audience.

It is probably no coincidence that the second edition of Reland's work should have been published at a time when the tensions between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire had increased. Two years earlier, in 1715, the Peace of Karlowitz had been interrupted, and the Habsburgs and Ottomans

70 See Saviello, *Imaginationen*, p. 160ff.

71 Ibid., p. 162, including n. 130.

72 Ibid., p. 165 n. 138.

73 Although beheadings were not unknown in European countries, the beheading of Europeans in the Ottoman Empire was often used to instill fear into the public. In travel accounts such as those of Salomon Schweigger, scenes describing processions in which the heads of decapitated Christians are carried around on stakes are clearly meant to scare the reader and to warn him against the Ottoman/Islamic aggression. As Linda Colley writes, '(...) Western powers were more ready to condemn aggression of the part of Muslim forces, than acknowledge the parallels existing between it and their own actions', Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600–1850*, p. 45.

had once again taken up arms. At the same time the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic had cooled significantly when France was allowed to take over the Republic's role as the primary partner in the cloth trade.⁷⁴ In this context the centre of gravity of Reland's work might have deliberately shifted from the authentic study and representation of Islam to the fight against the Islamic world on the basis of such new information.

This shift of focus is even more discernible in the Dutch edition of *De religione Mohammedica*, which was published in 1718, a few months after Reland's death, under the title *Verhandeling van de godsdienst der Mahometaanen*. In addition to a Dutch translation made by an anonymous author, the work contained three extra documents which were added by the publisher Willem Broedelet: a Dutch translation of Reland's own 'treatise of the martial law of the Muhammedans in times of war against the Christians' (*De Jure Militari Mohammedanorum*), and two Dutch translations of peace treatises between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires—one composed by the Sultan and one by the Holy Roman Emperor. In a supplementary preface the publisher writes that the addition of these texts seemed 'appropriate' to him, 'at a time when the war of the Ottoman Porte against the Christian powers is in full swing'.⁷⁵ Willem Broedelet thus clearly places the emphasis on Reland's call to fight and refute Islam, rather than on his call for a more scholarly approach to the religion—despite the fact that Reland himself had identified this second point as his main aim.

We can only imagine that Reland would not have been entirely happy with—or have even approved of—this shift of focus. The frontispiece that was added to the 1717 Latin edition and the Dutch translation of *De religione Mohammedica* is particularly odd since, even if beheadings were not uncommon in the Ottoman Empire, Reland's *De Jure Militari Mohammedanorum* insists rather on the 'humane' treatment of enemies and prisoners of war. More generally, it presents and explains the multitude of Islamic laws which lay down in great detail all those things that are permitted and prohibited in wartime, including any possible exception. The image, however, suggests the opposite. Especially when observed by someone without any further knowledge, it seems to illustrate aggressive and arbitrary rule by a decadent despot

74 Wheatcroft, *De vijand voor de poort*, pp. 292–293.

75 '(...) dat wy by het Tractaat van *De Godsdienst der Mahometanen*, gevoegt hebben zyn Ed. *Verhandeling van derzelve Krygsregt*, dat (...) geen ongepaste stoffe voor deze tyd scheen, terwyle den oorlog van de Ottomanische Porte tegen de Christen Mogentheden noch in volle vlam staat (...)'. Reland, *Verhandeling*, p. 1.

following the Qur'ānic law. In a work that insists on rationality and order, an illustration that appeals to emotions and fear seems out of place.⁷⁶ Besides, it is inconsistent with Reland's attempt to form an image of Islam and Islamic law purely on the basis of its own written sources. Rather than a deliberate choice by Reland it must therefore have been a decision by the publisher who was trying to sell his work to the broader public by appealing to a general fear of the Turk at the time of the recently resumed war—a situation he also emphasized in his preface to the Dutch edition.

A similar contextualization of Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* in the Habsburg-Ottoman War can be found in an earlier German translation which had followed the English one and was published in 1716 in Hannover under the title *Zwey Bücher von der Türkischen oder Mohammedische Religion*. A second edition was published a year later, in 1717. As the title indicates, the work contains a direct German translation of the two books of Reland's *De religione Mohammedica*. These were supplemented with a 'curious treatise of the Islamic martial law', which was a German translation of the same treatise by Reland added to the Dutch translation, even though the latter was not published until a year later. As the publisher states, this treatise would demonstrate the dangers of an impending 'Türcken-Krieg' to both officers and amateurs.⁷⁷ Another remarkable addition to the German edition of Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* is a portrait of Muhammad on the frontispiece—a clear violation of the Islamic prohibition to depict the Prophet and possibly even a deliberate provocation of Muslims. Like its Dutch equivalent, the German translation also seems to have emphasised the fight against the Islamic world rather than the objective study of Islam.

So most editions of Reland's work hardly seem to have been aimed at a scholarly audience, nor did they necessarily intend to advocate the objective study of Islam. Rather, they presented Reland's text as an authentic reflection of the religion of Islam which could be used in the struggle against the Islamic world. Nevertheless, these publications *did* present their vernacular audience with Reland's authentic presentation of Islam and with his outspoken refutation of the old and tenacious misconceptions that had also penetrated the popular image of the religion. These translations could thus undoubtedly have contributed to the improvement or adjustment of this popular image of Islam,

76 In his *De Jure Militari Mohammedanorum*, Reland again stresses the importance of presenting the Islamic laws of wartime on the basis of authentic texts ('echte stukken'), as they have been defined by Muslims themselves ('zoo als zy het zelve bepaalt hebben'). Reland, *Verhandeling*, p. 199.

77 '(...) allen Liebhabern, und sonderlich den Officirern sehr nützlich zu lesen', *Zwey Bücher*, title page.

despite—or maybe thanks to—their polemical undertone, demonstrating the amplitude of Reland's call for objectivity in the study and representation of Islam even outside the academic field.

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Follow the Light: Adriaan Reland (1676–1718) on Muhammad

Christian Lange

At the hands of the European Republic of Arabic Letters (ca. 1650–1750),¹ the Western perspective on Muhammad underwent a profound transformation.² The Utrecht professor of Oriental languages Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), who occupied an exalted position in the network of European Arabists around 1700, contributed lastingly to a new and better understanding of the prophet of Islam, to the extent that the German philosopher Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), writing in 1754, could state that ‘we did not possess genuine knowledge ... before the works of Reland and Sale, from which we have learned especially that Mahomet was no senseless impostor and that his religion is not merely a poorly woven fabric of inconsistencies and distortions’.³

George Sale (1697–1736), the first translator of the Qur’ān from Arabic to English and author of the influential ‘Preliminary Discourse’ (1734), is regularly given credit for facilitating a balanced approach to Islam among the educated European public. Reland, by contrast, has flown somewhat under the radar of historians of Islamic scholarship in the West.⁴ How, then, did Reland

1 I borrow this term from Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*.

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3 Lessing, ‘Rettung des Hieronymus Cardanus’, p. 153. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are mine.

4 In his landmark study, Johann Fück mentions Reland only in passing. See Fück, *Die arabischen Studien*, pp. 102–103. Norman Daniel, in another standard account, is highly positive about Reland, but extremely brief (he devotes no more than half a paragraph to him). See Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 318. John Tolan, in his recent history of Western perceptions of Muhammad, makes brief mention of Reland, but largely reduces him to the status of a source for the work of Sale. See Tolan, *Faces of Mohammed*, p. 163. See, however, the various publications of Alistair Hamilton mentioned below; in addition, see Pfanmüller, *Handbuch*, pp. 63–64, who credits Reland with ‘the first scientific account of the Mohammedan religion’; Waardenburg, ‘Mustashrikūn’, p. 741b, who calls Reland’s *De religione Mohammedica* ‘the first enlightened study of Islam as a religion’; and Schimmel, ‘Abendländische Islamstudien’, pp. 27–28, who puts Reland on par with Sale. In his brilliant study of the Republic of Arabic Letters, Alexander Bevilacqua gives Reland ample space but also accuses him of a certain

contribute to the change in European attitudes toward Islam, and the prophet Muhammad in particular? In order to answer this question, first we survey the major strands of thinking about Muhammad among 17th- and 18th-century European intellectuals, as exemplified by Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), and Voltaire (1694–1778). These writers worked in proximity to, but were not themselves members of the Republic of Arabic Letters. However, they deserve our attention because we can legitimately assume that their works reflect broadly shared sentiments in Europe at the time. Moving on, in a second step, from the widely circulating ideas of these public intellectuals, we examine the learned literature on Muhammad produced by the representatives of the fledgling scholarly guild of professional Arabists and Islamicists around 1700. The article ‘Mohammed’ in Barthélemy d’Herbelot’s (1625–1695) groundbreaking *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697) provides a particularly fertile backdrop against which to evaluate Reland’s assessment of the prophet of Islam. On this basis, we can proceed to ask to what extent Lessing’s judgement is valid, that is, whether Reland’s work represents a truly new and different view of Muhammad in the Western encounter with Islam. Finally, we ask in what ways Reland’s Muhammad survives in the works of some later 18th- and 19th-century authors.

1 Muhammad in 17th- and Early 18th-Century European Thought

For large parts of the 17th century, the Ottomans’ expansion into eastern and southern Europe inspired Christian writers working not just in the southern Catholic but also in the central and northern European lands to formulate vitriolic attacks on Islam and its prophet Muhammad. In his *magnum opus*, *De iure belli ac pacis* (*The Law of War and Peace*), first published in 1625, Hugo Grotius shows himself to be surprisingly uninterested in the Ottoman question, presumably out of an anti-Habsburg sentiment. Grotius even voices a measure of appreciation for the Muslim law of war, urging his Christian audience to follow the example of the Muslims, by rejecting the permissibility of enslaving prisoners of war.⁵ However, in his Dutch parenetic poem, *Bewys van den waren godsdienst* (*Proof of the True Religion*), published in 1622, Grotius is thoroughly

partisanship, that is, an ‘assimilative bias—a tendency to overstate the resemblance of Islamic beliefs to Christian ones’. See Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 97. By contrast, Sale ‘arbitrated between similarity and difference [between Islam and Christianity] more fair-mindedly than any of his ... predecessors’. See *ibid.*, pp. 88–89.

5 See Kelsay, ‘Islam and Christianity’, p. 212.

critical of Muhammad, and of Islam. Islam, according to Grotius, is a religion 'founded on violence'.⁶ While even the Qur'ān, as Grotius notes with a degree of satisfaction, speaks of Jesus as the 'spirit' and the 'word' of God, there can be no doubt that Muhammad was begotten naturally, the son of human parents.⁷ Not only that: he was a 'robber and an adulterer'.⁸ Likewise, those who followed him were 'people used to making a living off robbery'.⁹ In sum, Christianity is moderate, Islam extreme: it is grossly licentious in certain ways (Grotius points to the Prophet's polygamy) and senselessly ascetic in other respects (Grotius refers to Islam's prohibition of wine and pork).¹⁰

As if to cap his roundabout condemnation of Islam as being contrary to reason and to human nature, and to demonstrate the gullibility of its adherents, Grotius makes reference to several alleged miracles of Muhammad. Jesus, he reminds his audience, performed true miracles: he cured the sick and revived the dead. Muhammad, however, did not produce miracles; he only brought the sword. Grotius continues:

But some, it seems, to support his creed,
attributed miracles to him, of which a part,
may have happened by mere human art,
such as a dove flying to a man's ear.¹¹

The 'dove flying to a man's ear' alludes to the legend, already told in the 13th-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus da Varagine (1228–1298) and repeated by Boccaccio in the 14th century, William Shakespeare in the 16th century and Walter Raleigh in the early 17th century, of Muhammad tricking the Meccans into following him by means of a trained dove. According to this story, Muhammad put seeds in his ear and let a dove pick at them while preaching to the Meccans, so that they would believe that he was inspired by the Holy Ghost.¹² Three of the alleged 'sins' that were stereotypically foregrounded in

6 Grotius, *Bewys van den waren godsdienst*, p. 126: 'gegrondet op geweld'.

7 Ibid., p. 128: 'een bloot mensch'.

8 Ibid., p. 128: 'Mahumet heeft rooff en overspel bedreven'.

9 Ibid., p. 129: 'Syn luy geweest gewent te leven op den rooff'.

10 Ibid., pp. 130–131.

11 Ibid., p. 129: 'Doch eenigen, soo 't schynt, om syne leer te styven, / hem tegen sijnen dank ook wonderen toeschryven: / Waar van een deel door kunst soo wel geschieden kan, / Als dat een duyff aen 't oor komt vliegen van een man'.

12 See Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 89–92.

medieval European representations of Muhammad¹³—his imposture, sensualism and violence—thus survive intact in the thought of Grotius.

The Ottoman threat to Europe waned after the Ottomans' failure to capture Vienna in 1683. In the ensuing 'period of relative calm', as Ahmad Gunny has observed, there came about 'the right atmosphere for a balanced reevaluation of the Prophet by the West'.¹⁴ However, not everybody rose above politics. Following Grotius, many, in fact, preferred to continue in the old polemical vein. One of the most elaborate denunciations of Muhammad, written around the turn of the century, is *The True Nature of Imposture* (1697), by Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich. In this work, Prideaux casts aside the old fables, such as the story of the dove, claiming to offer an objective account of Muhammad.¹⁵ Yet in the conclusion to his biographical sketch of Muhammad, Prideaux is relentlessly hostile. He castigates Muhammad's 'ambition' and 'lust', his greed for power and for women, which, as Prideaux maintains, Muhammad sought to satisfy by 'inventing' Islam and imposing it on his 'deluded' followers.¹⁶ Prideaux writes as an orthodox Anglican keen to defend traditional belief against the Christian Deists, who rejected organized religion and were quick to criticize traditional Christianity as an imposture, instead promoting the rational observation of nature as the only valid way to God.¹⁷ The 'true' impostor, Prideaux aims to show, is Muhammad, not the Church.

Writing on the other side of the English Channel, a defense of the Church, whether Anglican or Catholic, was not at all in the interest of Voltaire, who was, after all, a famous Deist. However, as for Muhammad's imposture and lustfulness, he agreed with Prideaux. Voltaire, who had read Prideaux's work during his exile in England,¹⁸ popularized the notion of Muhammad as a power-hungry, cynical and hypersensual villain in his anti-religious tragedy, the theatrical blockbuster *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète* (Amsterdam, 1736). Even if in later works, Voltaire showed himself to be more judicious in his assessment of Muhammad and of Islam (he was full of praise for Sale's Qur'ān translation and 'Preliminary discourse', which he read shortly after writing his tragedy), *Le fanatisme* thrived on, and entrenched, the virulently anti-religious rhetoric of the radical French enlightenment. Already a generation earlier, the French-reading atheist public had been fed stories of Muhammad's

13 Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 92–93, 118–121, 158 and passim; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 135–169 and passim; Lange, *Mohammed*, pp. 111–112.

14 Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, p. 21.

15 Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 90.

16 Prideaux, *True Nature of Imposture*, pp. 132–133.

17 Dimmock, *Mythologies*, pp. 180–181.

18 Reeves, *Muhammad in Europe*, p. 159.

unscrupulous character in the shape of the notorious atheist manifesto, the *Traité des trois imposteurs* (compiled, in its French form, during the last quarter of the 17th century).¹⁹ For example, the *Traité* tells the tale of an accomplice of Muhammad, who speaks to the credulous Meccans from a pit, pretending to be the voice of God supporting Muhammad's claim to prophecy.²⁰

Against the likes of Grotius, Prideaux and the Voltaire of *Le fanatisme*, there were also authors of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), professor of Oriental languages at Leiden, who were less biased. Erpenius' cautious openness toward Islam may have been motivated, among other things, by his acquaintance with the Morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajārī, a Moroccan emissary to France and the Netherlands (1611–13), by whom he was favourably impressed. Al-Ḥajārī visited Erpenius in Leiden in 1613 and discussed the promised 'paraclete of the gospel' with him (see John 14:16: 'And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another advocate [Gr. *paráklētos*']'), which he told him was a reference to the coming of the prophet Muhammad. As al-Ḥajārī claimed, Erpenius 'felt attracted to our religion'.²¹ 'We have frequent discussions about religion', Erpenius wrote in a letter, 'but believe me their discussions are not so easy to refute as many people imagine. They abhor especially the godhead of Christ [and] about many other things they do not think as stupidly as some of us try to prove by means of the Qur'an'.²²

Protestant intellectuals were appreciative of Islam's iconoclasm, not least because of the deep grudge they held against Catholicism and all forms of 'popery'. As al-Ḥajārī put it, the Protestants, led on by Luther and Calvin, rejected the Pope and the idol-worship of the Catholics, believed in the falsification (*tahrīf*), by later generations, of the original gospel taught by Jesus, and appreciated the Muslims' role in history as 'the sword of God in the world against the idol-worshippers'.²³

The 1657 Dutch Qur'an translation of Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (ca. 1620–1682), which was based on the 1647 French translation of André Du Ryer, (ca. 1580–1660 or 1672), also foreshadows Reland's later agenda to listen

19 The dating of the *Traité*, which is based on earlier polemical works (some of them medieval), is the subject of scholarly controversy. Here I follow the assessment of Schröder, 'Einleitung', p. xix.

20 *Traité*, pp. 106–9 (§ 22).

21 Translated by Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance*, p. 58. Much against al-Ḥajārī, Johann Fück noted that Erpenius held Muhammad to be an impostor, the Qur'an a travesty of the Bible, and that he had 'no sympathies for the religion of Islam'. See Fück, *Die arabischen Studien*, pp. 69, 71.

22 Translated by Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance*, p. 50.

23 Ḥajārī, *K. Nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 33.

attentively to Muslim authors and provide an impartial account of Muhammad. Glazemaker appended two different versions of Muhammad's lifestory to his translation, one based on an eastern source,²⁴ another on various hostile biographies written by European authors, 'so that the attentive reader will himself notice the differences and contradictions, and judge them, if he wills, as he sees fit'.²⁵ In the second half of the 17th century, there are even examples of Protestant authors lionizing Muhammad. The English Unitarianist Henry Stubbe (1632–1676), in his *Originall & Progress of Mahometanism* (ca. 1671), is full of praise for Muhammad, calling him an 'extraordinary person' with 'ready wit', 'penetrating judgement' and 'undaunted courage', 'a person cut out for great achievements and equally qualified for actions of war, or the arts of peace and civil government'.²⁶ As Matthew Dimmock has remarked, Stubbe's concern was to portray Muhammad 'as the true inheritor of an original Christianity, unpolluted by priestcraft or popery'.²⁷ 'Sympathetic identification with Islam' allowed English radical Protestantism to achieve 'historical, philosophical, and ideological coherence'.²⁸ Also Henri de Boulainvilliers, in his much-read *Vie de Mahomed* (1730), used Muhammad towards anti-clerical ends, declaring him to be a wise lawgiver and a true prophet, sent to wash out the moribund decadence of late-antique Oriental Christianity.²⁹ Not unlike Voltaire's *Le fanatisme*, but based on a diametrically opposed view of Muhammad, de Boulainvilliers' book is a covert attack on the Church.

Voltaire and de Boulainvilliers are late representatives of two dominant trends in the early modern European view of Islam and its prophet. Voltaire sketched a caricature of Muhammad as the embodiment of the moral corruption and cynical authoritarianism of religious leadership in general. De Boulainvilliers, who did not exactly write in an even-handed manner either, pitched Muhammad as a just ruler and wise lawgiver, a great leader who became the postmortem victim of an intrigant clergy assuming the reins of power after his death. In sum, both Voltaire and de Boulainvilliers unmistakably used Muhammad towards their own ulterior ends.

24 This was the chronicle of Georgius al-Makīn ('Elmacinus') Ibn al-'Amīd from Cairo (d. 1273), in Erpenius' Latin translation. On al-Makīn, see below.

25 Glazemaker, *Mahomets Alkoran*, p. iv: '... op dat d'opmerkende lezer zelf 't verschil, en de strijdigheid daar in zou bemerken, en, zo 't hem lust, naar zijn eige believeen daar af oordelen'. I owe this reference to Lucas van der Deijl.

26 Stubbe, *Account*, pp. 141–142. For a long time, Stubbe's text circulated in manuscript form, only to be published in the 20th century.

27 Dimmock, *Mythologies*, p. 186.

28 Garcia, 'A Hungarian Revolution', p. 1.

29 See Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 113–123.

2 Muhammad in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697)

None of the authors discussed so far, to the exception of Erpenius, were scholars trained in the languages or the history of the Islamic world. As we would say today, they wrote from the perspective of 'world history', and always with the history and current situation of Europe as their main concern. What, then, of the intervention of specialised scholars of Arabic and Islamic history in the early modern debate about Muhammad? Were these scholars able to transcend the Eurocentric perspective of their more famous contemporaries among the philosophers and Christian theologians, and provide an account of Muhammad that was more historically accurate and true to the Islamic tradition?

In the second half of the 17th century, a generation after Erpenius, the Italian Ludovico Maracci (1612–1700), the Englishman Edward Pococke (1604–1691) and the Frenchman Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625–1695) form a stellar triad among the scholars of the Republic of Arabic Letters. Of these three men, d'Herbelot was the most closely connected to Reland: Antoine Galland (1646–1715), the French Orientalist who brought d'Herbelot's stupendous *Bibliothèque orientale* to publication two years after the latter's death, counted among Reland's acquaintances. The fascinating gestation of d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque* has recently been studied, with admirable perspicacity, by Alexander Bevilacqua.³⁰ Here, we limit ourselves to taking a closer look at the *Bibliothèque's* entry on Muhammad.³¹

This entry counts ten columns—a fairly lengthy treatment, but still noticeably shorter than, for example, the articles d'Herbelot dedicates to Genghis Khan and Timur. D'Herbelot invokes an impressive range of Arabic and Persian sources. It is striking that all works of history on which d'Herbelot relies to tell Muhammad's biography are the works of Christian authors: the *Naẓm al-jawhar* (*The String of Jewels*) of Euty chius Ibn Baṭrīk of Alexandria (d. 940), known in the West under the title *Euty chii annales*, in the partial edition and translation of Edward Pococke (1658–59); the world chronicle of Abū al-Faraj ('Aboulfarage') Gregorius Bar Hebraeus from Antioch (d. 685/1286), edited by Pococke under the title *Specimen Historiae Arabae* (1650 [1663]); and the world chronicle of Georgius al-Makīn ('Elmacinus') Ibn al-'Amīd from Cairo (d. 1273), partially edited by Erpenius and published by his student Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) under the title *Historia saracenicā* (1625). D'Herbelot's reliance on Christian historians is not happenstance: he knew the works of

30 Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 108–135.

31 D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*, pp. 598a–603b. See also Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 32–35.

Muslim historians, but—assuming he had access to them—chose not to use them. The most elaborate biographies of Muhammad, he notes toward the end of the entry, were written by ‘Nouairi in the fourth part of his history written in Arabic and by Mirkhond in his Persian history’. These works are the fifth chapter, dealing with the biography of Muhammad and the early caliphs, of the fourth book, on history, of al-Nuwayrī’s (d. 733/1333) massive literary anthology, the *Nihāyat al-arab* (*The Ultimate Ambition*), and the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā’* (*Garden of Purity*) of the Persian chronicler Mīrkhānd (d. 903/1498). D’Herbelot mentions these two works immediately after discussing a number of pious and mystical works about Muhammad. This suggests that he did not think of al-Nuwayrī and Mīrkhānd as trustworthy sources. At least he did not consider them more reliable than Eutychius, Bar Hebraeus and al-Makīn.³²

Next to providing the skeleton of biographical events of Muhammad’s life, d’Herbelot draws particular attention to the Muslim mystical literature about Muhammad, as well as to the Muslim belief in Muhammad’s existence as a ‘luminous substance’ prior to the creation of the world, a notion that strikes him as an ‘extravagance’.³³ For these aspects, d’Herbelot draws from the ‘Bahar alhacaiq’, that is, the *Baḥr al-ḥaqā’iq* (*The Sea of [Mystical] Truths*) of Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 654/1256), a Qur’ān commentary in the Kubrāwiyya Sufi tradition; the ‘Methneui’, that is, the *Mathnavī* of Rūmī (d. 672/1273); and the ‘Nacdalnossous’, that is, the *Naqd al-nuṣūṣ* (*Critique of Texts*) of Jāmī (d. 898/1492), a commentary on the *Naqsh al-fuṣūṣ* (*Imprint of the Bezels [of Wisdom]*) of Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240). Later on, he further refers to *al-Futuḥāt al-makkiyya* (*The Meccan Openings*) of Ibn al-‘Arabī and the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (*Breezes of Intimacy*), again of Jāmī, both wellknown works. But this is not all: d’Herbelot also demonstrates familiarity with the famous mystical poem dedicated to Muhammad, the *Qaṣīdat al-burda* (*Poem of the Mantle*) of al-Būṣīrī (d. ca. 695/1295), works of the genre of ‘The names of the Prophet’ (*asmā’ al-nabī*), as well as a string of other texts. Whether he actually had read all these works, of course, one may doubt. As others have noted, d’Herbelot relied extensively on the Ottoman polymath Kātip Çelebi’s (d. 1068/1657) monumental annotated bibliography, the *Kashf al-zunūn* (*Unveiling of Thoughts*). All

32 None of these three authors commands the attention of historians of early Islam today, their works having long been supplanted by the likes of the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām (d. ca. 215/830) or the *Ta’rīkh* (*History*) of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), both edited in the second half of the 19th century, by a German and a Dutch scholar, respectively. However, as Alistair Hamilton rightly remarks, both al-Makīn and Bar Hebraeus were not interested in anti-Islamic polemics: both wrote for a Christian as well as a Muslim audience. See Hamilton, ‘Study of Islam’, pp. 175, 177.

33 D’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*, p. 603a.

in all, however, it cannot be denied that d'Herbelot's entry on Muhammad is astonishingly learned.

This erudition, however, does not prevent d'Herbelot from indulging in derogatory language and from invecting against several aspects of Muhammad's life and afterlife, in particular as regards his alleged imposture, his warmongering, and the exaggerated, superstitious devotion of his followers.³⁴ Muhammad, he declares, is 'the famous impostor',³⁵ an 'ignorant'³⁶ person who 'played comedy until the end of his life'.³⁷ He also notes that Muhammad's pagan enemies called him *abtar*, 'sans queue', because 'he did not leave any male progeny, despite having 21 wives'.³⁸ To respond to this mockery, Muhammad would have declaimed the 108th chapter of the Qur'an, *sūrat al-Kawthar*. Whether or not there is a sexual innuendo here on the part of d'Herbelot (the translation of *abtar* as 'sans queue' was apt to amuse some of his readers), his mentioning of *sūrat al-Kawthar* again evinces his familiarity with the Arabic sources. The Qur'an exegetes did indeed relate that on the death of Muhammad's infant son, al-Qāsim, some of Muhammad's contemporaries observed that he had become curtailed (*abtar*) of his son. In response, to make up for the loss suffered by Muhammad, God revealed 'We have given you abundance, so pray unto your Lord and sacrifice, for those who hate you, they are the ones cut off (*abtar*)' (Qur'an 108:1–3).³⁹

As for Muhammad's warfare, d'Herbelot maintains that Muhammad was hellbound on bloodshed. Having fled to Medina, Muhammad would have insisted, against his followers' unanimous advice, that a Meccan caravan be attacked, an event that sparked the first battle, at Badr, in the war against pagan Mecca.⁴⁰ Finally, in several places of his entry, d'Herbelot draws attention to the 'outré' superstitious beliefs of Muslims in Muhammad's theurgical powers, including his ability to intercede on behalf of the believers on the Day of Judgement, and in the magical properties of Muhammad's name. He refers, specifically, to a work by one Ḥanbalī author, 'Uthmān al-Futūḥī, titled *Bushrā al-karīm al-amjad bi-'adam ta'dhib man yusammā Aḥmad wa-Muḥammad* (*The*

34 As noted by Ahmad Gunny, d'Herbelot's articles on 'Din' and 'Islam' are more 'balanced'. See Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, p. 31.

35 D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*, pp. 598b, 599a.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 599a.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 602b.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 603a.

39 Suyūfī, *Durr*, vol. 8, p. 652.

40 D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*, 600a.

Good Tidings Given by the Exalted Generous [God] about the Fact that Those Who Are Called Aḥmad and Muhammad Will Not Be Punished [in the Hereafter]).⁴¹

The tendency to elevate Muhammad to the status of a supernatural, salvific figure is not as uncharacteristic of Muslim devotional attitudes as some have claimed.⁴² The notion of Muhammad's pre-existing light (the *nūr Muḥammad*), for example, enjoyed great popularity throughout Islamic history.⁴³ However, it is difficult to avoid the impression that d'Herbelot takes a certain delight in foregrounding the more extreme mystical and cosmological speculations attaching to Muhammad. Even though, unlike earlier European polemicists, he does not seem interested in Muhammad's alleged sexual licentiousness, overall he takes a one-sidedly harsh view of him. The imbalance of d'Herbelot's portrait of Muhammad appears to jar with his overall intention to 'provide an accurate description of Islam, not to attack it'.⁴⁴ Did d'Herbelot feel obliged, in the case of Muhammad, to pay lip service to the Catholic environment in which he operated? The *Bibliothèque orientale*, after all, is dedicated to the 'Rex Christianissimus', the French king Louis XIV, who was d'Herbelot's patron, paying him a handsome annual pension.⁴⁵ Be that as it may, European scholars writing around the year 1700, despite the progress booked by erudite Arabists and Islamicists like Maracci, Pococke and d'Herbelot, were still miles away from an impartial assessment of Muhammad.

3 Muhammad in Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* (1705) and His *De jure militari Mohammedanorum* (1708)

As we saw above, Erpenius in Leiden had paved the way for the study of the Islamic world based on first-hand knowledge of Arabic sources and undertaken in conversation with Muslim interlocutors. At Utrecht, Erpenius' one-time student Voetius (1589–1676) took a different approach. Voetius, one of the founding fathers of the University of Utrecht, was a systematic theologian of the Reformed Church, a scholar of Oriental languages, and an outspoken critic of Copernicus, Descartes and Spinoza. In his *Disputatio de Mohammedanismo* (*Disputation regarding Mohammedanism*, 1648), he relies, as his most important source, on the *Confusio sectae Mahometanae* (*Confusion of the Sect of*

41 Ibid., p. 603a. A manuscript of this work is mentioned by Kātip Çelebi. See Kātip Çelebi, *Kashf*, vol. 2., p. 54.

42 Gunny, *The Prophet Mohammed*, pp. 32–33.

43 See Rubin, 'Pre-Existence and Light'.

44 Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 129.

45 Füek, *Die arabischen Studien*, p. 99.

Muhammad) of the Spanish convert Juan Andrés (fl. ca. 1487–1515), a polemic, inter alia, against the Muslim failure to understand the Christian trinity and against the sensuality of the Muslim afterlife.⁴⁶ Voetius points out that Muhammad ‘contradicted himself’ in several places in the Qur’ān, which, the reader is made to gather, makes it easy to come up with arguments against him.⁴⁷ Further, Voetius maintains that Muhammad, a ‘possessed maniac’ (Lt. ‘maniaco-energumenicum’) and ‘impostor’, suffered from epilepsy.⁴⁸

The polemical Grotius and Voetius, the vituperative Prideaux, the learned but dismissive Maracci, Pococke and d’Herbelot, but also the cautiously curious Erpenius: these were the scholars of whose ideas we may assume Reland was aware, and with whom and against whom he developed his own view of Muhammad. This happened only gradually. In one of his early works, written as a twenty-year-old student in Utrecht, the *Exercitatio philologico-theologica de symbolo Mohammedico (Non est Deus nisi Unus) adversus quod S.S. Trinitas defenditur (A Philological-Theological Investigation of the Muslim Creed [There is no God but God], against Which the Holy Trinity is Defended, 1696)*, he squarely dismissed Islam as a dangerous heresy, and Muhammad as a ‘pseudo-prophet’ and ‘impostor’.⁴⁹ In *De religione Mohammedica*, however, the tone is markedly different, even if it is never as celebratory as, for example, in the works of Stubbe or de Boulainvilliers. Granted, *De religione Mohammedica* is not primarily a book about Muhammad. The distinction of having written the first balanced biography of Muhammad based exclusively on Muslim sources belongs to Jean Gagnier (ca. 1670–1740), professor at Oxford, who published his *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis* in 1723.⁵⁰ Reland’s *De religione Mohammedica*,

46 Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 64; Van Amersfoort and Van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?*, p. 22.

47 Voetius, *Disputatio*, p. 662 (tr. pp. 63–64).

48 *Ibid.*, p. 671 (tr. pp. 75–76).

49 See Hamilton, ‘Reland and Islam’, p. 245. In a congratulatory poem written in Arabic on the occasion of the *Exercitatio philologico-theologica de consensu Mohammedanismi et Judaismi*, Reland’s friend and tutor, Heinrich Sike (1669–1712), slandered Muhammad as a pseudo-prophet who falsely claimed divine revelation, and who is accordingly punished in hell by being fed the fruits of the infernal tree of Zaqūm (Qur’ān 56:52 and passim) and made to drink the ‘boiling water’ with which sinners are threatened in the Qur’ān (Qur’ān 55:44 and passim). The poem is appended, on the last page (no page number), to Reland, *Exercitatio philologico-theologica*. In his *Exercitatio*, Reland is rather stereotypically derogatory of Muhammad, even though in his *De libertate philosophandi*, written two years earlier, he had fully embraced, at least in principle, the imperative for intellectual freedom and rejection of the authority of earlier scholars. See Henk van Rinsum’s chapter in this volume. For a translation of Sike’s poem, see the appendix of the present volume.

50 Gagnier followed up on his *Vita* with an enlarged and more widely read French version, *La vie de Mahomet*, published in Amsterdam in 1732. See Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*.

by contrast, paints a much wider canvas. But it is worthwhile to focus for a moment on those passages in *De religione Mohammedica* that deal explicitly with the prophet of Islam.

First, let us highlight that Reland makes short work of some of the more fanciful and factually incorrect claims about Muhammad circulating in 17th- and early 18th-century European literature, such as the legend of the dove. Reland calls it an absurd idea that the Arab authors should have failed to mention this legend, if indeed there was any truth to it, considering that ‘they bring to the attention other miracles about Muhammad that seem far less realistic, for example, that the moon descended towards him, that the trees greeted him, etc.’⁵¹ Grotius, as will be remembered, had given credence to the story, and it may well be that Reland here reacts to what he perceived as the shortcoming of his illustrious Dutch predecessor. In fact, it is tempting to think that Reland’s twin publications, *De religione Mohammedica* and *De jure militari Mohammedanorum* (*Treatise of the Mahometans’ Law of Warfare*, first published 1708, also appended, as ‘Verhandelinge van het Krygs-recht der Mahometaanen’, to the 1718 Dutch version of *De religione Mohammedica*), were conceived as a response to Grotius’ *Bewys van den waren godsdienst* and *De iure bellic ac pacis*, as if aiming to supersede and replace the work of a scholar with no first-hand knowledge of the Islamic tradition with the careful scrutiny of a scholar of Oriental languages and Islam.

Reland also takes aim at the pernicious Western idea that Muhammad’s grave is in Mecca,⁵² where his coffin was supposedly suspended, by means of a magical trick, between the floor and the roof of his mausoleum. This legend was disseminated all over medieval Europe thanks to Petrus Alphonsi’s (d. 1140) *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* (*Dialogues against the Jews*). As has been suggested, the legend served to illustrate that Islam was ‘an inversion of Christian worship’.⁵³

Pfannmüller, *Handbuch*, p. 171, sees in Gagnier’s work the first scholarly study of Muhammad by a Western scholar, but Ehlert, ‘Muḥammad’, p. 382a, states that Gagnier’s work is no more than ‘a polemic against Boulainvilliers and a denigration of Islam’. See the useful summary of this controversy by Bennett, ‘Jean Gagnier’.

51 Reland, *Verhandeling*, p. 188. Here and in the following, I quote Reland’s *De religione Mohammedica* and *De jure militari Mohammedanorum* from their 1718 Dutch translation. For a noteworthy difference between the 1705 and 1717/1718 editions of *De religione Mohammedica*, see below, at n61.

52 A view also held by Voetius, see Voetius, *Disputatio*, p. 666 (tr. p. 68).

53 Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, p. 159 (I owe this reference to Jo Spaans). See also Pellat, ‘Note sur la légende’. It is interesting to note that early Muslim geographers told similar stories about the Greek pagans (a magnetic statue constructed by Apollonius of Tyana), as well as the Hindus of Gujarat. See Dietrich, ‘Maghnātīs’, p. 1168a. Similarly, the Mamluk chronicler Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) related that Genghis

Reland notes that Muhammad's grave is in Medina, not in Mecca, and that the belief that his coffin is suspended in the air is incorrect. In the manner of a modern historian of religion, he speculates about the origins of the story: 'Similarly, it is recounted about a certain statue in the Temple of Serapis that it was suspended between the floor and the roof by means of a magnet placed in the roof of the temple'.⁵⁴

It may not have been particularly difficult for Reland to debunk the hackneyed factual misconceptions about Muhammad, and he was hardly the first to do so. Erpenius had already exploded the myth of the suspended coffin,⁵⁵ and Pococke had upbraided Grotius for relating the legend of the dove.⁵⁶ It is on another level that Reland's innovative views of Muhammad come to the fore, namely when he engages with two accusations made by d'Herbelot, that is, first, that Muhammad was a warmonger and second, that the veneration granted to Muhammad in Islam is nothing but superstitious extravagance. Regarding the first of these accusations, in his *Treatise of the Mahometans' Law of Warfare*, Reland writes that

it deserves to be known that Mahomet, when he first claimed that he was sent as a prophet of God [...], did not encourage his people to go to war, but counseled against it, admonishing them that one should patiently bear one's enemies' injustices. Then, when he had increased in wealth and power, he stated that it was allowed for him and his people to defend themselves against the unbelievers. Finally, grown more and more in status, he openly declared that it was permissible to wage war against one's enemies at all times ...⁵⁷

This is a rather even-handed summary of Muhammad's attitude towards warfare, far more nuanced than what d'Herbelot had written. Reland is aware of the meek, early phase of Muhammad's career, in which he discouraged violence,

Khan was buried in an iron coffin, which was suspended between two mountains. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. 13, p. 118.

54 Reland, *Verhandeling*, p. 149. Cf. Tolan, *Faces of Mohammed*, p. 163: 'Reland uses comparisons with classical antiquity to valorize Islam both by associating it with the revered cultures of Greco-Roman antiquity and by removing it from a simple comparison with Christianity'.

55 See Hamilton, 'Study of Islam', p. 175.

56 Pococke, *Specimen*, pp. 186–187. Grotius, at the insistence of Pococke, agreed that the legend would be excised from Pococke's Arabic translation of Grotius's poem. See Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 89; Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, p. 41; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien*, p. 87.

57 Reland, 'Krygs-recht', p. 201.

but which gave way, after the emigration from Mecca to Medina, first, to a legitimation of defensive warfare and second, to allowing warfare ‘against enemies at all times’. In the end, Muhammad praised warfare against the unbelievers as a holy duty. However, Reland warns his readers, for this we should not condemn him too quickly—after all, several popes had behaved in the same way.⁵⁸ In his attempt to normalize Islam, Reland then offers a paraphrase of a text dealing with the Islamic law of warfare, of which he possessed a manuscript and which he introduces by saying that ‘recently, I managed to obtain a book, written in a sure hand, that contains in a convenient order the most important things that serve to illuminate this topic.’⁵⁹ This text, the Shi‘i legal compendium *Jāmi‘-i ‘Abbāsī* (*The ‘Abbāsī Collection*, in Persian) of Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (d. 1030/1621),⁶⁰ provides a standard summary of the most important

58 Ibid., p. 203.

59 Ibid., pp. 200, 257 (Dt. ‘handschrift’). There is no work specifically dedicated to the law of warfare (*jihād*) or law of nations (*siyar*) among the handful of legal works mentioned in the ‘Index codicum Orientalium Manuscriptorum’ appended to the 1705 edition of *De religione Mohammedica* (nos. 2, 3, 5, 18, 19, 22) or in the 1761 auction catalogue of Reland’s manuscripts, the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum* (pp. 3 [no. 28], 10fds [nos. 1 and 2], 12 [no. 25]). On several occasions in his text, Reland cites the opinions of Shāfi‘i jurists, contrasting them with ‘the jurists of the Persians’. See Reland, ‘Krygs-recht’, pp. 249, 251–252. Reland possessed at least one Shāfi‘i legal manuscript, the *Ghāyat al-ikhṭišār* (*Ultimate Summary*) of Abū Shujā‘ al-Iṣfahānī (fl. second half of 5th/11th c.), a well-known legal digest (*matn*). See ‘Index’, no. 18. We may assume that also the ‘Systema Juris Sacri & Civilis Muhammedanorum Arabice cum versione Malaica interlineari’ (‘System of sacred and civil law of the Muhammedans, Arabic with interlinear Malay’) in the 1761 catalogue (*Catalogus*, p. 3 [no. 28]) is a Shāfi‘i work. One of Reland’s other manuscripts, kept in the Leiden collection (Or. 1347), is Abū Shujā‘’s *matn* with interlinear Malay (see Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume). Abū Shujā‘’s work, however, is rather too short to have served as the basis of Reland’s relatively detailed discussion. The other Sunni legal works in Reland’s possession cannot have served as his main source, either. The *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (Mālikī, 4th/10th century) (‘Index’, no. 5), like Abū Shujā‘’s work, is too short. The two Ḥanafī works *Kanz al-daqa‘iq* (*The Treasure of Subtleties*) of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) (‘Index’, no. 22) and *Multaqā al-abḥur* (*The Meeting of the Seas*) of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549) (*Catalogus*, p. 12 [no. 25]) do not bear much similarity to Reland’s treatment. See Nasafī, *Kanz*, pp. 369–391; Ḥalabī, *Multaqā*, pp. 333–356. As is explained in the following footnote, Reland instead relied on a Shi‘i text, written in Persian.

60 The *Catalogus* (p. 10 [no. 1] = ‘Index’, no. 3) describes this work as ‘Giameng Abasi, h.e. Pandectae Abbasici sive Systema Juris Sacri & Civilis Muhammedici Persici conscriptum Jussu Regis Schach Abas, divisum in 20. capita liber accuratissimus ... (*Jāmi‘-i ‘Abbāsī*, or *The ‘Abbāsī Collection*, or: System of sacred and civil law of the Persian Muhammedans, composed on the order of the king Shāh ‘Abbās, divided in 20 chapters, a very accurate book ...). The sections on *jihād* in al-‘Āmilī’s work (see ‘Āmilī, *Jāmi‘-i ‘Abbāsī*, pp. 150–161 [§§ 143–149]) are titled as follows: § 143: Praise of *jihād*; § 144: Conditions for engaging in *jihād*; § 145: *Jihād* against hostile unbelievers; § 146: Modalities of *jihād*; § 147: Protections

rules regulating warfare in Islamic law: that war is to be waged in defense of Islam; that war may only be declared by the head of state (the *imām*); that certain restrictions and regulations must be respected concerning the treatment of prisoners of war and of booty; and other such things.

Regarding the second of d'Herbelot's accusations, namely that Muhammad claimed quasi-divine status and as such is the object of superstitious devotion among his followers, Reland seeks to set the record straight, too. Muhammad, he avers, had a rather healthy awareness of human fallibility, including his own. Reland cites Qur'an 10:98 ('If your Lord had willed, whoever is in the earth would have believed, all of them, all together'). This helps him to score a crucial point: Muhammad taught that 'all should be free to follow their own light, and to believe that to be true which thus seems to them'—a maxim with which Reland manifestly concurs.⁶¹ Muslims, Reland continues, know full well that Muhammad was a fallible human being. They even admit 'that Mahomet, with his own lips, spoke words which he did not believe to be true'.⁶² Here, Reland refers to the wellknown incident of the 'Satanic verses'. As the exegetes of the Qur'an related, the devil misled Muhammad into reciting these verses, which praise a number of polytheistic deities. However, realizing his mistake, Muhammad later retracted and expunged them from the Qur'an.⁶³

guaranteed to defeated unbelievers; § 148: Rules about armistice; § 149: Rules about booty. As against what one finds in the works mentioned in the previous footnote, this coincides neatly with the sequence of topics in Reland's work. Also content-wise, there is ample overlap. For example, Reland reproduces the five-fold classification (*aḥkām*) of acts of warfare that one finds in § 146 of al-ʿĀmilī's work (Reland, 'Krygs-recht', §§ 10–15). Reland's reliance on this text perfectly illustrates the 'usefulness' of studying Persian, a point he defended in his 1701 Utrecht inaugural address *Pro lingua Persica et cognatis literis Orientalibus* (*In Favour of the Persian Language and Cognate Oriental Idioms*). He did not suffer from the Arabocentrism that has marred so much of Western scholarship on Islam in the 20th and 21st centuries. Reland's manuscript of the *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī*, now kept in Vatican library (MS Vatican, BAV, in 1763), was written in 1045/1636 in Hyderabad, and possibly reached Reland through Cornelis Mutter (1659–1701 or 1704), who had been stationed there before returning to the Dutch Republic in 1698. On Mutter's connection with Reland, see Bart Jaski's contribution to this volume. On Reland's contribution to the study of Persian, see De Bruijn, "The Persian Studies of Adriaan Reland".

61 Reland, *Verhandeling*, p. 115: '... zy het eenen iegelyken vry zyn licht te volgen, en te gelooven, dat dat geene waar is, 't geen hem alzo schynt' = idem, *De religione Mohammedica* (1717), p. 161: '... liberum sit unicuique lumen suum sequi, & illud credere verum essere quod ipsi videtur'. It is noteworthy that this remarkable passage only occurs in the second, 1717 edition, not in the first, 1705 edition, of *De religione Mohammedica*, in the substantially enlarged fifth chapter of part two.

62 Ibid., p. 116.

63 See Ahmed, 'Satanic verses'.

Another Western misconception Reland seeks to debunk is that Muslims believe that ‘God prays for Muhammad.’⁶⁴ Reland devotes chapter eight of his *De religione Mohammedica* to this question, in the second part of his work, which is entitled ‘Book 2 over the Mahometan religion, treating some of the things that people accuse the Mahometans of without cause’. This misperception, Reland argues, is based on a mistranslation that ultimately goes back to Robert of Ketton’s Latin rendering of the Qur’an (see Qur’an 33:56).⁶⁵ This mistranslation concerns the formula *ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi*, which Muslims are encouraged to recite after every mention of the name Muhammad. The verb *ṣallā*, Reland explains, does not only mean ‘to pray’, but also, ‘to have a favourable opinion’, and this is how the formula ought to be understood: ‘May God have a favourable opinion of Muhammad’. Reland had ample resources at his disposal to reach such a conclusion. The 1761 auction catalogue of his manuscripts, the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum*, mentions no fewer than three works dealing with praise formulas for Muhammad, next to a manuscript of the story of his ascension, the *mi‘rāj*.⁶⁶ And indeed, Reland’s view finds support in the works of Muslim scholars, who generally understand *ṣallā* to mean ‘to bless.’⁶⁷ In sum, Reland maintains that Muhammad is not unduly venerated in Islam, let alone deified. The point of the pilgrimage to Mecca is not to worship Muhammad in his allegedly flying coffin, but to participate in an ancient ritual, a religious ceremony anchored in the remote past of humankind, pre-dating Islam.⁶⁸

64 Reland, *Verhandeling*, pp. 120–123: ‘Of zy gelooven, dat God voor Mohamet bid’.

65 As Henk van Rinsum points out to me, already in his 1996 *Exercitatio de symbolo Mohammedico* is Reland skeptical with regard to Ketton’s translation.

66 *Catalogus*, p. 6: ‘no. 19: Collected blessings on Muhammad, by “Abdalla Muhammed Sokeiker Anhaswaliensi”, in African script ...’ This corresponds to *De religione Mohammedica*, ‘Index codicum Orientalium Manuscriptorum’, no. 14, where the author’s name is given in Arabic as ‘Anhazūlī’, a garbled form of Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī, d. 869/1465, the Moroccan author of a celebrated collection of devotional prayers on the Prophet, the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*. Further, *Catalogus*, p. 8: ‘no. 41: Story of Muhammad’s rapture ...’, i.e. the *ḥadīth al-mi‘rāj* (= ‘Index codicum Orientalium Manuscriptorum’, no. 12); *ibid.*, p. 9: ‘no. 60: Several sermons and confessional formulas in praise of Mahomet..., in Arabic’; *ibid.*, p. 11: ‘no. 14: A Persian book containing much in praise of Mohamet ...’

67 Meier, *Segensprechung*, p. 1.

68 Reland, *Verhandeling*, p. 150.

4 Reland's Muhammad: A New Departure?

In what ways, if any, does Reland's treatment introduce new aspects into the European view of Muhammad? The gulf that separates him from the likes of Prideaux, Voltaire and de Boulainvilliers should by now be obvious on the basis of the above. But how does Reland's Muhammad compare to the Muhammad of his learned colleagues Pococke, Maracci and d'Herbelot? It is true, Reland continues to espouse the view shared by all these men that Islam should be studied first and foremost in order to refute it, and in this and other respects, 'his approach ... can only be regarded as highly traditional'.⁶⁹ However, as I would like to suggest here, the little shifts in perspective that Reland proposes add up to something more than just a cleverly 'partisan'⁷⁰ extension of the works of earlier scholars of the Republic of Arabic Letters.

First of all, let us note, as others have done,⁷¹ the remarkable fact that Reland completely disavows the insulting epithets that his contemporaries so commonly use to denigrate Muhammad. Nor does he indulge in lavish praise of Muhammad as particularly wise, just, or courageous. Instead of dismissing him as an impostor or reducing his significance to that of a mere statesman, throughout *De religione Mohammedica*, Reland refers to Muhammad simply as 'prophet'.⁷² Already in his notes to the 1701 edition of the Dutch translation of *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* (Rotterdam, Pieter Van der Veer), Reland had emphasised that the *shahāda*, the Muslim profession of faith, should not be rendered as 'I profess that God has not companion' (Dt. 'meede-genoot'), but ought also to include the formula 'and that Muhammad is his Messenger'.⁷³ In this context, it is also worth highlighting the straightforward manner in which Reland denounces the old fables about Muhammad, such as the belief that his coffin is suspended mid-air in the Ka'ba, or the story of the dove. As we saw above, others had preceded him in this, notably Erpenius and Pococke (though Maracci did, too), but d'Herbelot, in his *Bibliothèque orientale*, while steering clear of fables, makes no effort at all to reflect on earlier Western misconceptions. As for Maracci's and Pococke's attitudes toward Muhammad, the differences with Reland are palpable. As Snouck Hurgronje observed, while Maracci was unable to 'mention the name Muhammad without shivering', Reland's 'excellent little

69 Hamilton, 'Reland and Islam', p. 250.

70 Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 97.

71 Hamilton, 'Reland and Islam', p. 245.

72 See Snouck Hurgronje, 'Une nouvelle biographie', p. 323.

73 Ibn Ṭufayl, *De Natuurlyke Wysgeer*, p. 2. On Reland's contribution to the publication of this work, see the chapter by Remke Kruk and Arnout Vrolijk in the present volume.

book ... has a very different character'.⁷⁴ Like Maracci, Pococke was thoroughly unsympathetic to Muhammad. He 'continued to look on Muḥammad as the great impostor and Islam as the religion of the false prophet'.⁷⁵ Things may have been different with George Sale, but he wrote a generation later, and under the influence of Reland's work.⁷⁶

Secondly, there is something rather special about the way in which Reland goes about selecting his sources. 'All I can know about Muhammad's feelings', he declares in the preface to *De religione Mohammedica*, 'I must learn from his writings'.⁷⁷ Similarly, he begins his *Treatise on the Mahometans' Law of Warfare* by noting that 'we have a desire (Dt. "het lust ons") to relate the Mahometans' law of warfare on the basis of authentic (Dt. "echte") texts, and such as they themselves have determined it'.⁷⁸ This 'desire' to go back to 'authentic' sources is present in the work of other early modern scholars of Islam, but again there are differences. Maracci is famous for relying on a broad range of Arabic-Muslim sources, but he often cites them only in order to ridicule them.⁷⁹ Pococke and following him d'Herbelot rely on Arab Christian historians for their reconstruction of Muhammad's biography, which strikes one as problematic, even if it signals an important advance upon earlier uncritical reliance upon the Greek-writing Byzantine historians, which were more prone to distortion.⁸⁰ It seems significant that in *De religione Mohammedica*, when telling the story of Muhammad's life, Reland refers the reader, not to the standard texts of Eutychius, Bar Hebraeus and al-Makīn, but instead, to a short 'Turkish chronicle', the manuscript of which he had bought from Golius' *Nachlass*.⁸¹ Although Reland's apparent unwillingness to leave Utrecht restricted his ability to access manuscripts, we can still discern a distinct strategy to use specifically Muslim sources as much as possible. A splendid example of this is how Reland, in *De religione Mohammedica*, makes use of al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *K. al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (*The Book of Forty [Articles] on the Principles of Religion*), a work that repeats, in a succinct form, many themes

74 Snouck Hurgronje, 'Une nouvelle biographie', p. 322.

75 Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, p. 41.

76 Dimmock, *Mythologies*, p. 206.

77 Reland, *Verhandeling*, p. xlii.

78 Idem, 'Krygs-recht', p. 199.

79 Hamilton, 'Reland and Islam', p. 245.

80 Idem, 'Study of Islam', p. 175.

81 See Reland, *Verhandeling*, pp. 31–32, note (a).

of al-Ghazālī's *magnum opus*, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (*The Revivification of the Religious Sciences*), a pivotal work in the history of Islamic religious thought.⁸²

Thirdly and finally, to what extent is it possible to credit Reland with the ambition to emancipate the European study of Islam and of Arabic from its roots in expansionist politics, Christian interreligious polemics and inner-Christian confessional conflict? The decisive push for the autonomy of Western Arabic Studies is commonly attributed to the German Johann Jakob Reiske (1716–74) and the Frenchman Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838),⁸³ and one cannot really disagree with this view. As opposed to de Sacy and Reiske, Reland openly declared that the study of Arabic was first and foremost a help to Hebrew philology.⁸⁴ Besides, his versatility as a polymath scholar of languages, history, and religions, among other things, arguably undercut his ability to promote a single discipline, such as Arabic or Islamic Studies.⁸⁵ Reland also held that Islam should be studied in order better to understand the enemy of Christianity. Occasionally, he was candid about this: 'We are forced', he wrote in his *Treatise on the Mahometans' Law of Warfare*, 'to fight the Indian and Persian Muslims'; this is why, according to Reland, it is 'useful' to study the Muslims' ideas about warfare.⁸⁶ As noted, in many respects he was a man of traditionalist convictions.

However, Reland also points to the future.⁸⁷ Crucially, he insisted on studying the beliefs and practices of Muslims on their own terms. Most of his predecessors, learned or not, plainly reduced knowledge of Arabic and Islam towards other ends. By contrast, from Reland's writings, Muhammad emerges as a man who 'spoke in his own language' and 'followed his own light', a prophet deserving of study, not in order to undermine the civilization that he spawned, but to come to an honest assessment of his character and achievement. Reland thus

82 Idem, *De religione Mohammedica*, 'Index codicum Orientalium Manuscriptorum', no. 1. It seems rather likely to me that this is the 'short' and 'well-respected' work that Reland used as the source text for the first part of *De religione Mohammedica*, the 'Compendium theologiae Mohammedicae'. See Reland, *Verhandeling*, xli–xlii. The *K. al-Arba'in* is divided in four parts: (1) matters of creed (*al-aqā'id*); (2) ritual and 'outer behaviour' (*al-a'māl al-zāhira*); (3) vices (*al-akhlāq al-madhūma*); (4) virtues (*al-akhlāq al-maḥmūda*). See further Bouyges, *Essay*, pp. 50–51.

83 Fück, *Die arabischen Studien*, pp. 108–24 (Reiske), 140–157 (de Sacy); Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 82; Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 141–43. Alistair Hamilton credits Reland with achieving a certain 'progress' but thinks of 18th-century scholars, including Reland and Reiske, as less innovative than 17th-century scholars. See Hamilton, 'Study of Islam', p. 182.

84 Fück, *Die arabischen Studien*, 105; Hamilton, 'Outstanding Orientalist', p. 28.

85 See the pertinent remarks by Fück, *Die arabischen Studien*, p. 105.

86 Reland, 'Krygs-recht', p. 200.

87 Hamilton, 'Outstanding Orientalist', p. 28.

may not have revolutionised the European view of Muhammad but he can be said to have acted as a switchman, almost imperceptibly changing the course of thought of later interpreters and of the educated public at large.

We should note, however, that in certain quarters, his success was quite limited. For example, from 1777 to 1779, there appeared in The Hague a revised and updated edition of the *Bibliothèque orientale*. The revisions were the work of Reiske and his Dutch mentor, the professor of Oriental languages at Leiden, Albert Schultens (1686–1750). Schultens, who was a mere ten years younger than Reland, met Reland in Utrecht in 1708 and throughout the 1710s, and must have been well acquainted with *De religione Muhammadica*. And yet, the entry on Muhammad in the revised edition of the *Bibliothèque* remained unchanged from the earlier version of d'Herbelot. In Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751–72), there is no separate entry on Muhammad, but he is mentioned in the two entries written by Louis de Jaucourt, 'Alcoran' and 'Mahométisme', to an overall uneven effect. While in the entry 'Alcoran', we are back in the arena of Byzantine polemics—Muhammad is the 'false prophet' who composed the Qur'ān with the help of 'Batyras, a Jacobite heretic, Sergius, a Nestorian monk, and some Jews'—, the entry 'Mahométisme' seems inspired by de Boulainvilliers' enthusiasm: Muhammad had the 'audacity of Alexander the Great, but also the generosity and sobriety that Alexander lacked'; while parts of the Qur'ān, a text deemed generally 'incoherent' and full of 'contradictions, absurdities and anachronisms', are 'sublime'.⁸⁸ Reland's name does not appear in the *Encyclopédie*, to the single exception of a brief mention in the entry on the Greek city of Thebes.

Reland was more successful at home, in the Netherlands, and in the northern Protestant countries. When Jean Gagnier, a French refugee who taught Oriental languages at Oxford, published his biography of Muhammad (1732), in a spirit congenial to Reland he made sure to let only 'the best Arab authors' speak to the topic, having previously, in 1723, edited and translated (into Latin) the life (*sīra*) of Muhammad of the Syrian Muslim historian, Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331).⁸⁹ Reland also paved the way for Bernard Picart's and Jean-Frédéric Bernard's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Amsterdam 1723–43), dubbed in recent scholarship, because of its massive commercial success and its decentering of European views of other

88 *Encyclopédie*, s.v. Alcoran, vol. 1 (1751), pp. 250a–251b; s.v. Mahométisme, vol. 9 (1765), pp. 864a–68b. See Pfannmüller, *Handbuch*, 172: '[Regarding Muhammad,] the encyclopedists and their friends repeat, with typical hyperbole, the formulas of Voltaire.'

89 Abū al-Fidā', *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis*.

peoples, ‘the book that changed Europe’.⁹⁰ The fifth volume, published in 1737, is devoted to Islam. Picart, the engraver, used the engraving of the Ka‘ba featuring in the second edition of *De religione Mohammedica*, the same image that was also included in the front matter of George Sale’s *Koran* of 1734.⁹¹ Bernard, the author, compiled his text from the writings of de Boulainvilliers, d’Herbelot and Sale, but also and importantly, from Reland. In fact, he reproduces the entire preface of Reland’s *De religione Mohammedica*.⁹² While also Johannes Nomsz’ (1738–1803) Dutch biography of Muhammad (1780) owes much to Reland,⁹³ the cultural relativism that Reland’s work foreshadows—that is, the idea that different peoples should be ‘free to follow their own light, and believe that to be true which thus seems to them’—is fully articulated in the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (*Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Humankind*, 1784–91) of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). Muhammad, according to Herder, was ‘a wondrous combination of everything that nation, tribe, period and environment had to offer: merchant, prophet, preacher, poet, hero and lawgiver, everything according to the Arab style’.⁹⁴ From Herder, the view that Muhammad should be understood from within his own milieu (‘climate’, as Herder would have said) touched Goethe, from whom Thomas Carlyle took it in the later 19th century. It is a view that continues to inspire Arabists and Islamicists to this day.

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90 Hunt et al., *The Book that Changed Europe*.

91 Reland had based his engraving on a ‘Turkish’ oil painting shown to him by the Swedish scholar Michael Eneman, who had visited him in Utrecht. See Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 66.

92 Picart and Bernard, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, vol. 5, pp. 81–101. See Brafman, ‘Picart, Bernard, Hermes and Muhammad’, 150; Hunt et al., *The Book that Changed Europe*, 261–63.

93 As noted by Richard van Leeuwen in his contribution to this volume.

94 Herder, *Ideen*, p. 832 (§ IV, 19, IV).

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Adriaan Reland and Dutch Scholarship on Islam

Scholarly and Religious Visions of the Muslim Pilgrimage

Richard van Leeuwen

The development of Dutch Oriental studies and the study of Islam was from the beginning of the seventeenth century connected with the religious debates between the Catholic Church in Rome and the various Protestant communities in northern Europe. The Protestant scholars subverted the monopoly held by the Vatican on the study of Islam and its polemics against the ‘false’ faith, which was often based on incorrect presuppositions. Debates about Islam became rapidly entangled with opinions about religion in general or about Catholic doctrines and practices more specifically. In their anti-Catholic attitude the Protestant scholars even harboured some sympathy for certain aspects of Islam, although they emphasised that Muhammad should not be considered an authentic prophet. They argued for a more objective examination of Islam, to be able to counter the rivalling faith more effectively. This tendency can be clearly observed in publications about Islam in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

One may argue that the Protestant trend in Oriental studies culminated in Adriaan Reland’s famous compendium of Islamic doctrines *De religione Mohammedica*, which was published in 1705 and was subsequently translated into various languages. The second edition of the book, published in 1717, which was based on authentic Arabic manuscript sources, not only contained a concise but detailed survey of the main tenets and practices of Islam, but was also supplemented with a section in which the main European misperceptions of Islam were corrected. More significantly, in his preface Reland proposed a new approach to the European study of Islam detached from the conventional polemics propagated by the Catholic Church, which were based on medieval mystifications and erroneous interpretations of texts. In Reland’s view, the new approach should not only be based on Arabic sources, but also on a revised vision of Islam as a faith. Islam should no longer be seen merely as a misleading counterpart of Christianity, but rather as a self-contained religion, which, although not ‘true’ in the doctrinal sense, still deserved unprejudiced, neutral evaluation.¹

¹ Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, 1717.

Reland can be considered one of the prominent exponents of the rich tradition of Dutch Oriental scholarship represented by Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) and Levinus Warner (1618–1665), who worked mainly in the fields of grammar, lexicography and the collection of manuscripts. However, these scholars were not the only intellectual background from which Reland benefited for his work. In the shadow of these great figures others were working on collecting and processing information about the Levant and Islam which was not so much based on the disclosure of new manuscript sources, but rather on gathering information and contributing to the conceptualisation of the field and the complex scholarly and religious debates. It is these scholars which co-shaped the environment in which Reland could flourish. In this contribution we will focus on several works by Dutch travellers and scholars who contributed decisively to seventeenth century scholarship about Islam in several ways and thereby paved the way for Reland's efforts. To limit the field, we will concentrate on one particular component in Islam which was especially relevant for the new 'discovery' of the Orient in the early phases of globalisation and which reveals the way in which religious debates within Christianity and about Islam converged: the Hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca.²

1 The 'Discovery' of Mecca

Because Mecca was difficult to reach for non-Muslims, from the Middle Ages on the town was covered in mysteries and myths. When the contacts between Europe and the Muslim world intensified in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the number of European travellers to the Levant increased, the interest in the significance of Mecca as the centre of Islam and of the Muslim pilgrimage increased as well. Travellers described the ceremonies at the departure of the pilgrimage caravans from Cairo and Damascus, triggering the imagination of their European audience. Portugal became involved in the transport over sea of pilgrims from Asia, and Portuguese travellers visited the Muslim holy places as the first Europeans. Gradually, other Europeans succeeded in reaching Mecca, either incognito, or in the retinue of their Muslim masters. Through their reports information about Mecca and the Hajj trickled into Europe. In spite of the increase of knowledge about Islam through the often accurate accounts of travellers, it is surprising that the information about

2 See for a survey of Dutch Oriental studies: Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*; see also Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*.

Mecca and the Hajj should have been absorbed in European scholarship at a relatively slow pace. Although reports by travellers debunked the myth that Muhammad's coffin floated in the air between magnets in Mecca, and that the aim of the Hajj was the visiting of Muhammad's tomb, these convictions were still not completely extinct in the eighteenth century.³

Although the Dutch East India Company, the VOC, was involved in the struggle for the control of the Yemenite coastal towns and acquired a foothold in the Arabian peninsula at an early stage, there are no indications that Dutch merchants attempted to penetrate into the Arabian desert and explore the Muslim holy cities. The earliest reference to the Hajj in a Dutch text can be found in the account of the Flemish traveller Joos van Ghistele (1446–1516), who visited the Levant in the years 1481–1485. In Cairo Van Ghistele witnessed the departure of the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca, which he embeds in an extensive excursion into the history and geography of Arabia, mainly based on the work of the German traveller Bernhard von Breydenbach (*Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, 1486). Van Ghistele repeats the legend that Muhammad is buried in Mecca and that his coffin is suspended between magnets. He asks a guardsman who accompanies him to describe Muhammad's grave. After the description ('precious jewels', 'countless lanterns') the guardsman adds that he has heard this information from a pilgrim who had pulled out his eyes after 'beholding this most holy place, as everyone should do who covets to see this tomb'. When Van Ghistele asks him about the suspended sarcophagus, the guardsman answers that he has heard about this story, but does not know if it is true, although he understood that it used to be suspended in the past. Van Ghistele further refers to the annual caravans from Barbary, Persia, Egypt and Syria, the many precious gifts carried by them, and the presentation of the *kiswa*, the cloth covering the Ka'ba inside the Holy Mosque. He observes the festivities in Cairo and adds that every Muslim who does not visit the grave of Muhammad is doomed. He also mentions the custom of Muslims to wash themselves before appearing before the Prophet, in the conviction that in this way they not only cleanse their body, but also purify their soul. Van Ghistele refrains from comments on these observations and his description is in no way polemical.⁴

Another Flemish traveller who refers to the Hajj in the account of his journey to Spain and Morocco, is Nicolaes Cleynaerts, or Clenardus (1493–1542), a

3 Travellers included Ludovico Varthema (1470–1517; in Mecca in 1503; book published in 1510), Vincent Le Blanc (1586), and Johann Wild (1585–1619?; in Mecca in 1607; book published in 1613; it is not certain that the latter two accounts are authentic); Joseph Pitts (app. 1663–1739?; in Mecca app. 1684; book published in 1704/ 1731). See Ralli, *Christians at Mecca*; Freeth and Winstone, *Explorers of Arabia from the Renaissance to the Victorian era*.

4 Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, p. 26.

Catholic priest who in 1531 departed to Spain to learn Arabic and debate with the Muslims about their religious doctrines. In the passages about his stay in Spain he remarks that Muslims have the obligation to visit Mount 'Pharon' once in their life, 'where, as they piddle, Abraham used to pray'.⁵ The number of pilgrims should always be 600.000; when the number is less, they are supplemented by angels. This is according to their holy book, the 'nonsense-book Suna'.⁶ During the pilgrimage they visit the mountain 'Araphet', where, as they piddle, Adam and Eve were reunited after their fall from paradise. Clenardus describes the collecting of the pebbles in some detail:

At the foot of Mount Araphet is a sandy and plain desert where they spend the night with thousands simultaneously and diligently collect 63 pebbles, while chaplains walk around to warn them not to break big stones into small ones in order to reach the number more quickly. This would harm their religion as a whole. They put the pebbles in a small bag and go to Mina, where Abraham, as they claim, passed when he intended to sacrifice his son Isaïc. There are three pillars here surrounded with high heaps of pebbles, because the pilgrims, who spend three days here, throw seven pebbles every day while whispering salutes, and in this way dispense of the 63 pebbles. The origin of this ritual is that Isaïc, when he followed his father to be sacrificed, was addressed by the devil and advised not to obey his father: But Isaïc remained obedient and took seven stones to repel the devil. This happened on three occasions. I think this an 'aping' of the temptation of Christ, when the devil was repelled three times, too.⁷

Clenardus' attitude towards Islam is still determined by the Catholic stereotype of the false prophet and a revelatory book (here called 'Suna') disqualified as a 'collection of jokes', a ridiculous text full of stupidities and false claims with regard to the hereafter. The rituals of the pilgrimage are rejected as 'foolish' and 'ridiculous' and based on 'thick-skinned lies'.⁸ On the other hand, he has the 'modern' opinion that an open debate and knowledge of their textual sources could cure Muslims from their mistakes. In the words of Clenardus:

5 Clenard, p. 284.

6 Ibid.

7 Clenard, *Reys door verscheyde landen gedaen by den factoor van den doortluchtighesten koning van Portugal Emanuel de XIV*, pp. 284–287.

8 Clenard, pp. 284–287, passim.

It would be highly desirable that some people should be found willing to enlighten these blind people, the more so since they already believe that Christ is the word of God, born from the Virgin Mary, without a father made of flesh. The major problem is only that they believe that Mahomet was a greater prophet than Christ. This would have to be refuted [...] There are some who have written against them in Latin, but what is the use of writing and speaking to someone in a language that he does not understand? I hope to strive for this and for that purpose travel through Africa, because the books that are required for this are not available here. With this intention I have departed for Fez with my servant where the Mahometan religion is greatly respected and where many law-scholars reside, in the hope of acquiring the books and other things that I need.⁹

Clenardus reached Fez in 1540 and succeeded in collecting books and debating with scholars before he was expelled in 1541. He died in Granada impoverished and downtrodden in 1542.

The early Dutch accounts of travellers to the Levant include a book by Jan Somer about his journey to Constantinople and Cairo, among other places, in 1590–1592. In his description of the Ottoman capital he recounts that he has heard from Christians that many wealthy Turks sell all their possessions to be able to complete the journey to Muhammad's grave. When they have seen the grave, the most sacred place that can be beheld, they pull out their eyes and continue to live as beggars:

Back in Constantinople where they live they roam through the streets to demand bread for the sake of God. They do not take money and pass by the doors singing a song in honour of Mahomet's grave, indicating that they have visited the grave of Mahomet. They can be recognised by their clothes as well, since they are poorly clad, like the Lazarists in the Netherlands. Usually they pass by the doors in groups of ten or twelve persons, singing together. I have seen this not once but twenty times in Constantinople and have heard it being confirmed by Christians as true.¹⁰

The second print of the book is supplemented with a short overview of the religions customs, doctrines and laws of the Turks, compiled by an anonymous Christian slave, who 'has lived there as a prisoner for thirteen years'. The

9 Ibid., pp. 286–287.

10 The book was published in two editions, with identical title data: Somer, *Zee en landt reyse gedaen naer de Levante*, 1st edn. (1649), pp. 29–30.

description of the pilgrimage here is somewhat contradictory to his earlier statements, because the urge to visit the holy places is attributed to the desire for profit rather than to religious zeal. Somer recounts that to build Mecca, Muhammad asked the surrounding mountains to deliver stones. However, Mount Arafat arrived late, when Mecca had already been built:

Because the mountain Araphat-dagh was slower than the others because she came from far away, and when she saw that Mecca had already been built and her stones were no longer required, she began to weep bitterly. When Mahomet saw her weeping and heard the reason for her sadness, he said: Rejoice and do not be sad and put your contribution here: whoever will not have prayed on this stone, his pilgrimage will be invalid and useless. And Mahomet kicked the stone with his foot and drew water from it suitable for drinking. He called it *Abzomzem*, that is, purifying water, from which all pilgrims take a quantity to their homes in small vessels. And when someone dies, the clothes in which the dead body will be covered will be sprinkled with this water to forgive all his sins.¹¹

He further explains that the body of Muhammad is not buried in Mecca, but that a statue of him is placed in a corner of the 'temple' which is kissed by the pilgrims. Somer concludes by observing that the Muslims believe in this kind of 'foolishness' and 'lies', but he assures the reader that his spokesman has told the truth. From this description it is clear that Somer's source had not personally attended the ceremonies of the Hajj, but the information does not seem to be derived from conventional opinions.¹²

2 Simon Oomius (1630–1706)

The reports by Van Ghistele, Clenardus and Somer reveal a rather primitive knowledge of Islam, which is based more on vague sources than on a systematic study of texts. Apart from the accounts of travellers who saw Mecca with their own eyes, more Arabic sources were gradually made available within the networks of Protestant Orientalists. An important event in this respect was the publication of fragments from the history of Abū al-Faraj, which contained a detailed description of the ritual and which appeared in a translation

¹¹ Ibid., second edition (1649), p. 34; my translation.

¹² Ibid.

by the English Orientalist Edward Pococke in 1650.¹³ That Dutch scholars of the mid-seventeenth century had access to the most recent knowledge about Islam gathered within these networks is shown by a number of remarkable books. A significant work, written by the theologian Simon Oomius, a pupil of the famous theologian Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), is *Het geopende en wederleyde muhammedisdom* ('Muhammedanism explained and refuted'), published in 1663. In this work Oomius gives a general survey of the life of Muhammad and the history of Islam, before presenting a systematic discussion of Islamic doctrines.¹⁴

Oomius first of all remarks that many 'fables' about Islam are spread due to the accounts of travellers and others, and that there is a need for reliable information from Muslim authors and scholars. Only after this information is obtained can the claims and doctrines of the Muslims be revealed to be a hotch-potch of fables and heresies. This is especially important because Christians reproach each other for holding opinions similar to those of Muhammad and because some adopt his pernicious ideas. The Calvinists have been compared to the Turks and the Remonstrants have been vilified by reformed Protestants as 'propagators of the Turkish doctrine'. This is incorrect, according to Oomius: it is rather the doctrines of the Roman Catholics and Socinians which most resemble those of Islam. Throughout his book Oomius gives arguments for a combined refutation of Islam, Papism and Socinianism, which are seen as manifestations of the same evil.

Oomius adopts the conviction, popular in Protestant circles, that the expansion of the Muslims should be seen as a punishment by God, caused by the sinfulness and negligence of the Christians. Nevertheless, Muhammad is evidently a 'false prophet', a 'belligerent rapist', and a 'blasphemer'. He is compared with Pope Boniface III, who had himself declared head of the Church in 607. Muhammad and Boniface were both imposters and had similar opinions. Like Muhammad, the pope proscribed the examination of the source texts; both usurped worldly powers; both believed in charity, fasting, pilgrimage, and the merit of good works; both based their doctrines on ancient heresies; both endorsed the 'magical' effects of water as a means to wash away sins; and both indulged in carnal pleasures. Therefore, both deserved the qualification 'Antichrist'. Still, although he was an imposter, Muhammad was superior to the pope, because he was courageous and because his doctrines were chaste, forbade gambling and the theatre, and propagated frugality, charity, the

13 Edward Pococke, *Specimen historiae Arabum*, Oxford, 1650.

14 Oomius, *Het geopende of wederleyde Muhammedisdom*.

education of children, personal merit, the virtuousness of priests, obedience to the authorities, and good treatment of animals.

This complex attitude towards Islam, in which the Protestant dissatisfaction with Catholicism and the Islamic doctrines converge, is reflected in Oomius' discussion of Mecca and the Hajj. Here he reveals a considerable knowledge of the sources that were available at the time, although he could not read Arabic and therefore was unable to disclose new source material. He presents an extensive overview of opinions on the historical descriptions of Mecca and emphasised debated issues, such as the location of Muhammad's grave, referring to a large number of European Orientalists and translated fragments from Arabic authors, such as the Christian historians Elmacinus (Jirjis al-Makīn, 1205–1273; translated by Erpenius) and Abū al-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus, 1226–1286; translated by Pococke), and the theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111; fragments of his work were already known in the fifteenth century; some were translated by Hottinger and Pococke, see below). His European sources include works by Breydenbach, mentioned above, the Protestant traveller Salomon Schweigger (1551–1662), who worked on a translation of the Qur'ān, the Scottish traveller William Lithgow (1582–1645), the universalist scholar Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) and the Swiss scholar and theologian Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667). He refers to the translations of the Qur'ān by Theodore Bibliander (1509–1564) and André Du Ryer (1580–1660 or 1672), which had been translated into Dutch in 1641 and 1657.¹⁵ This impressive array of sources indicates the upsurge of Oriental scholarship within the Protestant networks in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Oomius begins his discussion of the Hajj by observing that Muhammad has made the pilgrimage to his grave obligatory for pious believers and 'monks' at a fixed time. The journey to Mecca is meant as expiation for sins, although according to some a visit to Jerusalem and Bethlehem is also required for complete forgiveness. The custom to visit the grave of the prophet is strictly obeyed and every year tens of thousands of pilgrims set out for Mecca. Oomius mentions the legends about the construction of the holy temple by angels, Adam, Abraham and Ishmael, and adds that according to some historians it was a place where the planets were worshipped. He elaborates on the black stone in the Ka'ba, which originally came from paradise and was returned there temporarily during the Flood. He mentions the rebellion of the Carmathians, the changing of the colour of the black stone, which was originally white and enlightened the whole of Mecca, the role of Abraham and Hagar, and the kissing of the stone by the pilgrims. Finally, he remarks that Muhammad has

¹⁵ See for more information about these scholars: Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*.

commanded the believers to ask forgiveness from the stone, weeping and sighing, and to beg for help against their enemies. He concludes by saying that although Muhammad rejected idolatry, he still preserved the customs and ceremonies of the idolaters, and can therefore be accused of superstition.¹⁶

Oomius subsequently lists the various components of the pilgrimage ritual, and here his tone becomes increasingly polemical. He compares Islamic customs with the 'Papist' superstitions. After all, the 'Romans' also have their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome, Compostela and Loreto, or to temples, tombs, relics and statues, to receive blessing, help and mercy. The Muslims, too, have the custom to visit graves, where priests collect large amounts of money as guards and caretakers. It is for financial gain that priests, Papists and other 'belly-servants' propagate pilgrimage with godless lies and fables.

As a doctrine connected with the expiation of sins, the Hajj is compared with the Catholic custom of indulgences, which was one of the main grievances of the Protestants against the Vatican, and with the concept of holy years, initiated by the popes to lure the believers to come to Rome. Pope Boniface VIII, a 'true monster', of whom it is said that he 'sneaked in like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog',¹⁷ installed the custom of holy years in which the believers were summoned to visit Rome and which were declared with increasing frequency. And 'who knows what else will come from these harpies and devourers of the goods and blood of the people'.¹⁸ But God has punished them for their greed: After a number of holy years plagues broke out and severe defeats were suffered against the Turks. The idea of holy years emerged simultaneously with the rise of the Turks, who profited from them. Oomius concludes: 'We reject Muhammadan and Papist pilgrimages because we know that God has not connected His help and mercy to a place on earth'.¹⁹

Oomius' treatise about Islam is not well-known, probably because it was written in Dutch and because it was not based on new, original sources, but it is arguably the most complete example of the entwining of scholarly and religious debates in Europe in the seventeenth century. His argument is built on a large corpus of literature, which was clearly accessible in the Dutch Republic at the time.

16 Ibid., pp. 451–472.

17 Ibid., p. 469.

18 Ibid., pp. 469–472.

19 Ibid., p. 471.

3 Olfert Dapper

A second work containing an extensive overview of knowledge about Mecca and the Hajj is the geographic-ethnological encyclopaedia by the geographer Olfert Dapper (1636–1689), entitled *Naukeurige beschryving van Asie* ('A precise description of Asia'). The book, which pertains to the discipline of geography, but still pays substantial attention to religion, was published in Amsterdam in 1680 and includes a detailed map of the Arabian peninsula.²⁰

Dapper's encyclopaedia gives a detailed survey of the history and doctrines of Islam. The Hajj is described in a separate chapter about the town of Mecca and in the section about the faith. Dapper begins by defining the 'Kaba' as the 'chapel' in the 'temple' of Mecca, and the term 'Haram', which 'indicates the boundaries around the city which are indicated with towers at five, seven or ten miles distance from the city. In this area it is not permitted to kill living creatures or attack an enemy'. In the centre of the temple 'Alharam' ('Beyth Allah Haram') stands the chapel surrounded by the spaces for the four sects. The Ka'ba has a silver door that can be reached by using a wheeled stairway. It is covered with red and white silk on the inside and a silk cloth on the outside, which is replaced every year by the sultan of Cairo. The Ka'ba was built by Adam and restored by Abraham. Muhammad destroyed the idols that had become objects of veneration during the course of time, and removed the altar stones around them. Dapper also mentions the Zamzam well, whose water is used by the pilgrims for the sake of health and forgiveness, and the black stone, which, according to the fictions of Arabic authors (here al-Zamakhsharī, via Pococke) was brought from paradise by Adam. The stone was initially white, but turned black after it was touched by a menstruating woman, or, according to others, by sinners.²¹

The pilgrimage, which is extensively described by Dapper, was, according to him, initiated by Abraham. In the Muslim world every year five caravans leave from Cairo, Constantinople, Damascus, Persia, the Maghreb and the Mughal empire, under the command of an 'Emir Hazjzj' and accompanied by troops. The pilgrimage is partly undertaken to obtain immunity against punishment for sins, comparable to Catholic indulgences. The pilgrims sing songs from the Qur'ān or enact rituals of love and mercy. Two days before arrival, in 'Rabak' (Rābigh) pilgrims strip their clothes and cover themselves in two sheets and wooden shoes, promising not to shave, trade, kill, fight or curse for eight days. They follow an imam walking around the temple, reciting 'ridiculous' prayers and performing dances with 'ridiculous' movements of the shoulders. Then

20 Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijving van Asie*.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 42–45, 19–20.

they walk around the Ka'ba seven times, walk to Mina and Arafat and throw stones. They believe that on Mount Arafat Adam looked for Eve after the fall from paradise. To complete the pilgrimage, the Muslims visit the grave of the prophet in Medina. Dapper adds that the Turks burst out laughing when they hear about the story of the suspended coffin.

In his description of the Hajj rituals Dapper, who did not know Arabic and never travelled to the Levant, refers to a large number of sources, both European and Arabic (in translation).²² Some of these works had been published only recently, and Dapper's references show not only how precise and well-versed he was, but also that Dutch scholars were in the forefront of this kind of research. His description is very elaborate and detailed and mentions many transliterated Arabic terms and names. His approach also reveals his broad vision of his discipline, because he does not confine himself to geographical descriptions, but acknowledges the importance of culture, socio-ethnic communities and, of course, religion.

Dapper's work shows a clear break with the polemical tropes of the medieval discourse about Islam, but it is not free of polemical overtones. A number of rituals are disqualified as 'ridiculous' and he is apparently intrigued by the observation that every year after the sacrificial feast (Bayram) heavy rains fall which rinse clean the place of the sacrifice. These rains fall every year after the third day of the ritual, although the Muslim calendar moves ten days annually. Dapper observes that the pilgrims loosen their turbans and throw them out to touch the presents of the Muslim kings to Mecca, since 'the Mohammedans treat these gifts with no less respect than the Papists attribute to their relics'. The pilgrimage as a whole is nothing more than a ruse to bind the believers to the faith: 'The notorious Prophet Mohammed, who was a conjurer and a sly hypocrite, has confirmed the ancient custom of the pilgrimage, to seduce people and win their hearts, to reinforce his dominion'. Dapper closes his survey with a quotation from the theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, that the pilgrimage has no meaning and is no more than a decree of God. He quotes Abū al-Faraj as well:

Pilgrimage is only an image or sketch of the exit from the world, and an example of the journey to the future world. Most customs enacted during the pilgrimage have no other purpose than to test man, to see if he is prepared to obey what is imposed upon him.²³

22 Sources include: Abū al-Faraj, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Jannābī, al-Ghazālī, Abū al-Fidā', Šafy al-Dīn, Euthymius, Ibn al-Athīr, Gabriel Sionita, Jacob ben Sidi Ali, Hottinger, al-Bayḍāwī and Maimonides.

23 Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijving van Asie*, p. 45.

4 Adriaan Reland

The books by Oomius and Dapper show how, in the second half of the seventeenth century, efforts were made to glean knowledge about Islam from a broad reservoir of sources and collect it in extensive surveys. These works are a prelude to the important compendium *De religione Mohammedica* (1705; 1717) by Adriaan Reland (1676–1718) who was professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht. In the book, which is considered a landmark in scholarship of Islam because of its relatively objective purport, Reland dedicates a separate chapter to the Hajj. He first explains that five obligations are required for a valid performance of the Hajj: the intention to travel to Mecca and the required religious vow; standing at Arafat; shaving or shortening the hair in Mina; the circumambulation of the Ka'ba; and, finally, running to and fro between al-Safa and al-Marwa. The details of the ritual are added in a footnote, explaining the procedures day by day. The circumambulation (*tawāf*) is described in detail: the first three rounds should be completed running, shaking the shoulders, followed by the kissing of the black stone. Reland adds that according to Abū al-Faraj's history 'heretics' laugh at the *tawāf*, which they compare to an 'ox walking on the threshing floor'.²⁴ In the second part of his book, Reland corrects the false opinions that Muslims think that they will be cleansed of their sins by washing their body and that they travel to Mecca to see the tomb of the prophet.²⁵ It is mainly this critical component which strengthened Reland's reputation as an apologist of Islam, an accusation that he rejects emphatically in his foreword. Still, for both his admirers and his adversaries he retained the reputation of having a (too) positive evaluation of Islam, turning him into a point of reference in the debates that followed throughout the eighteenth century.

Although Reland's treatise is usually praised for its objectivity, his description of the Hajj is not deprived of polemical comments. Reland emphasizes that the rituals of the pilgrimage go back to pre-Islamic times and are associated with Abraham the Patriarch. Rituals like running, washing and throwing stones were practised by the Arabs before the time of Muhammad, but subsequently fell into abeyance. They were restored by the Prophet in an adapted form. For instance, pilgrims used to perform the ceremonies naked, but Muhammad obliged them to cover themselves. Reland confirms that the pilgrimage is only legitimized by a decree from God and not by a 'natural light' or 'healthy reason'. In his evaluation some criticism shines through:

²⁴ References are to: Reland, *Verhandeling van de godsdienst der Mahometaanen*, pp. 81–89.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 90–91.

... and that God wanted to impose matters such as these, whose meaning, or the reason why they are imposed by God, cannot be comprehended by human reason, intending that humans should learn to obey God in everything, not because they understand that it is just and adequate with regard to God, but only because God has ordained it.²⁶

Reland refers to Pococke's quotation of al-Ghazālī, who says that the ritual has no connection with the mind or the heart, or with nature, and that the mind should not look for a meaning. It is merely an obligation, which 'should not be scrutinized by the mind or the soul'.²⁷ Reland also mentions Maimonides' 'teacher Abū Shafar', who has said that these ceremonies are not absurd, but are based on 'natural reason': Man should be in harmony with the celestial bodies and for that purpose 'cleanse themselves and move in circles'.²⁸

All these observations indicate an interesting turn in the debate, that is, the tendency to separate knowledge from polemics aiming at a more objective evaluation. Reland is not averse to criticizing Islam, but a compendium of Islamic doctrines is not the same as a book against Islam. Although he feels obliged to defend his approach in his preface against accusations of endorsing Islam, in his survey he does not embark upon polemics against the Muslims or, for that matter, the Catholic Church. Significantly, there is no comparison between the Hajj and Catholic forms of pilgrimage. In this work Reland sets the tone for many later works about Islam in Protestant countries. He argues that it is necessary to present Islam 'not tarnished or covered with the fumes of calumny or errors, but as it is taught in the churches and schools of the Mohammedans', not in order to endorse Islam, but rather 'to convince our own minds of the falsity [of Islam], if not the minds of the Turks themselves'. And, Islam should not be seen as mere folly: 'Mohammedans are not as mad or possessed as we should like to think. Sound understanding is distributed equally among mankind'. Hitherto Islam was studied only by polemicists who 'did not combat the Mohammedan faith but their own illusions and shadows'.²⁹

In the Dutch Republic his approach was followed in the great survey of world religions edited by Bernard and Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de toutes peuples du monde* (Amsterdam, 1723–1743), and in the remarkable biography of Muhammad written by Johannes Nomsz, *Mohammed, of de hervorming der Arabieren* ('Muhammad, or the reformation of the Arabs', Amsterdam,

26 Ibid., p. 90.

27 Ibid., pp. 87–89.

28 Ibid., pp. 87–89, 126, 148.

29 Quoted in Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, p. 67.

1780), in which the pilgrimage to Mecca is a major narrative theme. In England, Reland's treatise was translated in a collection entitled *Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Mahometans* (London, 1722), and it served as a reference for the famous new translation of the Qur'an by George Sale (1734). In France, it was the source of inspiration of the biography of Muhammad by Comte de Boulainvilliers (*La vie de Mahomed*, 1730).

The importance of Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* with regard to the Hajj does not end here. A very interesting addition to the 1717 edition of the book is an engraving of the holy mosque in Mecca. The engraving is the first detailed and reliable image of the mosque in a European publication, after a number of mainly fictional representations in earlier works. For his engraving Reland used a rather mysterious oil painting that was brought from the Levant by the Swedish diplomat and Orientalist Michael Eneman, who on his return journey to Sweden visited Reland in Utrecht.³⁰ The painting is unique and mysterious, because it definitely looks European, but cannot be made by a European painter, because Europeans had no access to Mecca. However, in the Ottoman Empire there was no tradition of oil painting and the origin of the work, which conveys a precise image of the holy mosque, remains unknown. It may have been the work of a European painter residing in Istanbul or an Ottoman Christian painter versed in oil techniques. Whatever may have been the case, Reland obtained permission to copy the painting, adapting the perspective somewhat because 'Turks are not very accurate as far as proportions are concerned'.³¹

Reland's engraving remained for a long time the standard representation of the holy mosque. It was reproduced in the English translation of his work in *Four treatises*, mentioned above, and in the important account by Joseph Pitts of his journey to Mecca in the retinue of his Muslim master (1731).³² It acquired a remarkable descendant: a lacquer plate showing the holy mosque in Mecca. The plate, which is clearly based on Reland's representation, was probably fabricated in Japan in the eighteenth century and subsequently presented to an administrator of the Dutch Indies. There are two copies extant, one which ended up in Jerusalem, and another held by the museum of Groningen in the

30 See about Eneman: Östlund, 'A Lutheran in the Holy Land'.

31 See for the painting and Reland's engraving: Tütüncü, 'The Uppsala Mecca Painting'. Another representation was published soon afterwards in Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurfeiner historischen Architektur* (1721). The provenance of this representation is unknown; see Grabar, 'A Preliminary Note on Two Eighteenth-Century Representations of Mecca and Medina'.

32 See Auchterlone, *Encountering Islam; Joseph Pitts: An English Slave in 17th-Century Algiers and Mecca*.

Netherlands. This peculiar object shows not only how influential Reland's work was, but also how Dutch Oriental scholarship, connected with Dutch trade, was integrated in the early phases of globalisation.³³

5 Conclusion

This concise overview makes clear to what extent Dutch Oriental studies were at the interface between economic and political interests and religious debates. The Islamic pilgrimage, as a phenomenon that was linked to the increasingly intimate contacts between Europe and the Muslim world, became a focus of interest both within the process of globalisation—as exemplified by the travellers' accounts—and scholarly debates. It was seen as a ritual in which several aspects of Islam converged and which was gradually purged of its medieval mystifications. Apart from this, it was seen as a doctrine which highlighted the controversies between Catholics and Protestants and gained prominence in the inter-Christian polemics. The Hajj not only symbolised the differences between Islam and Christianity, but also the differences between the northern European Protestants and the Roman Church. In this respect it is illustrative of the change in the judgement and appreciation of Islam: in Protestant Oriental studies as practised by Reland, Islam is not so much a reprehensible Christian sect as an autonomous religion deserving a thorough and unbiased examination. Although scholars such as Oomius and Dapper did not disclose new source material and retained a certain polemical attitude, they prepared the way for Reland's 'modern' vision of religion which remained influential in European perceptions of Islam.

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33 Schweizer and Shalem, 'A Japanese Lacquer Plaque of the Haram in Mecca'.

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PART 2

Reland and the World



The First Dutch Translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*, Reland's Annotated Version and the Mysterious Translator S.D.B.

Remke Kruk and Arnoud Vrolijk

Ibn Ṭufayl's (d. 1185 CE) *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān* has a long history in Dutch. After Edward Pococke's (d. 1691) edition of the Arabic text with accompanying Latin translation by his son had been published in 1671, a Dutch translation based upon Pococke's Latin followed suit in 1672.¹ The translation remained anonymous, but the translator provided it with an introduction (Dutch 'voor-reede') in which he states how he became fascinated by the text upon reading Pococke's Latin and decided to translate it into Dutch. The introduction also contains some basic remarks on prominent Muslim scholars named in the text or otherwise connected to Ibn Ṭufayl. Pococke's introduction to the text was not included in the Dutch translation.

The anonymous translation of 1672 was re-edited twice in 1701. One of the publishers/printers, Pieter Van der Veer of Rotterdam, added a preface, in which he referred to the publication in the previous year of a reprint of the two Pocockes' Arabic and Latin text. Van der Veer's re-edition was reprinted in 1721 by Hendrik Schouten in Utrecht, who used Van der Veer's original printing forme.²

The two 1701 re-editions both say on the title page: 'translated into Dutch by S.D.B.'³ The meaning of the intriguing initials 'S.D.B.' has been the subject of much speculation. As early as in 1896 the Spinoza scholar Koenraad Oege Meinsma tentatively suggested that these initials, read from right to left (was

1 Ibn Ṭufayl, *Het Leeven van Hai ebn Yokdhan* (1672). Rieuwertsz also published many of Spinoza's works.

2 Schouten's use of the original printing forme, which on close inspection is indeed unmistakable, as well as the fact that he pasted over Van der Veer's name under the introductory word with his own, were pointed out by Steven de Jooode in a reaction of 26 November 2012 to Verdult, 'Ibn Tufayl en zijn eerste Nederlandse vertaler'. Verdult's blog offers much useful information about the Dutch versions of *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*.

3 About these two re-editions, their years of publication, and the occurrence of S.D.B. in either one or both of them there exists a lot of confusion in the secondary literature, see for instance, Funke, *Philosophus autodidactus*, p. 112 n. 8.

he thinking of Hebrew?), might refer to Benedict (or Baruch) de Spinoza (d. 1677).⁴ This suggestion was taken over in much of the secondary literature, where it was soon treated as an established fact, reinforcing other guesses and unproven assumptions about Spinoza's involvement with the Dutch translation of 1672, in which S.D.B. was not mentioned, and about the perceived similarities between the ideas of Ibn ʿUfayl and Spinoza, which would have stimulated the interest in providing a Dutch translation.⁵ Spinoza's friendship with two of the founding members of the society *Nil Volentibus Arduum* (see below) very likely played a role in this matter. While the S.D.B.-Spinoza connection seems unlikely, as has repeatedly been pointed out, the question remains: who was S.D.B.? This problem will be discussed in the second part of this article.

1 Bouwmeester's 1672 Translation and the 'Revised' 1701 Editions

Whether Spinoza ever read *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* or was influenced (directly or indirectly) by its ideas is not the subject of the present article. All that can be said here is that there is no indication that he read either Pococke's translation, the Dutch version based on it, or older translations, such as the anonymous Hebrew translation used by Moses of Narbonne (d. 1362) for his commentary on the text, or the commentary itself, which probably was written in 1349.⁶ Manuscripts of this text are found across Europe.⁷

As for the Dutch translator: although the translation is anonymous, it can no longer be doubted that the text was translated from Pococke's Latin by Joannes Bouwmeester at the instigation of the Dutch society for the arts (Dutch 'kunstgenootschap') *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, founded in 1669. Two of Spinoza's friends and adherents, Lodewijk Meyer and Joannes Bouwmeester, were founding members. Records of the society's meetings show that the task of translating *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* into Dutch was entrusted to Bouwmeester, a task which he duly fulfilled. For the benefit of non-Dutch readers, we shall here

4 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 440–441 n. 2.

5 A few examples: Hawi says that Spinoza urged Bouwmeester to translate the text, also mistakenly stating that Spinoza's initials appeared in the translation of 1672, see Hawi, *Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism*, p. 22 n. 2; Funke, *Philosophus autodidactus*, p. 112 n. 8, referring to earlier German publications, passes on muddled information. Spinoza's involvement is wrongly mentioned in the introduction to the first edition of Kruk's Dutch translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, see Kruk (ed. and tr.), *Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn ʿUfayl*.

6 Conrad, 'Research resources on Ibn ʿUfayl and *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*', p. 281.

7 Funke, *Philosophus autodidactus*, pp. 117–118, discusses some of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's (d. 1494) ideas and their possible connection to Ibn ʿUfayl.

translate the relevant passages from Balthazar Huydecopers' minutes of the society's proceedings, edited and translated by B.P.M. Dongelmans in 1982:

[109] 1671. 29 December. [It has been decided that] Bouwmeester will translate a certain Arabic book from Latin, on penalty of having to pay a ducaton⁸ if it is not ready before May.⁹

[126] 1672. 26 April. (...) Bouwmeester, Vincent and Lingelbach submit what had to be ready before May on penalty of a ducaton: the first being the History of Hay Ebn Yokdan (...) [complete title of the published edition is given].¹⁰

[150] 1672. 11 October. (...) Bouwmeester [presents each member with a copy of] (...) het Leeven van Hay Ebn Yokdan, translated by him from Latin.¹¹

Back to the year 1701, the two re-editions, and their various remarkable aspects. One re-edition was published in Amsterdam by Willem Lamsveld (also: Lamsvelt, Van Lamsvelt) with the title: *Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan, in het Arabisch beschreeven door Abu Jaaphar Ebn Tophail, En uit de Latynsche Oversettinge van Eduard Pocock. A.M. in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B. Waar in getoond wordt, hoe iemand buiten eenige ommegang met Menschen, ofte onderwyzinge, kan komen tot de kennisse van zich zelve, en van God.* Apart from the ascription to S.D.B., this title is identical to that of the 1672 edition. As for illustrations, there are eight engravings made by Jan Lamsveld.

The marginal explanatory notes in Latin from the 1672 Dutch translation have been included in the re-edition, and also the references to the Qur'ān, mentioning names, sometimes also numbers, of the sūras but not the verses. As for the differences between this re-edition and the 1672 edition: these basically consist of adaptations in the orthography (different, however, from those in the Van der Veer re-edition) and, very occasionally, the replacement of a word (sometimes mistakenly).¹² The title of the other 1701 re-edition, published by

8 A silver coin with a value of 63 stuivers.

9 Dongelmans, *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, p. 78.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

12 For example: Rieuwertsz, p. 4 l. 37, text: *overnatuurkundige dingen*, margin: *Metaphysica* = Lamsveld, p. 12 l. 22, text: *natuurkundige dingen*. Cf. Van der Veer, p. 13 l. 1, text: *bovennatuurlijke dingen*, marginal note omitted. From here onwards the three Dutch translations of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* are referred to as Rieuwertsz (*Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, 1672), Lamsveld (*Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, 1701) and Van der Veer (*De Natuurlyke Wysgeer, Of Het Leven van Hai Ebn Jokdan*, 1701).

Pieter Van der Veer in Rotterdam, is different, but also includes the mysterious S.D.B. It also states that the text has been compared again with the Arabic original and has been provided with some explanatory notes: *De Natuurlyke Wysgeer, Of Het Leven van Hai Ebn Jokdan, in het Arabisch beschreven door Abu Jaaphar Ebn Tophail. Voordezen uit de Latynsche Overzetting van Eduard Pocok, A.M. in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B. En nu op nieuws met de Arabische Grondtext vergeleken, en met Aanmerkingen over eenige duistere Plaatzten en Spreekwyzen verrykt*. As for illustrations, there is a frontispiece plus five other engravings [Fig. 5.1].¹³ Just as in the Lamsveld edition, the marginal explanatory notes in Latin from the 1672 edition have, with a few adaptations, been included in the reprint, and so have the references to the Qurʾān, also with slight alterations.¹⁴

The publisher Van der Veer, just like Lamsveld, includes the introduction (Dutch ‘voorrede’) of the anonymous Dutch translator to the 1672 edition. Van der Veer also provides his edition with a preface addressing the reader, signed P. Van der Veer. It takes up eight pages of the edition. This is followed by the introduction added to the 1672 edition by its anonymous translator, and subsequently Van der Veer has included a panegyric poem ‘On the life of Hai Ebn Jokdan’ by Lud. Schouten (a person on whom no information could be found), in which Schouten praises what in his view is the major message of Ibn Ṭufayl’s work: that it is possible to rise above the passions and preoccupations with the physical world and to come to the ultimate and continuous adoration of God by contemplating everything that He has created, including one’s self.

Van der Veer’s preface is a strong and to-the-point recommendation of Ibn Ṭufayl’s *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*. He states that the work presents excellent thoughts on all the main elements of religion: the existence of an eternal, perfect Being who has created the universe and continues to direct it and care for it; the immortality of the soul; the difference between good and evil; reward and punishment in the hereafter. It also gives scientific explanations for a number of natural phenomena. It could be characterised, in short, as a summary presenting the essence of Arabic philosophy as a whole (Dutch text: ‘het kort begrip, of liever het Pit en Merg der gantsche Arabische Wysbegeerte’).

We trust that it will give the reader a clear picture of the wisdom and knowledge, both of natural and supernatural affairs, that has existed for

13 The latter were included in my own translation of 1985. See Kruk, *Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Tufayl* (as in n. 5).

14 For example, when comparing Rieuwertsz, p. 79 margin, with Van der Veer, p. 247 margin, one sees that Van der Veer omits the number (41) of the sūra.

many centuries among the Muslim philosophers who by the majority of Christians are deemed so uncouth, uncivilised and ignorant of all theological and human knowledge that a person who studies their language, religion and antiquities is seen by most people as a person who peruses nothing but confabulations.¹⁵

Continuing, Van der Veer mentions the earlier translation of 1672 and the deficiencies resulting from the fact that it had been translated from Latin and not directly from Arabic. 'In order to remedy this as much as possible I have asked someone with knowledge of Arabic to be of assistance and to peruse the Dutch translation in his free hours, comparing it with the original Arabic'. This work, he says, was successfully carried out, and, moreover, resulted in the elucidation of some difficult passages with explanatory notes. He thus states that he is confident of doing the scholarly community a favour by presenting them with this new edition.

The views presented here are obviously in the spirit of Reland and anticipate his apologia for the study of Islam as expounded in the introduction to *De Religione Mohammedica*. Was he perhaps involved in composing these introductory words, or was he even the author? We do not know, but it is certainly a possibility. As it is, Reland's name, so prominently mentioned on the title page of Schouten's reprint of 1721 discussed below (but not in the preface of that edition, which is simply taken over from Van der Veer, with the latter's name pasted over with Schouten's) occurs nowhere in Van der Veer's edition. Might the fact that his appointment as professor of Hebrew in Utrecht was pending (he took up the chair in 1701) have been the reason for this anonymity? Adherence to Spinozism was not something blatantly advertised in seventeenth-century Holland, as has been shown, for instance, by Gerrit Jongeneelen¹⁶ and as can be seen in the affair of the bookseller Timotheus ten Hoorn mentioned below.¹⁷ At the University of Utrecht, the Voetians dominated the academic discourse in the seventeenth century. As Hamilton has pointed out,¹⁸ the strong anti-Cartesian sentiments in Utrecht gradually simmered down towards at the end of the seventeenth century, even to the point that in 1694 Reland could defend his strongly anti-Aristotelian dissertation there, *De libertate philosophandi*. However, as Hamilton also shows, it took a

15 *De natuurlyke wysgeer*, pp. 3–4 ('Berigt van den drukker aan den lezer').

16 Jongeneelen suggests that Verwer's contact with Reland may have played a role in the latter's involvement with the Van der Veer re-edition, see Jongeneelen, 'Disguised Spinozism', p. 17.

17 See below, p. 131.

18 Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians in Utrecht', pp. 99–100.



FIGURE 5.1 Frontispiece and title page of *De natuurlyke wysgeer, of het Leven van Hai ebn Jokdan*, Rotterdam, by Pieter Van der Veer, 1701

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De Natuurlyke
W Y S G E E R,
 Of
 HET LEVEN VAN
HAI EBN JOKDAN,

In het Arabifch befchreven door
ABU JAAPHAR EBN TOPHAIL.

Voordezen uit de Latynfche Overzetting van
 EDUARD POCOK, A. M.

In het Nederduitfch vertaald door S. D. B.

*En nu op nieuws met de Arabifche Grond-
 text vergeleken, en met Aanmerkingen
 over eenige duistere Plaatzten en Spreek-
 wyzen verrykt.*



Te ROTTERDAM,
 By PIETER VAN DER VEER,
 Boekverkoper, 1701.

ACADEMIE

while before the Cartesians definitively prevailed over the Voetians. Thus, even in 1701 Reland may still have considered it advisable not to be explicitly associated with Ibn Ṭufayl, so popular in Spinozist circles.

For those who read the notes to the translation after Reland's *De Religione Mohammedica* had appeared in 1705, Reland's authorship of the revision published by Van der Veer is abundantly clear, and it is explicitly stated in the title of the reprint published in 1721 in Utrecht by Hendrik Schouten with the same frontispiece and illustrations, but with yet another title, which combines and expands the information provided by the two 1701 re-editions, and explicitly adds that the revision and explanatory notes were made by Reland: *Het wonderlyk En Zeldzaam Levens geval van Hai Ebn Jokdan, waar in getoont wort, hoe imant buiten eenig ommegang met Menschen, ofte onderwysinge kan komen tot de kennisse van zich zelve en van God. Zynde desen druk met de Arabische grondtext vergeleken door den Heer Adriaan Reland, in zyn Leven Hoog-Leeraar der Heilige Outheden En Oostersche Talen in de Academie van Utrecht.*

Apart from the title page and the frontispiece, Schouten's edition is identical to that of Van der Veer, including the poem by Lud. Schouten. Schouten has simply used the original printing forme of Van der Veer, remarkably still available after twenty years, but pasted his own name over Van der Veer's at the end of the preface.

These two editions, Van der Veer's and Schouten's, have given rise to new myths and inaccuracies, namely concerning the nature of Reland's involvement with the text. This involvement is usually (and accurately) referred to as a revision, but some publications also present Reland as translator.¹⁹ While this is obviously wrong, the question has rarely been asked what his 'revision' entailed. As we will show, it was not nearly such an extensive operation as is suggested by the phrases in Van der Veer's preface (possibly composed by Reland himself) about the deficiencies of the older translation having been remedied through comparison with the original Arabic.

Of what, in fact, did Reland's contribution consist? Collation of the Van der Veer edition with that of Rieuwertsz (1672) shows that the differences are minor. In the 1701 edition, the orthography of the 1672 edition has been adapted (to a lesser extent than, and also differently from, the Lamsveld edition of the same year), either by Reland or, more likely, by the printer or one of his minions. Very occasionally a word has been replaced by a synonym: Rieuwertsz' *toevoegsels* or *toevoegselen* ('attributes') consequently becomes

19 Nat, 'Reland (Adriaan)', col. 852: 'In 1701 had hij een hollandsche vertaling gegeven van het bekende geschrift van Ibn Tofail' ('In 1701 he had provided a Dutch translation of the well-known text by Ibn Ṭufayl').

eigenschappen ('characteristics') in the Van der Veer edition. Adaptations, as it turns out, almost exclusively concern places where the translator of the 1672 edition added explanatory marginal notes giving the Latin technical term for certain philosophical and scientific concepts. The vast majority of these marginal notes are taken over in the Van der Veer edition. Occasionally a note is omitted while there is no corresponding adaptation in the text.²⁰ In most of these cases, however, the adaptation or omission of the marginal note corresponds to a change in the translation. Sometimes this is simply a matter of putting in a synonym, as in the case mentioned above, where *toevoegsels* becomes *eigenschappen*.²¹ A noteworthy addition is found on p. 2 of Ibn Ṭufayl's introduction, where Reland supplements the text of the *shahāda* (about this, see below, p. 2 of his notes to the introduction). In other cases the text has been simplified, not always in accordance with the Arabic.²² As for corrections of the text, Reland has not even adapted the translation in the one place where he explicitly states in his explanatory footnote that he considers it incorrect, namely on p. 85, where he criticises the use of the word 'awls' (see the complete list of Reland's annotations below).

The 'revision', in short, amounts to practically nothing where the translation itself is concerned. Of more interest and importance are the explanatory

20 See, for example, Rieuwertsz, p. 6, margin: *disciplinae mathematicae*, omitted in Van der Veer, p. 17; Rieuwertsz, p. 43, margin: *Repraesentatio forma*, omitted in Van der Veer, p. 134.

21 Rieuwertsz, p. 64 l. 24 text: *toevoegsels*, margin *attributa* = Van der Veer, p. 200 l. 5 from below, text: *eigenschappen*, marginal note omitted. The replacing synonym is also used elsewhere in the text, for instance Rieuwertsz, p. 72 l. 7, *toevoegselen* = Van der Veer, p. 224, *eigenschappen*. Other examples include: Rieuwertsz, p. 3 l. 3: text: *by overdragt*, margin: *Metaphorice* = Van der Veer, p. 7 text: *met een ontleende manier van spreken*, marginal note omitted; Rieuwertsz, p. 4 l. 37, text: *overnatuurkundige*, margin: *metaphysica* = Van der Veer, p. 13 l. 1: text: *boven-natuurkundige*, marginal note omitted; Rieuwertsz, p. 9 l. 30, text: *toevoegselen*, margin: *attributa* = Van der Veer, p. 13 l. 1, text: *eigenschappen*, marginal note omitted; Rieuwertsz, p. 69 l. 29 text: *de beroovinghe*, marginal note: *privatio* = Van der Veer, p. 215 l. 7–8, text: *een vernietiging*, marginal note omitted.

22 For example, Rieuwertsz, p. 7 l. 16 text: *Borgerlyk Bestier of zyne Staatkunde*, margin: *Politica* = Van der Veer, p. 21 l. 5, text: *zyne Staatkunde*, marginal note omitted = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 17 l. 13: *al-siyāsa al-madaniyya*, Latin text, p. 17 l. 20, text: *Politicis*; Rieuwertsz, p. 35, l. 16–17, text: *der waare reeden van de Vorm*, margin: *Ratio formae* = Van der Veer, p. 109 l. 2, text: *van de vorm*, marginal note omitted = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 89 l. 14: *ḥaqīqat šūrat al-shay'*, Latin text, p. 88 l. 22: *verae rationis formae*; Rieuwertsz, p. 37 l. 29, text: *de reeden der Vorm*, margin: *Ratio formae* = Van der Veer, p. 116 l. 2, text: *de vorm*, marginal note omitted = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 94 l. 11: *ḥukm al-šūra*; Latin text, p. 95 l. 21: *formae ratio*; Rieuwertsz, p. 47 l. 28, text: *de waare reden van zijne weezenheid*, margin: *ratio essentiae* = Van der Veer, p. 148 l. 2, text: *zijne wezenheid* = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 121 l. 1: *ḥaqīqat dhātīhi*, Latin text, p. 119 ult.-120 l. 1: *verum autem rationem essentiae suae*.

remarks also announced in the preface. They are varied in nature, and reflect Reland's specific knowledge and interests, discussing theological matters as well as natural science. He regularly criticises Ibn Ṭufayl for illogical or inconsequential treatment of his subject matter: p. 88: Ḥayy could not study minerals, because he had no access to them; p. 124: Ibn Ṭufayl was wrong in stating that the circle described by Canopus is the smallest; p. 125: contrary to what Ibn Ṭufayl says, Ḥayy could not possibly have observed both poles at the same time; p. 184: here Ibn Ṭufayl's text is inconsistent with p. 53, where it is stated that no rapacious or dangerous beast is found on the island ; p. 229: here the text is also inconsistent regarding Āsāl's access to food. A particularly interesting note is that on p. 223, where Reland sets forth his plan for writing *De Religione Mohammedica*, mentioning the sources he intends to use.

For the benefit of scholars who do not read Dutch, we offer here a full translation of Reland's comments and explanatory notes in order to present a complete picture of his role in Van der Veer's edition.²³

2 Reland's Notes to the Introduction

p. 2. Reland explains the use of the *shahāda* by the author. Noteworthy is that he supplements the text as it appeared in the 1672 translation, where only the first part of the *shahāda* is given: '... has no companion (Dutch: 'meedegenoot'), etc.'. Reland inserts after 'companion': 'and that Muhammad is his Messenger [Dutch: 'Gezant'; the Arabic text has: 'his servant', '*abduhu*] and Prophet, etc.'. He takes this over from Pococke's Arabic text, but omits the subsequent eulogies of the Prophet, which take up several lines in the Arabic text. Apparently he considered them irrelevant for his purpose. He comments: 'This basic summary of the Muslim creed was usually placed at the beginning of their books by the authors who adhered to this religion. Christians see this as a strange habit, although with the Turks it is quite common in almost all kinds of writings. In this way they mean to distance themselves from the Christians, who present their Redeemer as part of the Divinity, and thus, in their view, acknowledge more than one God'.

p. 3. Reland explains who Ibn Sīnā was: 'This is the man known by Europeans as Avicenna. The noble Leader, as the word is translated here, otherwise means prince, and this is the reason that in the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts kept in the Escorial one reads Princeps Avicenna. This made some people, who

23 References are to the page numbers of the Van der Veer edition, which are identical to those of the Schouten edition of 1721.

did not know that this title can be obtained by merits and scholarly achievements as well as through possession of actual principalities, believe that this Avicenna was King of the city of Cordoba, even though it is a well-established fact that, being born in Harmatain or Apshana²⁴ in Persia, he served as physician of a sultan in Bagdad. He lived, however, in a princely enough way, to the extent that the shoes of his horse were of silver. But they said that he did not do this out of pride, but to show the world how many riches the art of medicine had brought him, in order to stimulate the waning enthusiasm to engage in science’.

p. 5. Reland explains the verses cited in the text: ‘The meaning of these words is that his understanding of the matter has led to certainty, but that he cannot make explicit the manner in which he has arrived at understanding it’.

p. 17. Reland gives some information about al-Fārābī: ‘This *Abu Nasri* has obtained a wide reputation among his co-religionists because of his knowledge of philosophy. If Leo Africanus is to be believed, he originated from the city of Balch in the province Pharab. This Balch is not the same city as the capital of the region of Chorasaan, which has the same name, and has reportedly been built or considerably expanded by Loraspes.²⁵ It may be the remnants of the ancient and famous Bactra’.

p. 22. Regarding the translation of the title *Alshepha* (Arab. *al-shifāʿ*) as *der genoegzaamheit* (satisfaction) in the Dutch text, Reland points out: ‘The learned Pocok, Professor at Oxford, already remarked that one should read here *Alsipha* and translate it as *Healing* (Dutch text: *Genesinge*)’.

p. 24. About al-Ghazālī’s *Tahāfut*, mentioned in the text, Reland remarks: ‘This book of Gazalius seems to have been written as a counterattack to the ideas generally held by the philosophers. Don Isaac Abarbanel,²⁶ Leo Africanus²⁷ and others have mentioned this. The great Reinesius found this book mentioned by Scaliger but did not understand the title. So he wrote to

24 Kharmaythan, as most Arabic sources spell the name (see Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*, p. 119 n. 5), and Afshana were villages in the territory of Bukhārā.

25 Reland may base himself here on Golius, who in the notes to his posthumous edition of al-Farghānī gives the following information, citing Yāqūt: ‘Conditam à لراسف *Loraspe*, patre Hydaspis. Persico rege, tunc cum à Nebucadnezar Hierosolyme diriperentur, tradit Jacutus’ (‘Founded by Loraspes, father of Hydaspes, Persian king, at the time that Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebucadnezar, as Yāqūt reports’), see Golius (ed.), *Muhammedis fil*, p. 175. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 479 (lemma ‘Balkh’) gives the name as *Luhrasf* and says: ‘his friend Nebucadnezar, *ṣāhibuhu Bukht Naṣṣar*’.

26 Jitschak ben Jehuda Abarbanel, or Isaac Abravanel, Lissabon 1437–Venice 1508.

27 Leo Africanus was a traveller, diplomat and author of the *Descrittione dell’ Africa*. His Arabic name is al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī or al-Fāsī, his Christian name is Johannes Leo de Medicis. He was born between 894 and 901 AH/1489 and

Rupertus, who in 1639 consulted Caspar Hoffmann, who made quite another suggestion about the work, until Reinesius himself finally discovered what it was about, as one can read in his letters published in Leipzig in 1660,²⁸ not without being amazed about the amusing guesses these men made about it’.

p. 29. Regarding the Qur’ānic words in the text: ‘God is ver boven het gene de Onregtvaardigen zeggen’ (‘God is far above what the unjust say about Him’, Qur’ān 17:43), Reland explains: ‘This is a saying taken from the Alcoran, and very widespread among the Mohammedans when they have mentioned an erroneous statement and want to show their abhorrence of it. It is more or less equivalent to: “Far be it from me!”’

p. 32. There are three pages with this number. This is the third, a separate page with a text that is not part of the original Arabic and does not occur in the edition of 1672. It contains an Arabic saying, taken from Erpenius’ collection of Arabic proverbs of 1615, *Selecta quaedam Arabum adagia*: ‘He who explores, adds to science, but he who simply accepts, adds to error’.²⁹

3 Reland’s Notes to the Main Text

p. 35. Reland explains the Fourth Clime: ‘The Ancients, who had no extensive knowledge of the inhabited part of the world, counted seven Climes in all, and were of the opinion that the fourth, being in the middle, also had to be the most moderate’.

p. 73. Regarding the story of the raven burying its slain brother, Reland notes: ‘Rabbi Eliezer has invented the same thing in order to show how men have learned how to bury their dead—as if people needed to be taught this by animals. Adam, he says, seeing his murdered son, did not know what to do with the body, until he saw a raven burying its companion in a pit and followed its example. Mohammed, who was not loath to include Jewish confabulations in his Alcoran, tells the same thing in the fifth chapter, but replaces Adam by Cain—as if one would have no idea where the fable originated from’.

p. 85. In this note Reland comments on the use of ‘priemen’ (awls) and the following words, which he believes to be rendered incorrectly from the

1495 CE, and died after 1550 CE. See ‘Leo Africanus’, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5, pp. 723–724.

28 *Th. Reines I.D. ad viros clariss. D. Casp. Hoffmannum, Christ. Ad. Rupertum. Profess. Noricos epistolae* (1660). We have not checked Reinesius’s reference to al-Ghazālī’s *Tahāfut*.

29 This proverb is taken from Erpenius’s edition of Luqmān’s fables. See Erpenius, *Locmani sapientis fabulae*, p. 65, no. LVII: ‘*Man yujarrib yazid ‘ilman; man yu’min yazid ghalatān*’, ‘Qui experitur auget scientiam; qui verò credit auget errorem’.

Arabic—although he leaves the translation intact apart from some minor adaptations in the spelling: ‘The word *Machatifon* that is found here basically means *hooks to attach things to one another* (Dutch text: *haakskens, dienende tot zamenvoeging*). Thus it seems that Hay Ebn Jokdan used thorns to attach the reeds from which his building consisted, so that this material would also protect his house against the attacks of other animals. Since the translator thought that this could not be right here, he replaced it by the word *Michzafon*, which means *awl*, adding that to this purpose he sharpened reeds on stones. The Arabic, however, formulates this quite differently, namely saying that he made the reeds equal in length on stones and put them together in order to make a dwelling for himself, as he had observed from the swallows. I do not know what use the awls could have been for him here. On account of the wording it is more likely that the reeds and the thorns served him to build his dwelling, the more so since we will subsequently hear him mention his pantry, which is also enclosed by reeds’.

p. 88. Reland remarks regarding Ḥayy’s studying the minerals: ‘I do not understand how our philosopher could discover the minerals, for experience shows that these are not on the surface of the earth but buried deeper; or we must conclude that Hay Ebn Jokdan had sufficient means and enthusiasm to manage this job by himself. It is a common error of our author that he introduces too early Hay Ebn Jokdan to exact knowledge of many matters of nature’.

p. 124. Reland comments on what the text has to say about the location of Ḥayy’s island, mentioning the star *Sohayl*, *Canopus*: ‘The circle of the star *Canopus* is by no means the smallest, since it is 36 degrees removed from the South Pole, which is just about as far as the star in the head of *Cepheus* is removed from the North Pole. It would be just as illogical to say that that star of *Cepheus* describes the smallest circle around the North Pole as it is to state that the star *Canopus* describes the smallest circle around the South Pole. For the stars of *Hydra* (Dutch text: *Waterslang*) and *Musca* (Dutch text: *Indiaanse Bye*)³⁰ are much closer to the South Pole, which Hai Ebn Jokdan must have been able to see for a substantial part, since it is said that he lived below the equator’.

p. 125. (note 1) Reland explains *Alpharkadain*: ‘*Alpharkadain* are the two stars that are closest to the North Pole, in the tail of *Ursus Minor* (Dutch text: *kleinen Beer*)’.

p. 125. (note 2) Reland explains that what Ibn Ṭufayl says here about Ḥayy being able to see both poles from the location where he lives is impossible: ‘It is not really possible (for whatever reasons may seem to exist for this are

30 Rob van Gent kindly provided the Latin name of this latter constellation.

overthrown by the experience of practised astronomers who have observed the sky below the equator) that someone will be able to observe the axis points of both the North and the South pole from one particular spot. For the bulge of the earth globe that blocks our view and the vapour that continuously obscures the horizon make this impossible. It is true that one can imagine a mountain with a top from which this might be possible, but it is better to bring things into agreement with experience’.

p. 127. Reland points out that Pocock’s suggestion of a different reading (not taken over in the Dutch translation of 1672) is unnecessary: ‘Mr. Pocock, who translated this from Arabic into Latin, was of the opinion that one ought to read “from West to East”; but he has not paid attention to the two kinds of movement of the Moon distinguished by the astronomers. For that reason there is no need to change anything here. For it is obvious that the Moon when it is said to be full stands in the East, opposite the West where the Sun sets; and that, when the Moon is new and in conjunction with the Sun, it sets almost simultaneously with the Sun in the West. So our author may have had this common and obvious movement of the Moon in view, without paying special attention to the other movement (the one that is specific for the Moon, and takes place in 27 days, 7 hours and 43 minutes from West to East)’.

p. 147. Regarding Ḥayy’s awareness of a Necessary Being devoid of corporeality, Reland remarks: ‘Through his very essence he understands the soul. The Arabic word, *Dhaton*, means the essence of something in general, and the soul of a rational being. So Hai Ebn Jokdan is here on the way to deciding that his soul is not something physical, and that accordingly it must be immortal’.

p. 158. Reland explains the Dutch word in the text, *berovinge* (Pococke 128: *privatio*, Arabic: *al-’udm*): ‘The Arabic word *Alodmon* means a deficiency, but may also mean that something is not, or ceases to be. In this sense it fits well the ideas of our philosopher’.

p. 160. Reland explains regarding the Dutch word in the text, *wezentheden* (essences): ‘These are the spirits, or *Intelligentiae*, that the Aristotelian philosophers believed to exist in the celestial world’.

p. 161. Reland adds to the remarks in the text about the elements: ‘This idea is very widespread among Mohammedan philosophers. They even think that they can prove it, as the author of the *Mirror of the World*, edited in Arabic by Abraham the Maronite of Lebanon, has tried to do in the year 1641.³¹ “Does one not see every day”, he says on page 50, “how water is being changed into stone, and air into water by the cold? Does the air not glow from fire in closed ovens and smithies? And is water not boiled into air on the fire? Does chemistry not

³¹ Ecchellensis, *Mukhtaṣir*.

teach us how to change earthy parts into fluids?" A philosopher of our day will be able to see how strong these proofs are'.

p. 184. Reland objects: 'I do not know how this fits in with what has been said on p. 53, where the author states that no rapacious or dangerous beasts were found on this whole island'.

p. 186. (note 1) Reland adds: 'My impression is that the author adds this in order to show how natural and rational the Mohammedan religion is in imposing all these different ablutions, which he suggests that Hai Ebn Jokdan had thought fitting purely on the strength of his reason'.

p. 186. (note 2) Reland continues: 'The same reason that I just mentioned makes our author say that Hai Ebn Jokdan took up exercises which involved making circular movements. For thus (p. 187) he tries to demonstrate how rational it is to circumambulate Zafa and Merva, two holy places situated near the town of Mecca, and to circumambulate frequently the Meccan temple; all of which are ceremonies that are common among the Mohammedans. While I also read here that these circumambulations follow the example of the celestial bodies whose orbits are also circular, there comes to my mind an embellishment (Dutch text: *versiersel*), fiction from beginning to end, that as far as I can remember I have not read anywhere else but in an Arabic manuscript written by Abulabas,³² namely that the Meccan temple, named the Caba, was built by the angels a thousand years before the earth globe according to the image of a temple that was in Heaven under God's throne and that according to God's command they used to circumambulate as an example to mankind, who would practise their religion in a similar way around the Caba'.

p. 215. Reland explains 'vuurvliengen', fireflies (the Arabic word in the Qur'ān is *farāsh*): 'The Arabic word that is found in the 101st chapter of the Alcoran means a winged animal that flutters around a candle, or, according to what others write, lives in dirt. The Latins call it *Pyralides*. It is known from Plinius, Aelianus and others'.

p. 223. Reland explains 'zyne heerlijke namen', His magnificent names: 'The Mohammedans count 99 of these Names of God, and they divide them into three categories. The first consists of the names that refer to the divine being, such as the word God. The second contains the names that express God's glory and majesty, such as the King, the Almighty, the Victorious. The third expresses God's qualities, specifically in relation to man, such as the Creator, the Provider, the Generous. I have learned this from an Arabic text about the Mohammedan religious rites, described by Abulabas Ahmed Ebn Jousapha, a

32 This is probably the same 'Abulabas' as the author mentioned by Reland in his notes to p. 223 below.

teacher so much honoured among his coreligionists that he received the title “Glowing Torch of Religion”.³³ If Heaven grants me sufficient years of life I will insert many chapters of this work already translated into Latin into a book about the Mohammedan religion, in which I propose to explain the religion of those peoples on the basis of about ten creeds and proper accounts of Mohammedan religious science written in Arabic and Persian and not hitherto divulged in print’.

p. 229. Regarding Āsāl’s presenting Ḥayy with food Reland remarks: ‘I find this strange if I compare it to what is written on p. 224. There I find that Āsāl needed food, and that he tried to obtain it by hunting and by other means, and that God continuously provided him with what he needed to feed himself. How, then, can I believe what the author states here, namely that Āsāl still had food from the other island? For in that case he would not have needed other sustenance for his daily needs’.

p. 235. (note 1) Reland explains the passage about eschatological reward and punishment: ‘The Mohammedans believe that all man’s good and evil deeds, or the papers on which these deeds have been noted down by the angels, will be weighed on the so-called scales. The Angel Gabriel will hold the scales, which are so big that Heaven and Earth can be weighed in them without any difficulty. Many people among the Mohammedans interpret these scales as nothing but God’s justice, which will weigh good and evil on the Day of Judgment’.

p. 235. (note 2) Reland explains the weighing of human deeds: ‘This place is not understandable for someone who knows nothing about the religion of the Mohammedans. Its idea is that on the Last Day all people, believers as well as unbelievers, will have to cross a certain road or bridge that has the width of a hair and the sharpness of a sword, and runs directly over the fire of Hell. And as if the passage was still too easy, they say that the sides of this bridge are covered with thorns and curved hooks. Muhammad will be the first to cross it and to lead his believers safely across, but the godless, the Jews and Christians, will fall from the bridge into the pit of hell. This idea, however, is by no means so

33 Cf. Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, ‘Index manuscriptorum’ (no. 7): ‘Liber theologicus, in quo agitur de ceremoniis quae in templo debent observari, de vitiis, aliisque argumentis affinibus, auctore Schahaboddino Abul Abas Ahmed Ibn Amad etc., cujus titulus plenior, addita patria et secta, hic est Al-Shaykh al-‘allāma Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Imād ibn Yūsuf al-Aqfahsī al-Shāfi‘ī’ (Reland’s Arabic transcribed). Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, p. 93 and Supplement vol. 2, p. 111, gives the author as Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. al-‘Imād al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Aqfahsī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi‘ī, d. 808/1405, author of *al-Durra al-daw‘iyya fi al-aḥkām al-sunnīya*. The manuscript consulted by Reland is al-Aqfahsī’s *Tashīl al-maqāsid li-zuwwār al-masājid*, the present-day MS Leiden, University Library, Acad. 29.

widely accepted that it does not have its opponents among the Mohammedans themselves. It is openly mocked by the Motazilites, a group of people who are not so gullible as these people, and who only accept things on the basis of rational thinking’.

p. 237. Reland explains ‘bode’, messenger: ‘Thus Muhammad is called par excellence’.

These, then, are Reland’s comments on the text of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. They clearly reflect his scholarly interests and opinions, and form an interesting prelude to his *De Religione Mohammedica*. As such, they make Van der Veer’s annotated re-edition a valuable addition to the scholarly and philosophical discussion of the time. What still remains is the problem of the mysterious abbreviation S.D.B., according to some added by Reland to this edition.³⁴

4 From ‘S.D.B.’ to Gerrit van Broekhuizen

Before going into the question of the mysterious ‘S.D.B.’, it may be helpful to recapitulate the editorial history of the Dutch *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. In the original translation published by Jan Rieuwertsz in 1672 the name ‘S.D.B.’ does not occur—nor that of Joannes Bouwmeester for that matter. Twenty-eight years later, in 1700, a second Latin edition of Edward Pococke the Younger’s *Philosophus autodidactus* came off the press at the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. There can be little doubt that this triggered the demand for a new Dutch retranslation, which appeared in two different versions in 1701. The first of these, published in Amsterdam by Willem Lamsveld, retains the title of the first Dutch retranslation, *Het Leeven van Hai ebn Yokdhan*.³⁵ The second version was published in Rotterdam by Pieter Van der Veer under a new title which better reflects Pococke’s Latin: *De natuurlyke wysgeer, of het Leven van Hai ebn Jokdan*.³⁶ Both are essentially a re-edition of Joannes Bouwmeester’s Dutch translation of 1672, and the involvement of Adriaan Reland in the version printed by Van der Veer in Rotterdam has already been discussed in detail above. In both versions from 1701 the name S.D.B. is mentioned for the first time as the Dutch translator. Since it has already been proved that he was not the translator of the 1672 edition printed by Rieuwertsz, he must have been responsible for a textual revision, but it appears that he did this with a light touch. Neither re-edition includes Pococke’s introduction to the text.

34 For example Funke, ‘*Philosophus autodidactus*’, p. 112 n. 8.

35 Ibn Ṭufayl, *Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan* (1701).

36 Ibn Ṭufayl, *De natuurlyke wysgeer* (1701).

We have already touched briefly upon the interpretation of the initials ‘S.D.B.’ as an inverted form of ‘B.d.S.’ or Benedict de Spinoza. This identification, proposed with steadily growing confidence until it almost gained the status of a fact, appears to go back to the end of the nineteenth century. In 1896 the aforementioned Spinoza scholar K.O. Meinsma remained cautious when he noted that on 29 December 1671 the society Nil Volentibus Arduum had commissioned Joannes Bouwmeester to translate *Hayy ibn Yaqzān* from the Arabic (sic!), and that such a translation had indeed appeared in Amsterdam in 1672 (referring, of course, to the Rieuwertsz edition from Amsterdam). In a footnote Meinsma added that it was unknown to him whether Bouwmeester had actually performed this translation, but that ‘a *second translation* by S.D.B. had appeared in Rotterdam in 1701’ (italic added, A.V.), and he suggested a link between S.D.B. and B.d.S., Benedict de Spinoza.³⁷ Apparently, Meinsma did not compare the two editions, or he would have noticed that the translations are practically identical.

In 1922 Willem Meijer cited Meinsma’s earlier work in an article on the consensus between Spinoza’s metaphysics and Arabic-Islamic philosophy, and proposed that ‘the translation (i.e. Lamsveld 1701) be ascribed to a certain S.D.B., whose initials, when read from right to left, may signify Benedict de Spinoza’. At the same time he remarked that Rieuwertsz had also published other works by Spinoza. Since these works had partly appeared under the initials B.d.S., this could only enhance the association between S.D.B. and B.d.S. Moreover, Meinsma wrote, the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam possessed a composite volume which contained both Spinoza’s *Opera posthuma*—published by Rieuwertsz in 1677 under the initials B.d.S.—and Pococke’s Latin translation of *Hayy ibn Yaqzān*, with the tacit implication that B.d.S. and S.D.B. were providentially or mystically united in one single book.³⁸ Meijer acknowledged that Bouwmeester had indeed made the translation, but still believed that Spinoza had recommended Pococke’s edition-cum-translation of *Hayy ibn Yaqzān* to his closest associates—among whom Joannes Bouwmeester figured prominently.³⁹

37 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 440–441 n. 2: ‘Werkelijk is in 1672 te Amsterdam verschenen: “Abu Jaaphaar Ebn Tophail, Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan. In het Arabisch beschreven en uit de Lat. overzett. van Ed. Pocock in ‘t Nederd. vert.” (40). Eene tweede vertaling door S.D.B. (B.D.S. zou kunnen zijn Ben. de Sp.) verscheen in 1701 te Rotterdam. (‘t Bleef mij onbekend of de eerste van Bouwmeester’s hand is)’.

38 W. Meijer, ‘De consensu’, pp. 16–17: ‘versio adscripta est S.D.B. cuidam, quae initiales literae a laeva parte dextrorsum lectae Benedictum de Spinoza significare possunt’. For a discussion of Meijer’s article see von Brockdorff, ‘Spinozas Verhältnis’, pp. 19–32.

39 Meijer, ‘De consensu’, p. 18.

However, the caution exercised by Meinsma and to a lesser extent by Meijer was abandoned by C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute in her work *Nederlands Cartesianisme* of 1954, where she made the casual statement that S.D.B. was the inversion of Spinoza's initials. They were printed on the title page of the re-edition of the Dutch *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* published by Pieter Van der Veer in 1701, 'presumably in order to attract the reader's attention to the connection that was perceived to exist between this western Arabic novel and Spinoza's writings'.⁴⁰ If we understand her correctly, the use of S.D.B. was intended as a tribute to Spinoza. But if this was the case, it must have been a veiled compliment indeed, since Spinoza's true initials B.d.S. had previously been used by Rieuwertsz and withstood the scrutiny of the Law. The fact that Bouwmeester had translated the Latin text at the behest of Nil Volentibus Arduum was not disputed by her.⁴¹

As for the role of Adriaan Reland, it must be noted that Willem Meijer was the first to suggest in 1922 that Reland—whose name does not appear on the title page—had been involved in the version published by Van der Veer in Rotterdam, although he failed to give a source. Only in 1954 did Thijssen-Schoute point out that Reland's name was duly mentioned in the publisher's list she found at the end of the Leiden copy of this edition.⁴²

But if S.D.B. was not Spinoza, who was he? Although it must be conceded that S.D.B.'s involvement in the Dutch translation never went beyond a superficial revision of the text, the confusion caused by these mysterious initials alone would justify a reconstruction of the name hiding behind them. The possible solution to this enigma starts with the title page of another work published in 1701 by Willem Lamsveld and associates, *Historie der Sevarambes* [Fig. 5.2].

This is a Dutch translation of another utopian work, *Histoire des Sevarambes, peuples qui habitent la terre Australe* published 1677–1679 by Denis Vairasse or

40 Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands cartesianisme*, p. 415: 'Door op de titel de initialen van Spinoza in omgekeerde volgorde te plaatsen, zal men des lezers aandacht hebben willen vestigen op het verband, dat naar men gevoelde, bestaan moest tussen deze west-arabische roman en de geschriften van Spinoza'.

41 Ibid., p. 414: 'Bouwmeester [werd] opgedragen het leven van Hayy Eb ben [sic] Jokdan, uit het Arabisch over te zetten. Deze opdracht werd vervuld, al vertaalde Bouwmeester niet uit het Arabisch, maar uit het Latijn' ('Bouwmeester was commissioned to translate the Life of Hayy Eb ben Jokdan from the Arabic. This commission was fulfilled, although Bouwmeester made his translation from Latin rather than Arabic').

42 Ibid., p. 415. See Leiden, University Library, 841 F 23, sig. Aaiv: 'Het leve van Hai Ebn Jokdan, op nieuws met de Arabische grond text vergeleke, door d'Heer Adriaan Reelant, Hoogleraar der der [sic] Oostersche tale te Uytrecht' ('The Life of Hai ebn Jokdan, newly compared with the original Arabic text, by Mr. Adriaan Reelant, Professor of Oriental languages at Utrecht').



FIGURE 5.2 Frontispiece and title page of *Historie der Sevarambes...*, Door S.d.B., Amsterdam, Willem de Coup, Willem Lamsveld etc., 1701
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H I S T O R I E
D E R
SEVARAMBES,

Volkeren die een Gedeelte van het
darde Vast-land bewoonen, gemeenlyk

ZUID-LAND

genaamd,

Behelzende een naauwkeurig verhaal van de Regeering,
Zeden, Godtsdienst, en Taal, dezer tot noch toe
aan de Volkeren van Europa onbekende Natie.

D O O R S. d. B.

In dezen Tweden Druk vermeerderd met een *nieuwe Reize* na
het gemelde Land, mitsgaders een zeer naauwkeurig *Jour-*
naalwegens de Voyagie derwaarts gedaan in de Jaaren 1696.
en 1697. op ordre der Hollandfche Oost-Indifche Maatfchappy
door de Schepen de Nyptang, de Geelvink, en de Wezel.

Vercierd met kopere Platen.



'A M S T E R D A M,

By WILLEM de COUP, WILLEM LAMSVELT, PHILIP
VERBEEK en JOANNES LAMSVELT, Boekverkoopers. 1701.

Veiras (ca. 1630–1672).⁴³ The first part has only the initials S.d.B., but in the three following parts this disguise is dropped and the name of G.v. Broekhuizen appears as the translator. Admittedly, it is quite a distance from S.d.B. to G.v. Broekhuizen, but ‘d.’ may stand for ‘de’, the translation of ‘van’, and ‘B.’ obviously for ‘Broekhuizen’. Only the ‘S.’ remains elusive. G. van Broekhuizen—who never mentions his first name—appears to have had recourse to various pen names, writing under his true initials ‘G.v.B.’,⁴⁴ as well as its inverted form ‘B.v.G.’,⁴⁵ and the pseudonym ‘Eduward Melton’, an imaginary English nobleman whom we shall have the pleasure of meeting again below.⁴⁶

Given the fact that the initials S.D.B. were also used in a different work originating in the circle of Willem Lamsveld and associates, this would also decide the argument of whether the Amsterdam edition of 1701 preceded Pieter Van der Veer’s Rotterdam edition from the same year. Apparently Van der Veer and Reland saw Lamsveld’s edition and believed that S.D.B. was the name of the original translator. This is also borne out by the title page of Van der Veer’s edition, where it is said that the Dutch translation had *previously* (in Dutch: ‘Voordezen’) been made by S.D.B. There is nothing to indicate that either Van der Veer or Reland associated the initials S.D.B. with Spinoza, and consequently that the ‘inverted initials of Spinoza’ would have been used as a tribute to the great philosopher, as Thijssen-Schoute believed.

Was it entirely coincidental that G. van Broekhuizen translated or revised both the fictitious and exotic *Hayy ibn Yaqzān* and the *Sevarambes*? Hardly so, for our further enquiries have revealed that he was a prolific author whose 25 translations or compilations include an impressive nine works related to the Orient or the exotic world in general; not only imaginary travels but also true voyages from the seventeenth century by Jean de Thévenot, Pierre Dan, Paul Rycaut, John Chardin and the less well known Guy Tachard, who wrote on a French embassy to Siam. The first of these was printed in 1681, the last in 1701 (for a list of Oriental works see the Appendix). He started his career with the translation of a considerable number of light French novels, all published in 1679–1680, but in 1681 he switched to the more serious subjects of travel and

43 Vairasse, *Historie der Sevarambes*. The first edition, Amsterdam, Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1682, mentions only G. v. Broekhuizen as the translator. The occurrence of the initials S.D.B. on the first volume of the second edition of 1701 and the full name of G. van Broekhuizen of all three subsequent volumes was already noted by P.A. Tiele, *Nederlandsche bibliographie*, p. 111, sub ‘Historie der Sevarambes’.

44 The initials G.v.B. were used in de Brémond, *Den nieuwen pelgrim*.

45 See Perdou de Subigny, *De valsche Clelie*.

46 Melton, *Eduward Meltons, Engelsch edelmans, zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen*. See Tiele, *Nederlandsche bibliographie*, p. 165.

history, mixed with other topics such as a Life of Descartes by Adrien Baillet (1649–1706), printed in 1700.⁴⁷ In the final stage of his career he revised some older translations, not only our *Hayy ibn Yaqẓān* but also the fifth edition of Lambert van den Bosch's translation of *Don Quixote* (1699).⁴⁸ His last translation, from Latin and French, was a black satire on the empty rhetoric and vanity of the world by Johann Balthasar Schuppius (printed 1705), a fitting end to a long career.⁴⁹

G. van Broekhuizen worked with various booksellers, above all Timotheus ten Hoorn (1644–1715), but also with his brother Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and his nephew Nicolaas ten Hoorn (1674–1728).⁵⁰ He worked too with Jan Bouman,⁵¹ who was a close associate of the Ten Hoorns, and to a lesser extent with Aert Dircksz Oossaen (1657–1693),⁵² Willem de Coup (1660–1706)⁵³ and his business associates Jan and Willem Lamsveld. His books were illustrated by engravers such as Jan Luyken and the aforementioned Jan Lamsveld. Timotheus ten Hoorn was a small bookseller who frequently teamed up with colleagues in comparably straitened circumstances to share the expenses of printing and publishing, but in spite of his efforts he died ridden with debt. Frank Peeters has shown, however, that Ten Hoorn typically belonged to the seedier kind of bookseller who was prepared to take the risk of publishing works that were either forbidden, controversial, novel or simply outré, not necessarily out of conviction but simply because there was more money in it, and in this way furthered the cause of the early Enlightenment. In 1695, for instance, charges were brought against Timotheus ten Hoorn for selling copies of the posthumous works of Spinoza, but he extricated himself from the affair by marrying the witness for the prosecution.⁵⁴

In stark contrast with Van Broekhuizen's impressive output, almost nothing is known about his life. In 1855 A.J. van der Aa's biographical dictionary identified him as Godofridus van Broekhuizen, the pastor ('dominee') of the Dutch Reformed church of Hekelingen, a village not far from Rotterdam. He was appointed in 1681 (obviously not in 1618 as Van der Aa has it), retired in 1729 and died in 1731. His father had been pastor of the Lambertus church in the

47 Baillet, *'t Leven van den heer Descartes*.

48 Cervantes y Saavedra, *Den verstandigen vroomen ridder*.

49 Schuppius, *De verstandige heekelaar*.

50 Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, pp. 162–166.

51 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 40–42.

52 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 22–25.

53 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 83–84.

54 Peeters, 'Leven en bedrijf van Timotheus ten Hoom', pp. 20, 27. Spouses could not give evidence against each other in criminal cases.

village of Engelen, Brabant, in 1649–1668, as had his grandfather before him in 1641–1648.⁵⁵ Earlier Van Broekhuizens or Broekhuijzens served at the parish church of Dodewaard: Hermannus van Broekhuijzen (d. 1624) and another Godefridus van Broekhuijzen, who died in 1637.⁵⁶

Yet this identification is not as straightforward as it seems. If the Hekelingen pastor Godofridus van Broekhuizen was really our translator, then why were almost all of his works published in Amsterdam rather than, for instance, Rotterdam, which was practically on his doorstep? And why would a minister of God's Word translate and publish several works of undeniable moral levity such as *L'héroïne mousquetaire: histoire véritable* by Jean de Préchac (1647–1720), translated into Dutch under the title *De musket-draagende heldin* (1679), or a Life of Descartes (1700), hardly a favourite of the Calvinist establishment? And all this under his own name? And why did he publish his last translation in 1705 if he only retired in 1729?

It is far more likely that the true G. van Broekhuizen lived not in the village of Hekelingen but in Amsterdam. The baptism, marriage and burial registers of the city's parishes, however, do not reveal the name of a Gotfried van Broekhuizen, but there is a certain Gerrit or Gerard, son of Gerrit van Broeckhuijzen (senior) and Eva Vos, who was baptised on 28 September 1653 at the Oude Kerk, and buried at the Westerkerk on 3 November 1706.⁵⁷ This Gerrit van Broekhuizen would have remained anonymous if the Amsterdam scholar and burgomaster Nicolaes Witsen had not lost his temper over his abuse of the aforementioned pseudonym Eduward Melton, the chimerical author of an itinerary in Egypt, the Levant and the Indies. This is, in fact, a compilation of shamelessly plagiarised texts from Johann Michael Wansleben and Jean de Thévenot, published in 1681 as *Zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen, door Egypten, West-Indien, Perzien, Turkyen, Oost-Indien, en d'aangrenzende gewesten [...]*.⁵⁸ In a letter of 9 April 1713 an irate Witsen wrote to the Deventer intellectual Ghisbert Cuper:

In Your Excellency's learned letter you cite the itinerary published under the name of Melton, but please be aware that no such traveller has ever

55 Van der Aa et al., *Biographisch woordenboek*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1855), col. 1374; *Verkade's Dominees Memories* (where his name is spelled Godefridus van Broekhuijzen); *Protestantse Kerk Engelen*.

56 *Hervormd Dodewaard*.

57 See Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, *Doopregisters 1564–1811*, DTB 9, p. 64, and *Begraafregisters 1553–1811*, DTB 1230, p. 443.

58 'Rare and memorable voyages and travels through Egypt, the West Indies, Persia, Turkey, the East Indies and adjacent territories', see also above, n. 40.

existed, since the book has been patched together and pilfered from sundry works and voyages of others by a certain Broekhuijsen, the brother of the captain who was a man of great learning. His children are here in the orphanage and he drank himself to death.⁵⁹

5 Gerrit and Joan van Broekhuizen

The 'learned captain' in question was Joan van Broekhuizen (also Jan or Johan, 1649–1707), who combined his intellectual pursuits as an accomplished Latinist and poet with a career as an officer in the army of the Dutch Republic, and who has received far more scholarly attention than his ill-fated younger brother Gerrit. We know, for instance, that their father Gerrit van Broekhuizen, senior, was a hatmaker who later worked as a clerk in the Admiralty. In view of his exceptional talent, Joan was allowed to continue his education at the Latin School, which was unusual for children of his humble background. He was afterwards apprenticed to an apothecary, but around 1672 he ran away, enlisted in the army, obtained a commission and fought in the great war against France, England and the bishops of Cologne and Münster, the so-called 'Year of Catastrophe' ('Rampjaar'). In 1674 he joined Admiral Michiel de Ruyter on his expedition against the French possessions in the West Indies. After the Treaty of Nijmegen (August 1678) he returned to the Dutch Republic. Evidently not a man to let a slight pass unnoticed, he mortally wounded an opponent in a duel, but was pardoned by Stadtholder William III of Orange. At a certain point he was stationed more or less permanently in Utrecht, and from 1684 onwards we find him in Amsterdam, where he was captain of the city guards. In his leisure time he wrote poetry, first in Dutch but later almost exclusively in Latin, and built up a network of powerful friends in politics and academia. He is known for his poems in praise of his patrons or against his many enemies, but his reputation as a scholar rests first and foremost on his anonymously

59 See Tiele, *Nederlandsche bibliographie*, p. 165, with reference to Gebhard, *Het leven van Mr. Nicolaas Cornelisz. Witsen*, vol. 2, p. 361; see also Smits, 'De Verenigde Nederlanden op zoek naar Egypte', p. 42: 'U wel Ed. gest. haelt aen, in sijne geleerde brief, de beschrijvinge onder de naem van Melton, dog hij believe te weten, dat er nojt sodaenigen reysiger in de werelt is geweest, want dat boek is door sekeren Broekhuijsen, de broeder van den capiteyn, die van grooten studie was, bijeengeflanst en gestolen uyt allerhande werken en vojagien van anderen; sijn kinderen sijn hier int weeshuis, en hij dronk sig doot'. See also Smits, 'Ontmaskering op termijn', pp. 290–295, 335. Note, however, that none of these sources go into the identity of the learned captain. On Van Broekhuizen's use of Wansleben's itinerary of Egypt see recently Hamilton (ed.), *Johann Michael Wansleben's Travels*, p. 42.

published editions of Latin texts, all published by the firm of Hendrik Wetstein in Amsterdam. In 1689, for instance, he edited the Neo-Latin poetry of the Italian humanist Jacopo Sannazaro and the three Amalteo brothers, followed in 1695 by the *Opera* of Aonius Palearius. He was also known for his knowledge of Italian. In November 1697 he was honourably discharged from the army and the next year retired to a cottage in the village of Amstelveen, where he spent his final years as a recluse, compiling widely appreciated editions of the Augustan poets Propertius (published 1702) and Tibullus (1707). He died on 15 December 1707, one year after his brother Gerrit.⁶⁰

In view of the above, the attribution of all the Dutch translations to Gerrit van Broekhuizen, an unknown alcoholic who died destitute and destined his children for the orphanage, does not ring quite true. Apart from Nicolaes Witsen, who flew into a rage because of Van Broekhuizen's plagiarism, no one else seems to have remembered him. This is unusual, especially if one compares him with the slightly earlier professional translator Jan Hendrik Glazemaker (1625–1682), who has received ample attention in modern scholarship.⁶¹ Would Joan van Broekhuizen, the officer-poet, have used the name of his younger brother as an *alter ego*? There is no hard evidence to sustain this, but it may be interesting to consider the following arguments, which show that the lives and careers of both brothers converge to a large extent and may even blend into one single person.

In the first place there is the financial argument. We know nothing about Joan van Broekhuizen's circumstances, but he moved in high circles and his pay as a simple captain may have been inadequate. He is known to have composed eulogies for Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg, for which he was paid handsomely.⁶² He published a slim volume of Dutch poetry, *Gedichten*, in 1677, followed in 1684 by an equally modest collection of his own Latin poems (*Carmina*, Utrecht 1684), and, as we have seen, his scholarly editions were few and far between, so his own works can hardly have been a considerable source of income. He may thus have been obliged to supplement his financial resources with a large number of translations, published under a slightly different name and with different publishers of somewhat doubtful repute such as the Van Hoorns or Lamsvelds.

Not only did Gerrit van Broekhuizen have a penchant for pseudonyms and (inverted) initials; his elder brother Joan had exactly the same habit, publishing his Latin editions anonymously and writing poetry under adopted names such

60 On Joan van Broekhuizen see Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', pp. 40–113.

61 See, for instance, Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker'.

62 Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', pp. 68–69.

as the fictitious Joannes Vossius—apparently based on his mother’s name Eva Vos—or even the name of a certain Rutgerus Hermannides, a person who had actually existed and who had been a professor at the University of Harderwijk until his death in 1680.⁶³

Both Gerrit and Joan van Broekhuizen were connected with authors who were manifestly interested in the Orient, the most influential of whom was the aforementioned Nicolaes Witsen. Joan offered two poems to Witsen,⁶⁴ whereas Gerrit van Broekhuizen dedicated a compilatory description of Europe to him in 1703.⁶⁵ Ten years later Witsen complained that Eduward Melton was the same as Gerrit van Broekhuizen, the ‘brother of the captain who was of great learning,’ and perhaps he discovered this only after the death of the two brothers in 1706 and 1707 respectively.

Moreover, Joan van Broekhuizen contributed a Latin poem in praise of Cornelis de Bruyn’s *Reizen door de vermaardste delen van Klein Asia* [...] (Delft, 1698).⁶⁶ His name is also found in the list of subscribers,⁶⁷ and a copy of the book is in the auction catalogue of his private library of 1708, *Catalogus bibliothecae Jani Broukhusii*.⁶⁸ In contrast, Gerrit van Broekhuizen does not appear among the subscribers, although he would naturally be interested in it, if only because De Bruyn cited from the work of his *persona* Eduward Melton. In his dedicatory poem Joan van Broekhuizen is profoundly negative about the Orient, which he describes as ‘a heap of ashes,’ ‘overrun by the Turkish Mars.’⁶⁹ But if he was so negative about the Orient, then why should he wish to possess a copy of the book? Cornelis de Bruyn appears to have been unaware that Eduward Melton, whose itinerary he had used for his own *Reizen*, was actually the translator Gerrit van Broekhuizen.⁷⁰ One can hardly believe that Joan van Broekhuizen, who was in close contact with De Bruyn, was unaware that his own brother Gerrit had used the pseudonym Melton. But if Joan himself had written a book under the name of Melton he would have had good reason to keep silent about it towards De Bruyn.

When Joan van Broekhuizen died in 1707 he turned out to possess an impressive collection of books on the Orient. In his auction catalogue from 1708 we

63 Worp, ‘Joan van Broekhuizen,’ p. 73 (‘Joannes Vossius’); pp. 78, 82 (‘Rutgerus Hermannides’).

64 Ibid., p. 72.

65 See van Broekhuizen, *De nieuwe bereisde wereld*. Note that the dedication is formally signed by the bookseller, Jan ten Hoorn.

66 See de Bruyn, *Reizen*, fol. **iv.

67 Ibid., fol. *4v, left-hand column.

68 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Jani Broukhusii*, p. 188, no. 448.

69 See Gaspar (ed.), *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, ‘Bredere aantekening BA/3’.

70 See *ibid.*, ‘Bredere aantekening BA/102’.

find the French edition of Paul Rycaut's *History of the Turkish Empire* and the French originals of the voyages of De Thévenot, Chardin and Tachard, all four of which had been translated into Dutch by Gerrit van Broekhuizen.⁷¹ But in addition we come across many more Oriental voyages or histories, such as Jan Hendrik Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *Six voyages* of Jean Baptiste Tavernier (Amsterdam, 1682) and Sanson's *Voyage ou relation de l'état présent de Perse* (Paris, 1695),⁷² as well as a slightly earlier work by Vincent de Stochove, *L'Othoman, ou L'abrégé des vies des empereurs Turcs* (Amsterdam, 1667).⁷³ But a real surprise is the presence of Oriental works from the first half of the sixteenth century, such as Andrea Cambini's *Commentario della origine de Turchi* of 1538 and Joannes Cuspinianus' *De Turcorum origine* of 1541.⁷⁴ Such books must already have been rare and expensive by the end of the seventeenth century.

In addition, Joan van Broekhuizen's private library allows us to establish a link with Adriaan Reland himself in the absence of any surviving correspondence. In the auction catalogue we find various copies of four works by Reland printed between 1702 and 1706: a treatise on Samaritan coins *De inscriptione nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum* (1702), a similar treatise on Arabic inscriptions on marble slabs *De marmoribus Arabicis* (1704), a copy of the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica* (1705) and the first volume of Reland's collected studies *Dissertationes miscellaneae* (1706).⁷⁵ All of these books point to a consistent interest in Reland's Oriental studies which is hardly to be expected from a Neo-Latin poet. Conversely, Reland possessed a copy of Joan van Broekhuizen's edition of the elegiac poetry of Propertius of 1702, given to him by the editor himself, which proves that the two men were actually in touch with one another.⁷⁶

Finally, Joan's library contained a fair number of French works on Western subjects which had been translated into Dutch by Gerrit, or even the translations themselves. Of course it would have been quite normal for any Amsterdam intellectual to possess several Oriental works, but this is simply too much, especially for the Latinist Joan van Broekhuizen, who ostensibly regarded the

71 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Jani Broukhusii*, p. 30, no. 280, p. 190, nos. 1922–1924.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 189, *in-4*, no. 952, *in-8*, no. 1920.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 187, no. 1033.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 30, nos. 275, 277.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 126, no. 1365, p. 127, no. 1377, p. 128, no. 751, p. 140, no. 1479, p. 199, nos. 1992–1994.

76 Utrecht, University Library, MS 1551 (1 J 6), personal communication from Dr Bart Jaski. On the title page the Utrecht copy has a dedication of the simplest possible kind, 'Cl[arissimo] Relando d[onavit] Auctor Janus Broukhusius'.

Orient as a 'heap of ashes'.⁷⁷ At the same time it is conceivable that all these Oriental books were once in the possession of Gerrit van Broekhuizen, even if he does not strike us as a wealthy bibliophile, and that he left them to Joan upon his death in 1706. But even if this is true, then why were the books not sold off immediately after his death, if only to keep his children and heirs out of the orphanage?

6 Two Brothers, One Career?

However, the most compelling argument for the blurred identity of Joan and Gerrit van Broekhuizen is perhaps the intertwined chronology of the two brothers' lives, which shows that they were never active at the same time. If one was active, the other was correspondingly idle and vice-versa. The two volumes of poetry published by Joan van Broekhuizen in 1677 and 1684 have been omitted from the following schedule on account of their modest size.

Joan

In August 1678 the Treaty of Nijmegen is signed, ending the war with France, and Joan returns to the Netherlands, where a life of relative inactivity awaits him.

In 1686 Joan has serious problems with his intended spouse and he sees himself compelled to break off the engagement, a tragic circumstance that will lead to legal proceedings against him.

Gerrit

In 1679, Gerrit starts publishing his first translations in quick succession, mostly light French novels. Every single year between 1679 and 1687 he publishes at least one, but often more translations.

In 1686, however, Gerrit does not publish a single translation.

77 See above, p. 135.

In the decade from 1689 to 1698, Joan lives through an extremely active phase of his career. In 1689 he publishes Sannazaro and the Amalteo brothers. In 1693 the court finally rules against him in the marriage lawsuit and in the same year he starts making a Latin translation of Huet's *Nouveaux mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Cartésianisme*, which never sees the light of day. In 1695 the Palearius edition appears. In 1696 he is wounded during a riot in Amsterdam and only makes a slow recovery. In November 1697 he is discharged from the army and at the end of 1698 retires to Amstelveen to dedicate himself to his studies.⁷⁸

In 1701 Joan is busily engaged with the edition of Propertius, which is published in 1702.

In 1687 Gerrit resumes his work and produces two Oriental itineraries; in 1688 the third and last volume of De Thévenot's travels comes off the press. During the decade between 1689 and 1698, Gerrit publishes nothing at all.

In 1699 Gerrit makes his comeback with a slight revision of the translation of Don Quixote, and in 1700 publishes a translation of Adrien Baillet's *Life of Descartes*.

In 1701 there is only Gerrit's slight revision of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*.

In 1703 Gerrit publishes his compilation of a description of Europe, *De nieuwe bereisde wereld*. In 1705 he publishes a translation of the morose reflections of Schuppianus and this is the last we hear of him.

⁷⁸ For the chronology of Joan Broekhuizen's career as an author, see Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', pp. 65–85.

Towards the end of 1705 Joan decides to concentrate on the edition of Tibullus. In October 1706 he finishes the proofs of Tibullus and in August 1707 the book comes off the press. He dies in December 1707.⁷⁹

These reflections are of course to a certain degree speculative, and there is no denying that Gerrit van Broekhuizen, the younger brother of Joan van Broekhuizen, actually existed and that the Oriental translations were published under the name 'G. van Broekhuizen' or aliases. Nonetheless, the constant play with identities and pseudonyms, the contacts with other Dutch authors of Oriental works, a rich collection of Oriental books and the alternating appearance and disappearance of both brothers like the figures in a Black Forest weather box, all allow the assumption that it was the competent Latinist and army officer Joan van Broekhuizen who was responsible for a large number of Oriental translations rather than his hard-drinking and destitute younger brother Gerrit. However, more facts will have to come to the surface before this question of the two brothers can be settled with any certainty.

With regard to the more relevant issue of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, its Dutch translation and subsequent revisions of 1701 and the involvement of Adriaan Reland, we may safely assume that in 1701 the Amsterdam bookseller Willem Lamsveld re-issued Joannes Bouwmeester's original Dutch translation from 1672, slightly revised by Gerrit van Broekhuizen, who signed with the initials 'S.D.B.' His identity could be established with the help of one of his other translations, the *Historie der Sevarambes*, also signed 'S.D.B.' and published by Lamsveld in 1701. We have also seen that Van Broekhuizen translated or revised seven more Oriental voyages from the seventeenth century. A collation of the various editions reveals that Reland used the anonymous first Dutch version of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* published by Rieuwertsz in 1672 for his extensive annotations to the translation, which remained largely untouched. The result was published, also in 1701, by the Rotterdam bookseller Pieter Van der Veer, who must have known about Lamsveld's edition and decided to retain the initials 'S.D.B.' as the name of the presumed translator. Scholars unaware of Van Broekhuizen and his activities later suggested that these initials were an inversion of Spinoza's initials 'B.d.S.' Since there is no indication that Benedict de Spinoza was in any tangible way involved in the original translation from 1672, this myth must be discarded once and for all.

79 Ibid., pp. 86–94.

Appendix: The Oriental Translations of Gerrit van Broekhuizen

1681—Jean de Thévenot (1633–1667), *Gedenkwaardige en zeer naauwkeurige reizen van den heere de Thevenot [...]*, 3 vols, Amsterdam, Jan Bouman, 1681–1688. [2nd edn., Amsterdam, Nicolaas ten Hoorn, 1723; 3rd edn, Amsterdam, Gerrit Bos, 1731]. Translation of: [1] *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant [...]*, 1664; [2] *Suite du voyage au Levant [...]*, 1674; [3] *Troisième partie des voyages de M. de Thevenot, contenant la relation de l'Indostan, des nouveaux Mogols [...]* (1684). [Tiele, p. 238]

1681—Eduward Melton [pseudonym of G. van Broekhuizen], *Eduward Meltons, Engelsch edelmans, zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen, door Egypten, West-Indien, Perzien, Turkyen, Oost-Indien, en d'aangrenzende gewesten [...]*, Amsterdam, Jan [Claesz] ten Hoorn, 1681. [2nd edn., Amsterdam, Jan Verjager, 1702]. [Tiele, p. 165; Buisman, no. 290–293]

1682—Denis Vairasse (ca. 1630–1672), *Historie der Sevarambes, volkeren die een gedeelte van het darde Vast-land bewoonen, gemeenlijk Zuid-land genaamd [...]*, Amsterdam, Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1682. [2nd edn., Amsterdam, Willem de Coup, Willem Lamsvelt, Philip Verbeek en Joannes Lamsvelt, 1701]. Translation of: *Histoire des Sevarambes, peuples qui habitent la terre Australe*. [Tiele, pp. 111–112; Buisman, nos. 2290–2291; Gieles and Plak, no. 117; Mateboer, no. 635]

1684—Pierre Dan (–1649), Simon de Vries (1628–1679 fl.), *Historie van Barbaryen en des zelfs zeeroovers [...]*, Amsterdam, Jan ten Hoorn, 1684. Translation of: *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*. [Tiele, p. 70]

1684—Paul Rycaut (1628–1700), *Historie der drie laatste Turcksche keizers [...]*, Amsterdam, Timotheus ten Hoorn and Jan Bouman, 1684. Translation of: *Histoire des trois derniers empereurs des Turcs, depuis 1623 jusqu'à 1677*.

1687—Jean (John) Chardin (1643–1713), *Dagverhaal van den Ridder Chardyn na Persien en Oost-Indien, door de Swarte Zee en Colchis*, Amsterdam, Sander [Wybrants] van de Jouwer, 1687. Translation of: *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales, par la Mer Noire & par la Colchide*. [Tiele, p. 59]

1687—Guy Tachard (1651–1712), *Reis na Siam, gedaan door den ridder de Chaumont, gezant van zyn allerchristelykste majesteit aan den koning van Siam*, Amsterdam, Aart Dircksz Oossaan, 1687. (The last part, *Verhaal van het gezantschap des ridders de Chaumont aan het hof des konings van Siam*, was also published separately). Translation of: *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jesvites, envoyés par le roy, aux Indes & à la Chine*. [Tiele, pp. 235–236]

1701—Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ṭufayl (ca. 1106–1185), ed. Edward Pococke (the Younger, 1648–1727), *Het Leeven van Hai ebn Yokdhan, in het Arabisch beschreeven door Abu Jaaphar ebn Tophail, en uit de Latynsche oversettinge van Eduard Pocock. A.M. In het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B.*, Amsterdam, Willem Lamsveld, 1701. [Slightly revised edition of Rieuwertsz 1672]. [Buisman, no. 3; Mateboer, no. 885]

1701—Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ṭufayl (ca. 1106–1185), ed. Edward Pococke (the Younger, 1648–1727), *De natuurlyke wysgeer, of het Leven van Hai ebn Jokdan, in het Arabisch beschreven door Abu Jaaphar ebn Tophail. Voordezen uit de Latynsche overzetting van Eduard Pocok, A.M. In het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B. En nu op nieuws met de Arabische grondtext vergeleken, en met aanmerkingen over eenige duistere plaatsen en spreekwyzen verrykt*, Rotterdam, Pieter Van der Veer, 1701. [Slightly revised version of the edition Lamsveld 1701, with notes by Adriaan Reland]. [Buisman, no. 4; Mateboer, no. 1118].

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Adriaan Reland's Fascination with the Languages of the World

Toon van Hal

Adriaan Reland has often been described as a scholar endowed with an adventurous mind, but with a body that was tied and chained to his desk.¹ His linguistic skills were truly remarkable, and led one of his former teachers to declare him ‘the miracle of his years.’² When this statement was published, Reland was barely fourteen years old. Today, Adriaan Reland owes his renown first and foremost to his mastery of the classical and so-called Oriental languages—the Early Modern designation for what are now generally known as the ‘Semitic languages’, but also including Persian and Ottoman Turkish. It is, therefore, mostly for these reasons that Reland is widely praised, as for instance in Diderot’s famous *Encyclopédie*, where the entry ‘Rijp’—a village between Alkmaar and Purmerend—is devoted to Reland in its entirety: ‘This village is of no significance; but it boasts of having given birth to Hadrian Reland, a scholar of vast erudition.’³ And also in Edward Gibbon’s (1737–1794) voluminous masterwork, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Reland is frequently quoted for similar reasons and with great respect. It is, however, important to note that his interest in foreign languages went far beyond his command of the classical and the Oriental languages, as can easily be inferred from his very rich manuscript catalogue, including a considerable number of non-European manuscripts.⁴ This chapter will investigate the backdrop against which his exceptional interest in ‘less evident’ languages can be understood. After briefly outlining the attitudes towards language learning that were in vogue in the Early Modern period, the article will examine where, why and how Reland contributed to the mapping of the world’s languages.

1 I am indebted to Reuben Pitts, who revised the English, the editors of this volume and two anonymous reviewers.

2 Van der Hooght, *Lexicon Novi Testamenti*, voor-reden (unnumbered).

3 ‘Ce village n’a rien de considérable; mais il se glorifie d’avoir donné la naissance à Reland l’Adrien, savant d’une vaste érudition’. See De Jaucourt, ‘Ryp’ (1765), p. 450.

4 See the contributions by Bart Jaski and Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume.

1 Language Learning in the Early Modern Period: Do's and Don'ts

Joseph Serrurier (1663–1742), a professor of medicine, delivered an extensive funerary oration after Reland's death. Of Reland's command of languages he said the following:

He was very well aware that the learned languages are instruments for the arts and sciences, and that only the sciences and the liberal arts can equip and enrich the mind. Thus, he studied Greek and Latin, as well as all those Oriental languages that were in some way connected to erudition. He did not do this in order to wallow in idle arrogance or to hold others in haughty contempt—in contrast to some men who excel in this kind of emptiness. Nor did he learn these languages in order to improve his language skills only, in complete isolation from all genuine learning and discipline of wisdom, or in order to obtain the faculty of speaking them purely and faultlessly. But he did so in order to allow his mind, by much reading, to imbibe all kinds of hidden knowledge, and in order to be able to speak and write with both pure and appropriate words about the most significant affairs.⁵

In other words, Serrurier claimed that Reland had been studying languages for valid reasons, and that there were also many scholars who learned languages for the wrong reasons. Serrurier's attitude towards language learning was widespread in the Early Modern period. More than fifty years earlier, bishop Brian Walton (1600–1661) asserted that

languages are just peels, yet cognition of things itself is the kernel. We do not learn languages as a goal in itself, but for something else. Whoever limits himself to languages resembles a man halting in the arcades of a house, without entering it and without seeing its interior.⁶

5 'Probe noverat eruditas linguas artium et scientiarum instrumenta esse, scientias vero solas et liberales artes animum ornare et perficere. Graecam igitur linguam et Latinam, omnesque Orientales, quibus aliqua eruditionis pars continetur, perdidicit, non ut inani fastu turgens alios superbe contemneret, quae quorumdam hominum vanitas est, neque ut ab omni ingenua doctrina et sapientiae disciplina vacuus sermonem tantum suum locupletaret, aut emendate et pure loquendi solam facultatem sibi compararet; verum ut pectus suum multa legendo omni reconditiori scientia expleret, ut puris quoque propriisque verbis de rebus gravissimis dicere et scribere posset', Serrurier, '*Oratio funebris*', p. 32.

6 'linguae enim putamina sunt, nucleus vero est ipsa rerum cognitio. Nec linguas propter se, sed propter aliud addiscimus. Qui vero in linguis haerent, similes sunt iis, qui in porticu subsistunt, in domum vero non intrant, nec eius penetralia vident', Walton, 'De linguarum

And more than fifty years later, we see how the purely ancillary position of language studies is still defended even by the man whom many textbooks style as the founder of modern linguistics. In a letter written in 1784, William Jones stated that he had always regarded ‘languages as the mere instruments of real learning’, and that it would be improper to confuse them ‘with learning itself’.⁷ Although not every Early Modern scholar would have supported this assessment, it is safe to say that it was a widespread topos from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. But if Serrurier was right that Reland only invested in languages for solely instrumental reasons, how can we explain his interest in remote Oriental and Occidental languages, many of which had no tradition in writing (and hence in learning)?

2 Mapping the World’s Languages

In one of his anonymous anti-dogmatic dissertations, which generated such outrage that their editor Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) ended up losing his censorship privileges,⁸ Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768) argued that it was impossible for all human beings on earth to reasonably believe in Revelation. Relying on Reland’s observation that in one Mexican province alone more than ten different languages were spoken, and referring to the very great number of languages included in John Chamberlayne’s *Lord’s Prayer* collection, even though that was considered to be outdated, Reimarus concluded that the ‘multiplicity of languages remains, therefore, an insurmountable difficulty in spreading the Revelation or in disseminating Christianity. When will we see the Bible translated and printed in 500 languages?’⁹ To answer Reimarus’s question: several Early Modern missionaries had already taken up this challenge, and their efforts are continued by present-day missionaries, such as the somewhat controversial Summer Institute of Linguistics.¹⁰ But

natura’, p. 218. See also Bibliander, *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius*, p. 42; Hayne, *Linguarum cognatio seu De linguis*, p. 64; praefatio.

7 Quoted after Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*, p. 122.

8 Groetsch, *Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768)*, pp. 3–4.

9 ‘Demnach bleibt die Vielheit der Sprachen eine unüberwindliche Schwierigkeit in der Ausbreitung einer Offenbarung oder des Christenthums. Wenn werden wir die Bibel in 500 Sprachen übersetzt und gedruckt sehen?’ [Reimarus], ‘Unmöglichkeit einer Offenbarung’, p. 325.

10 Zwartjes, ‘The Historiography of Missionary Linguistics’; de Souza, ‘Political and Linguistic Aspects of the History of Indigenous Linguistics in Brazil’.

what is interesting for our purposes here is that Reimarus refers to Reland as an authority regarding the languages of America.

A glance at his publications, manuscripts and letters reveals Reland's breadth of interest with regard to the world's languages. The corpus of sources we can rely on is extensive, but also somewhat heterogeneous. In the first place there are a number of succinct dissertations he published in his three-part *Dissertationes miscellaneae* (1706–1708), from which the contributions devoted to the American languages and the languages spoken on 'some Oriental islands' deserve special mention.¹¹ Especially the latter dissertation clearly reveals the extent to which Reland could rely on his VOC-informants, many of whom are mentioned in the work.¹² For the American languages, by contrast, Reland depended on published travel reports. The discovery of America led to an enormous epistemological shock in the Early Modern period. One of the many questions raised by the brand new continent was how its inhabitants had entered this landmass. A number of scholars had tried to find out to what extent the Indian languages could cast light on this vexing issue. Reland in his turn makes an attempt, but closes the work in aporia.

Next, there is his inaugural address on the Persian language.¹³ It concerns a speech delivered in February 1701, that is, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, then just fifty days old. This might explain why Reland deemed it fit to reflect on the past century. Both at the beginning and the end of his speech he bemoans the past golden ages, while deploring the prevailing utilitarian attitude with regard to the study of Oriental languages.

It is hard to put into words how much light the knowledge of these languages casts on sacred literature, as well as on the arts that take their name from *humanitas*, and how much glory scholars of the highest calibre—so rich was the harvest of such men in the century that lies behind us—have received thanks for these languages. Unfortunately they are no longer among us, great names such as those of Scaliger, Erpenius, Salmasius,

11 For a very recent translation of both dissertations in French, see the well-documented and extensive master thesis by Meyers, *Adrien Reland (1676–1718) linguiste et orientaliste*. The language-related dissertations in these volumes are the following: *De vetere lingua Indica* (vol. 1, pp. 209–232); *De reliquiis veteris linguae Persicae* (vol. 2, pp. 97–266); *De Persicis vocabulis Talmudis* (vol. 2, pp. 269–334); *De linguis insularum quarundam orientaliū* (vol. 3, pp. 57–139); *De linguis Americanis* (vol. 3, pp. 143–229).

12 See Reid, 'Indonesian Manuscripts in the Vatican Library'; Pytlowany and Van Hal, 'Merchants, Scholars and Languages'. See also Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, p. 86.

13 For a discussion of this work, see Bastiaensen, 'Adrien Reland et la justification des études orientales'. See also Nat, *De studie van de oostersche talen*, p. 11; de Bruijn, *De ontdekking van het Perzisch*, pp. 10ff.

Golius, Bochart, Pocock, Selden, Hottinger and many others. Now that envious fate has taken these heroes from us, it seems as though the eagerness to devote oneself to these subjects has waned. In the Low Countries it is not only indifference which has taken hold, but also a harmful aversion to the Eastern letters. For how few scholars actually read the writings of the Arabs and Persians, rather than merely opening them? And how many condemn what they do not understand, and emphasize, as if through divine inspiration, that knowledge of these languages is of no value at all? What is the point, they say, of investing time in the study of these languages? Even if we reach perfect knowledge of these languages we still cannot speak to anyone. What is our connection with Arabs or Persians, people who are so far removed from our world? Those who are considering a trip to these parts of the world will probably be able to benefit from it. But what is the point for those of us who do not intend to cross the borders of our homeland?¹⁴

These are some of the deceptive arguments, Reland continues, on which opponents are relying in order to discredit our studies.

There is, however, another published contribution by Reland that has hardly been studied so far—his 1715 dissertation on the language of the ancient Egyptians. This text, which cannot be discussed in the frame of this contribution for reasons of space, was included in a volume in the production process of which Reland was initially expected to play a central role. Around 1710 John Chamberlayne (1666–1723) took the initiative of publishing a revised edition of translations of the Lord's Prayer.¹⁵ In order to persuade Gottfried

14 'Harum cognitione quanta lux oborta sit sacris literis, quanta illis artibus, quae ab humanitate nomen invenerunt, et quam sibi famam paraverint viri summa eruditione conspicui, quorum uberrima fuit seges proximo saeculo, dici vix potest. Fuerunt, proh dolor! illa magna nomina, Scaligeri, Erpenii, Salmasii, Golii, Bocharti, Pocokii, Seldeni, Hottingeri, aliaque plurima. Quos Heroas ubi invida fata nobis eripuerunt, deferbuisse videtur ardor excolendi hoc studium, et invasit Belgium non neglectio tantum, sed turpe fastidium, literarum Orientis. Quam exiguus est eorum numerus, qui Arabum scripta aut Persarum, non dicam, evolvunt, sed legunt? At quantus illorum, qui non intellecta contemnunt, et nullius usus esse harum linguarum cognitionem quasi e tripode pronunciant. Quid prodest, inquiunt, tempus istis linguis discendis locare, quarum licet simus peritissimi, in colloquutione cum aliis nulla est utilitas? Quid nobis cum Arabibus aut Persis, populis ab orbe nostro remotissimis? Qui iter in desertas istas regiones instituere cogitat, forte aliquem inde usum percipiet, sed quid hoc ad nos, qui patriae nostrae fines egredi in animo non habemus?', Reland, *Oratio pro lingua Persica et cognatis litteris Orientalibus*, pp. 6–7; see also pp. 33–34.

15 On this tradition, see Van Hal, 'Leibniz, das Vaterunser und die Sprachvielfalt'.

Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) to contribute to this collaborative project, in 1713 Chamberlayne provided an overview of all the prospective assets of the planned volume. Apart from the fact that Chamberlayne claimed he would double the number of language specimens to be included, he also boasted of having improved the method, of having reduced a range of errors, and of having several renowned men on board, all of them willing to write an accompanying essay. Adriaan Reland was mentioned as one of the contributors. Moreover, Reland was also engaged to deal with the typographical aspects of the collection, and might have been supposed to serve as the collection's general editor.¹⁶ In the end, however, the young scholar David Wilkins (1685–1745) was entrusted with the role of editor, and Chamberlayne also decided to publish the work in Amsterdam instead of Utrecht. The new editor reported in 1714, one year before the volume materialized, that 'Utrecht had no letters for half the languages in which these prayers were written, and had no engraver, but Amsterdam had most of all that'.¹⁷ It is also plausible that Reland assisted Johannes Ruëll in publishing his Sinhalese grammar by adding a Roman transliteration.¹⁸ This shows that in the first quarter of the eighteenth century Reland was seen as an important authority when it came to mapping the world's languages.

As an aside, Reland had already published specimens of the Lord's Prayer. At the end of his third volume of brief dissertations, published in 1708, he decided to include, in a compact way, thirteen translations of the Lord's Prayer in Slavonic languages, just in order to 'avoid empty pages'.¹⁹ Remarkably, Reland invites his readership to compare these Slavonic Lord's Prayers with the Islandic and American vocabulary he offered in his dissertation on the

16 '[J]'ay ajouté un autre Centaine presque; mes Amis me attend que j'ay redressé de Fautes et que ma Methode est plus utile que la dernière, et quelques uns de mes Sçavans Correspondants, comme le Dr Nicolson Eveque de Carlile, le Dr Wotton, Mr le Professeur Reland, ont bien voulu enrichir mon Recueil par des Discours ou Dissertations Epistolaires sur l'origine des Langues, leurs Relations ou Analogie, Changemens etc; le dit Mr Reland a eu la bonté aussi de prendre le soin de faire graver par les meilleurs Mains plusieurs des versions dans les Langues orientales et de faire imprimer toutes les restes à Utrecht'. Cited after Zulaika Hernández, 'Nuevos datos sobre las obras vascas de Pierre d'Urte', p. 325.

17 Anon., *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland*, p. 456.

18 Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis insularum quarundam orientalium', pp. 81–82. Pytlowany and Van Hal, 'Merchants, Scholars and Languages'.

19 'Ne pagellae quaedam vacant'. Reland, *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars tertia*, unnumbered page (fol. S 3). The data was drawn from a table that was inserted in Johann Weikhard von Valvasor's (1641–1693) chorographical work on the Duchy of Carniola, which is today the central part of Slovenia. See von Valvasor, *Deß Hochlöblichen Hertzogthums Crain*, table inserted between pp. 274–275.

American languages. One can imagine how baffled his readership must have been, particularly since the material offered in that dissertation had hardly any overlap with the vocabulary included in the Lord's Prayer.

Since not all published works by Reland have been studied in depth, it comes as no surprise that this applies even more to his manuscript legacy. 'Manuscript legacy' should be understood in a double sense. On the one hand, there is the rich collection of manuscripts he accumulated during his life, some of which he enriched with his own annotations. In a 'Dictionary of Sanskrit or of the language of the Brahmans', now preserved in the Vatican library, Reland expresses, for example, his astonishment about the more than forty synonyms for 'sun' and more than twenty for 'moon'.²⁰ In one of the letters Reland exchanged with Mathurin Veyssière de la Croze (1661–1739) via Gisbert Cuper (1644–1716), who served as a hub of epistolary exchange, he explained that he had shared all his Chinese manuscripts, stemming from Martino Martini's (1614–1661) and J. Golius's (1596–1667) legacy, with a certain mister 'Masson', a French scholar who was staying in the Netherlands as a private teacher.²¹ This suggests how Reland wanted to make his manuscript treasures productive in the *Respublica litterarum*.

At the same time we have a number of manuscript letters written by Reland which cast some light on his interest in remote languages. Two important correspondents of Reland were Gisbert Cuper, an all-round classical scholar with a special interest in coins and medals, and Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), the mayor of Amsterdam and one of the chairmen of the VOC. In a letter to Witsen, Reland writes:

I have often been told that you, Sir, own many Indian manuscripts, among which several in unknown characters. I am very curious to know more about these, since I myself own some Javanese, Malayan, Japanese, Chinese and other manuscripts, and cannot think what these unknown

20 Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica, MS Vat. Ind. 8. 'Sjasjanam est liber, Nama est nomen, Lingam genus. Nam in hoc libro distinguuntur singulae voces per genera sua' (f. 140); for the names of the sun, see ff. 56–57, and for the moon, see ff. 50–51.

21 'Ego in Sinicis versatum hominem in patria nostra nullum novi praeter Gallum quendam, Masson nomine, qui in pago non longe hinc, Capelle dicto, aliquot annos exegit, praepositus studiis Nobilis juvenis Belgae, qui illic habitat. Communicavi cum eo, omnia mea Sinica m[anu]s[crip]ta, quae a Martino Martini et Golio profecta sunt, et saepe illum hortatus sum, ut specimen aliquod Sinicum ederet; quod promisit, sed ultra promissa nihil hactenus ab eo extorquere potui', Cuper, *Lettres de critique*, p. 108. See also the contribution of Anna Pytlowany in this volume, p. 278.

characters might be: although it is said that in some islands to the east of Java, writing is used that is still unknown to us.²²

In a subsequent letter (dated 1714), he further explains:

I have often heard that apart from Malay, Singhalese, Javanese, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese and some other languages about which enough information is available, there are other scripts used on some oriental islands, which are entirely different from the others. From Borneo we have nothing apart from the Malay and Portuguese that is spoken on the shores, but who knows what kind of script is used in the heart of the island's interior?²³

It is interesting to note that Reland was very well aware that there were still many languages to be discovered, in the East as well as in the West: in his dissertation on the American languages he explained that 'there were many languages the existence of which had not yet reached the Europeans'.²⁴

This very brief survey has made clear that Reland seems to have been interested in all languages that were spoken, and especially written, on earth.

3 Comparing the World's Languages: Why and How?

The above prompts us to ask the pressing question: why was Reland interested in these exotic languages? We have seen that Reland was a passionate advocate of the Oriental tongues, including languages such as Hebrew, Arabic and Persian (the last of which, we now know, belongs to the Indo-European

22 Cited in Peters, 'From the Study of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717)', p. 32. 'Mij is dikwils gesegt dat U Wel[edele] veele Indiaanse manuscripten besit, en daer onder eenige met onbekende characters. Ik ben seer nieuwsgirig te weten wat daer van zij, dewijl ik seleve ook al eenige Javaanse, Maleysse, Japanse, Sineese en andere manuscripten besit, en niet kan nadenken wat voor onbekende charcters dat zijn: hoewel men seydt dat er op sommige eylanden ten oosten van Java nogh schrift gebruykt werd dat ons onbekend is'.

23 'Ik heb dikwils gehoord dat buyten het Maleys, Singalees, Javaans, Siaams, Sinees, Japonnees en eenighe andere taalen, daer men genoeg faam naright van heeft nogh schrift is op sommige oosterse eylanden, dat gansch ver schillende is van de andere. Van Borneo heeft men niets, als dat men op de zeekusten Maleys spreekt of Portugees, dogh wat voor schrift binnens lands gebruykt word, wie weet dat?' (unpublished manuscript, University Library Amsterdam).

24 'Plurimae enim sunt, quarum notitia ad populos Europaeos nondum pervenit', Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis insularum quarundam orientalium', p. 103.

language family). His interest in such languages could be easily motivated by highlighting their relevance for Biblical studies. But this does not hold true for languages such as Malay and Nahuatl. Later, in his oration on the *dignitas* and *praestantia* of Persian, Reland also stresses the significance of Persian for enhancing knowledge about history. 'In addition', Reland states, 'our [classical] authors tell many dubious and ridiculous stories about Zoroaster, the teachings and rites of the ancient magicians, and the rituals of Mithras, which first spread from the Persians to the Egyptians'. Here we see how the initially almost blind adoration for classical historiographers, which was prevalent until well into the seventeenth century, has given way to a significantly more critical approach to ancient writings. 'Without knowledge of the Persian language', Reland adds, 'we can only admit that we ourselves are in the dark to such an extent that even the name of Zoroaster has until now not been correctly written or pronounced among Europeans'.²⁵

In one of his dissertations, Reland gives some very enlightening background to his aims:

It is by no means my aim to offer here full grammars or vocabularies of the languages to be discussed. I just want to give the readers a specimen of the letters used by those peoples in writing [...] or of some rather daily words, from which one can evaluate the resemblance of these languages to others, and the origins of the peoples themselves—origins are very often to be detected by examining linguistic kinship.²⁶

This is, in many respects, a very revealing statement. First of all, Reland emphasizes that he does not envisage offering complete linguistic tools. Needless to say, such an endeavor would cross the boundaries of feasibility. But even if it had been feasible, Reland seems to suggest that this would not matter so much. His principal goal consists in giving his readership an idea of what a certain language looked like. This reminds us of John Smith's addition of

25 'Adde, quod incerta plurima et ridicula narrentur ab auctoribus nostris de Zoroastre, de veterum Magorum disciplina et ritibus, de sacris Mithriacis, quae a Persis primum ad Aegyptios propagata sunt, in quibus, sine cognitione linguae Persicae, caecutire nos adeo fatendum est, ut ne nomen quidem Zoroastris, recte inter Europaeos scriptum fuerit hactenus, aut pronunciatum'. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

26 'Nequaquam vero propositum mihi est illarum linguarum, de quibus agam, Grammaticas integras aut Lexica hoc loco exhibere, sed tantum lectori aliquod specimen dare tum literarum quibus istae gentes in scribendo utuntur, [...] tum communiorum vocum, ex quibus iudicium ferri potest de convenientia harum linguarum cum reliquis, et ipsorum populorum originibus, quae ex sermonis affinitate cum aliis saepissime deteguntur'. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

a Virginia Algonquian vocabulary to his map of Virginia, subheaded with the text 'Because many doe desire to knowe the manner of their Language, I have inserted these few words'.²⁷ Laura J. Murray was right in stressing the significance of the word *manner*: 'people want to hear it, not speak it, Smith perceived'.²⁸ So does Reland suggest here that the range of linguistic specimens he is offering only serves to satisfy his audience's curiosity?²⁹ In a way he does. But the word 'curiosity' needs qualification here: it does not concern 'non-committal curiosity', given that Reland seems to assume that his readers' curiosity is motivated by their interest in the similarities between different languages. Such linguistic kinship, in turn, allows one to trace the prehistory of mankind. This is an idea that was also extremely prominent in Leibniz's contemporary writings.³⁰ Both scholars thus seem to have strongly believed in the basic assumption that languages could help shed light on the prehistory of mankind. In this regard it is astonishing to find that Leibniz and Reland never seem to have been directly in touch with each other, although both men had developed an impressive epistolary exchange. The number of Reland's letters that have been preserved is, in comparison to Leibniz's correspondence, much more modest, and deserves to be investigated as a project in its own right.

The enormous scope of Reland's topics—the languages he describes and/or compares cover the entire world—could give rise to the suspicion that the Utrecht scholar would at times go too far in his adventurous audacity. However, nothing could be further from the truth. Reland was very well aware that whoever attempted to compare remote languages risked treading on dangerous ground. He deplored that many all too enthusiastic colleagues had not adopted a sufficiently cautious approach, and that a flood of senseless etymologies had meanwhile contaminated the vulnerable field, thus strengthening scholars who had no belief whatsoever in the value of etymology. He himself explicitly contrasted the inherently conjectural nature of etymology with the watertight principles mathematics was built on, and preferred observing silence to formulating bold etymologies.³¹

27 Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, p. 40.

28 Murray, 'Vocabularies of Native American Languages', p. 594.

29 A recent book on the role of curiosity in Early Modern linguistic research is Considine, *Small Dictionaries and Curiosity*.

30 See several contributions in Li, *Einheit der Vernunft und Vielfalt der Sprachen*; Carhart, *Leibniz Discovers Asia*.

31 Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis Americanis', pp. 152–153; Reland, 'De reliquiis veteris linguae Persicae', pp. 98, 181–182. Cf. Bastiaensen, 'Adrien Reland à la recherche d'une méthode comparative', pp. 52–53; Van Hal, 'Moedertalen en taalmoeders', p. 448.

Reland shows another example of his analytical mindset when discussing the possible causes of language similarity. Such typologies are indeed rather rare in Early Modern treatises.³² 'If one wants to claim that one language stems from another', Reland argues, 'it is not enough for there to be some words which show resemblance'.³³ Similarity between just a few words can be based on mere chance or on the principle known today as *iconicity*. Words referring to animals or auditive phenomena tend to have similar forms in many languages in that they imitate similar sounds. However, this is not tantamount to saying that these languages are related.³⁴ Today the cuckoo is often used as an example of this principle, but Reland illustrates it by listing a range of other words, the first of which is 'to gargle', which he refers to in Dutch (*gorgelen*), Latin (*gargarizare*) and Arabic (غرغر). In addition, Reland continues, not all words qualify for comparison: in order to demonstrate genealogical kinship one's research should be based on common and simple words, such as numbers.³⁵ It is important to note that the Latin word *communis*, just like the English word *common*, is somewhat ambiguous—especially in this context, as it can mean 'general', 'familiar', 'ordinary' (cf. English 'it is a very *common* error'), as well as 'shared' (cf. English 'we have much in *common*'). Reland makes use of both meanings throughout his dissertations, but he tends to employ the comparative *communior* when referring to the former meaning. In so doing Reland shows how he particularly emphasized the relevance of comparing words that belonged to the so-called 'basic vocabulary'. A recent textbook on historical linguistics describes the notion of 'basic vocabulary' as follows:

Most scholars insist that basic vocabulary should be part of the supporting evidence presented in favour of any distant family relationship. Basic vocabulary is usually not defined rigorously but is understood generally

32 See for other examples Van Hal, 'Moedertalen en taalmoeders', p. 441.

33 'Nec enim sufficit, ut una lingua ex alia orta dicatur, voces quasdam inter se convenire'. Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis Americanis', p. 146.

34 'Praeter casum fortuitum, cui saepe convenientia duarum vocum in linguis diversissimis debetur, possunt nonnunquam et aliis de causis voces convenire, licet una ab alia ortum non acceperit, si ita formatae sint, ut sono suo rem quam significant, exprimant, quod manifestissimum est in iis vocabulis quae ad exprimendos sonos tum animalium tum rerum in animatarum, uti venti, tonitru, aquarum, ponderum delabentium, collisorum, trementium facta, &c. sunt'. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

35 'Praeterea ortus unius linguae ex alia non ex vocibus rarioris usus aestimari debet, (quod saepe fit ab iis qui convenientias vocum indagant) sed communioribus, uti numeris, quorum notae in omnibus linguis inveniuntur; et ex simplicissimis, non iis quae ex duabus, tribusve, aliis vocibus compositae sunt, quales in Asiaticis linguis, atque Americanis inveniuntur plurimae'. *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151.

to include terms for body parts, close kinship, frequently encountered aspects of the natural world (mountain, river, cloud and the like) and low numbers. Basic vocabulary is in general resistant to borrowing, and so, similarities found in comparisons involving basic vocabulary items are unlikely to be due to diffusion and hence stand a better chance of being evidence of distant genetic relationships, of being inherited from a common ancestor, than other kinds of vocabulary.³⁶

Elsewhere, Reland gave some more examples of what he understood by 'common nouns', apart from numbers.³⁷ Especially insightful is a catalogue of 67 basic words which served as a starting point for comparing Chinese, Japanese and Vietnamese,³⁸ followed by an overview of the numbers from 1 to 1000. I here list the English translations of the Latin entries of Reland's comparative table.

1) Heaven; 2) Earth; 3) Real; 4) Lord; 5) **Person**; 6) **Man**; 7) **Woman**; 8) Wife; 9) Husband; 10) *Father*; 11) *Mother*; 12) Brother; 13) Sister; 14) Son; 15) Daughter; 16) Grandfather; 17) Grandmother; 18) *Boy, girl*; 19) *Heaven, sky*; 20) **Fire**; 21) Air; 22) **Water**; 23) **Earth**; 24) **Sun**; 25) **Moon**; 26) **Star**; 27) **Mountain**; 28) *River*; 29) *Year*; 30) Month; 31) *Day*; 32) **Night**; 33) Slave; 34) City; 35) Sword; 36) Bread; 37) Wine; 38) **Good**; 39) *Bad*; 40) Death (*to die*); 41) Sack; 42) **Eat**; 43) **Drink**; 44) **Talk**; 45) **Black**; 46) **White**; 47) **Yellow**; 48) **Red**; 49) **Green**; 50) Blue; 51) King; 52) Lightning (*fulmen*); 53) Thunder; 54) Lightning (*coruscatio*); 55) **Cloud**; 56) **Head**; 57) Arm; 58) **Hand**; 59) **Feet**; 60) *Legs*; 61) **Hair**; 62) **Mouth**; 63) **Nose**; 64) **Ears**; 65) **Teeth**; 66) Beard; 67) Forehead.

It is very revealing to see how much overlap there is between Reland's intuitive list of basic items and the items that are currently seen as 'basic vocabulary'. The entries in bold also surface in the well-known list of 100 basic words established by Morris Swadesh (1909–1967) in the mid-twentieth century, which was designed to enable large-scale lexical comparison. The items in italics can be found in an originally more extensive list by Swadesh, containing 200 items.³⁹ Importantly, however, we should note that Swadesh too

36 Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, pp. 348–349.

37 Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis Americanis', p. 145.

38 'Sed ecce tandem ipsum Catalogum vocum communiorum ...' Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis insularum quarundam orientalium', p. 112.

39 <https://concepticon.clld.org/contributions/Swadesh-1964-100>; <https://concepticon.clld.org/contributions/Swadesh-1952-200>.

seems to have created his lists intuitively. Besides, the reliability of his lists has been disputed by more recent linguists who have shown that not all the basic words identified by Swadesh are so basic that they can withstand borrowing.⁴⁰ Finally, it should be noted that Reland was far from being the first scholar to underline the methodological importance of basic vocabulary,⁴¹ although it is fair to say that Reland implemented the idea in a very tangible way.

Thus relying on such lexical principles Reland was exceptionally successful in detecting and establishing the kinship between Malagasy, a language of Madagascar, and Malay, the *lingua franca* in Indonesia. These languages are currently known to belong to the Austronesian language group. Reland was able to connect these languages by comparing a number of manuscript vocabularies he obtained thanks to his VOC contacts. Despite being based on lexical comparison alone, this was a major achievement for that time—one which is still well-known today as it is mentioned in a host of recent textbooks and research papers.⁴²

In the Early Modern period many humanists were eager to match different languages with similar names, such as Goths and Getes, or Armenians and Aramaeans. Reland was one of the few humanists who objected to reading so much into a mere similarity between two ethnonyms. With regard to languages spoken in Asia, Malay (Indonesian) and Malabaric (Tamil or Malayalam) were often erroneously identified.

What we have said about the Malabaric language shows sufficiently that it is not identical to Malay [...]. Neither the characters nor the words and their meanings are similar, nor are the languages used in the same places. There is nothing that can make anyone believe that Malabaric and Malay are one and the same, apart from a shadow of similarity in the names of both languages.⁴³

40 Tadmor, 'Loanwords in the World's Languages: Findings and Results', pp. 72–73.

41 Van Hal, *Moedertalen en taalmoeders*, passim.

42 See e.g. Melebek, *Sejarah bahasa Melayu*, p. 2; Pawley, 'Explaining the Aberrant Austronesian Languages', p. 221; Donohue and Denham, 'Farming and Language in Island Southeast Asia', p. 227.

43 'Haec quae de lingua Malabarica notavimus satis ostendunt non esse illam eandem cum lingua Malaïca [...]. Nec characteres literarum, nec voces, earumve significationes conveniunt, nec iisdem in locis hujus et illius usus est, nec quicquam est, quod aliquem persuadere posset linguas Malabaricam et Malaïcam esse unam eandemque, nisi convenientia aliqua quae inter nomen Malabaricum et Malaïcum est'. Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis insularum quarundam orientalium', p. 91.

It may be that such linguistic and methodological insights help explain why Reland gained such a strong foothold among later linguists.⁴⁴ It is indeed safe to say that Reland's writings on languages other than the Semitic ones were well-received throughout the entire eighteenth century, and that some of them even 'survived' the nineteenth century. In his 1762 *Course of lectures on the theory of language, and universal grammar*, a very wide-ranging overview of all matters linguistic, the British polymath Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) included Reland's dissertations in his succinct 'further reading section', as one of the very few non-English references.⁴⁵ We have already seen that his astute observations on the Austronesian language group are still relatively well-known today, which is probably the result of the continuous attention that was given to Reland's dissertation. When the versatile British scholar William Marsden (1754–1836) elaborated on Reland's observation that Malay and Malagasy were related,⁴⁶ there is no doubt that Marsden must have been familiar with Reland's work, since Marsden published, in two editions, a catalogue of his impressive book and manuscript collection with a clear focus on Oriental philology and linguistics. He did not fail to mention Reland's *dissertationes*.⁴⁷ Reland's success in revealing the kinship between the Austronesian languages led Georg von der Gabelentz (1840–1893), a German Sinologist and general linguist in the Humboldtian tradition, to declare him in 1891 to be 'the first comparative linguist—in the present-day sense of the word—known to me'.⁴⁸ The last section of this contribution demonstrates why Gabelentz' assessment was probably all too benevolent.

4 A Discussion between Reland and William Wotton on the Origins of Present-Day Language Diversity

That Reland has not been successful in all regards was also pointed out by a number of later scholars. The Roman Catholic cardinal Nicholas Wiseman (1802–1865), for instance, summarized the nineteenth-century criticism of Reland's approach in his dissertation on the Indian language as follows:

44 For some other of Reland's comparative merits, see Bastiaensen, 'Adrien Reland à la recherche d'une méthode comparative', pp. 51–52.

45 Priestley, *On the Theory of Language, and Universal Grammar*, p. 305.

46 Carroll, 'William Marsden and Patterns of British Scholarship in the Malay Peninsula', p. 270.

47 Marsden, *A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, and Alphabets*, p. 56.

48 von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 27.

He had collected the Indian words preserved in ancient authors, and found that many of them could be illustrated from the Persian. Yet this did not lead him to suspect an affinity between the Indian and the Persian languages. But as he knew no grounds on which to resort to the usual expedient of supposing that one had given birth to the other, he was unable, upon any principle then known, to solve this problem; and therefore concluded that the words so collected were not Indian but Persian, and that the ancients had been mistaken in giving them as Indian.⁴⁹

Similar criticisms had been voiced in the course of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ ‘The Utrecht scholar was not, by any means, a genius ahead of his time’, Michel Bastiaensen rightly notes.⁵¹ It is indeed safe to say that Reland in many respects remained a child of his time. His interest in the prehistory and cradle of mankind did not imply that he was no longer reliant on the Biblical framework. On the contrary, his interest in the languages of the Oriental islands was partly motivated by his endeavors to localize ‘Ophir’, the extremely wealthy Biblical region from which King Solomon imported cargoes of gold and silver. He also expressed the idea that all languages had their roots in Hebrew, with the exception of some ‘artificial languages’ including Japanese and Chinese.⁵² Nevertheless, Reland’s belief in Hebrew as the primeval language has, albeit mildly, been called into question. Bastiaensen correctly observes how ‘Reland paradoxically succeeds in affirming the Hebrew origin of languages, while accumulating facts that only weaken this position: one can therefore wonder whether he really believed in the primacy of Hebrew and whether this was not rather a way of adhering to convenience and being cautious.’⁵³

49 Wiseman, ‘The Comparative Study of Languages (Part 1)’, p. 12.

50 ‘If Reland be well founded in his opinion, that many of the words mentioned by ancient authors as Indian are really Persian, we may conclude that there was an early intercourse between Persia and India, of which hardly any trace remains in history’. Robertson, *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge Which the Ancients Had of India*, p. 338.

51 Bastiaensen, ‘Adrien Reland à la recherche d’une méthode comparative’, p. 53.

52 ‘Hae enim de novo confictae sunt artificiose a sapientibus illorum populorum, qui ut omnem doctrinam intra societatem suam continerent, et viam ad scientias difficiliorem redderent, veteri linguae abolitae novam, eamque monosyllabicam, ac certis modulis sonisque adstrictam, et aliquot vocum millibus intricatam substituerunt (quod de Sinensi omnino affirmandum videtur) vel ab origine sua Hebraea ita abeunt, ut convenientia, quae inter illas intercedit, agnoscere nequeat. Saltem hactenus a quoquam cum successu tentata non sit, quod sciam, illorum sermonum derivatio ex fontibus Hebraeis’. Reland, ‘Dissertatio de linguis Americanis’, pp. 144.

53 ‘Au demeurant, dans sa préface, Reland réalise le paradoxe d’affirmer l’origine hébraïque des langues, tout en accumulant des faits qui ne font qu’affaiblir cette position: on peut dès lors se demander s’il y croyait vraiment et s’il ne s’agissait pas plutôt d’une formule

In order to find out what ideas Reland developed about the primeval language and the factors underlying present-day linguistic diversity, we need to collect his statements on this subject as pieces of a puzzle. In his book on the languages of the Amerindians, he states:

But if someone would ask my opinion on the similarities between the American languages and the languages of our continent, given that it is crystal-clear that the American peoples can be traced back to Noah: just like our forebears, their forebears must have employed a certain language, or languages, which do not differ to such an extent from Hebrew as the languages which are currently in use. However, in my opinion, the languages that are nowadays spoken among the Americans do not reveal any hint of their Hebrew roots [...]. I therefore think that the languages of the Americans have so far been compared in vain to Hebrew.⁵⁴

This remains a little puzzling: does Reland seek to trace the languages of the Indians back to Hebrew or not? It might be helpful to bring this idea into connection with a statement he made in a letter to Gisbert Cuper, which no longer survives as such, or which, at least, is currently unlocated. Parts of this letter, however, are still known, because Cuper cites from it in a letter to Otto Sperlingius (1634–1715). The extensive literary exchange between both scholars was published in 1737. In this indirect way we learn how Reland ‘completely disagrees with scholars who opine that the builders of the Tower at Babylon returned to a single tongue as soon as they ceased their work’. And Reland continues: ‘Nor am I convinced that the various languages of the world as they are known to us today originated at that place’.⁵⁵ At first sight this statement seems to indicate that Reland rejects the biblical story, thus undermining the position

de commodité et de prudence’. Bastiaensen, ‘Adrien Reland et la justification des études orientales’, p. 21.

54 ‘Quod si aliquis a me quaerat, quid ego sentiam de convenientia harum linguarum cum linguis nostrae continentis, quum sine dubio gentes Americanae eundem nobiscum Noachum parentem habeant, et ex aliquo trium filiorum ejus natae sint, ipsorum quoque proavi, uti et nostri, lingua aliqua, vel linguis, usi olim fuerunt, quae non adeo ab Hebraea discrepabant, ac illae quibus nunc utuntur. Has vero quae hodie in usu sunt apud Americanos ego existimo nulla praeferre ortus sui ex lingua Hebraea indicia [...] sic ut meo judicio frustra hactenus ad hunc finem comparatae fuerint Linguae Americanae cum Hebraea’. Reland, ‘Dissertatio de linguis Americanis’, p. 146.

55 ‘Plane non sentio cum iis, qui rediisse ad linguam unam architectos turris Babylonicae autumant, postquam ab opere illo cessarunt; et ego nequaquam mihi persuadeo, diversas linguas ibi ortas fuisse, quas nunc per orbem terrarum esse usitatas novimus’. Polenus, ‘Gisberti Cuperi et Ottonis Sperlingii dissertationes’, p. 278.

of Hebrew as the first language. But thanks to a dissertation by William Wotton (1666–1727) which is well worth reading, we realize that this is by no means the case. We should therefore dwell briefly on Wotton's publication, which has so far only attracted limited scholarly attention.

Just like Leibniz and Reland, Wotton had contributed to Chamberlayne's Lord's Prayer project by submitting an essay as a letter to Chamberlayne in 1713.⁵⁶ Posthumously, however, an edition of the original English letter was being sold for one shilling, as can be inferred from the title page of *A Discourse Concerning the Confusion of Languages at Babel*. In the opinion of the anonymous editor, such a publication was not superfluous, given that the discourse as printed in Chamberlayne's collection was 'with great Disadvantage both to the Author and the Reader'. 'The frequent Mistakes committed [in] it', the editor continues, 'were so obvious, that they could not escape without Censure. And I thought it but Justice due to Dr. Wotton's Memory, to give an Edition as it came from his own Hand.'⁵⁷ What the editor fails to mention here, is the fact that the letter in Chamberlayne's volume was translated into Latin. Wotton applauded Chamberlayne's plan:

Your Collection of *Lord's Prayers* in so many different Languages, some dead, some living, some ancient, some modern, which so few Scholars, comparatively speaking, would judge to be worth the Pains, and Study and Expense that you have been at to collect, led me to think that the famous Problem concerning the Confusion of Languages that happened among the Workmen of the Tower of *Babel*, might by comparing many Languages together, be determined even to a Demonstration; and that by knowing the Succession of those Tongues, with which we are in some tolerable Measure acquainted, and comparing their several Characteristicks by which they are essentially and formally distinguished from one another, we may come to know, whether God did then miraculously create new Tongues, and so consequently force those Workmen to separate for want of understanding what each other said, or whether he only made them quarrel, and thereby induced them to part, and so leave their Work unfinished.⁵⁸

After announcing that he will support the first position, which is 'most agreeable to the Text', Wotton dives into Biblical hermeneutics by discussing the

56 Wottonius, 'Dissertatio de confusione linguarum Babylonica'.

57 Wotton, *A Discourse Concerning the Confusion of Languages at Babel*, p. 70.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

crucial passages in *Genesis*. He defends the thesis that the Hebrew word *shaphah* can indeed refer to 'language'. It is very fascinating to observe how he then summarises, in very clear language, another argument of his opponents, arguing against a miraculous genesis. 'We see in a thousand Years', so he introduces the new point, 'what Alterations and Deviations have been made from the Latin in France, Italy, Spain, and the Subalpine Regions'.⁵⁹ Many examples follow, emphasizing the mutual unintelligibility of several closely related Germanic and Romance languages. 'The Islandish (or the old Norn, or Norwegian Language) which is the Mother of the Danish and Swedish Idioms, is not intelligible now without Study, by a Native of Copenhagen or Stockholm'.⁶⁰ This brings him to the following conclusion, aired by his opponents.

If then, say those who think that this Confusion was not miraculous, such Alterations are actually visible in Dialects which have been formed from Languages still extant, in so few Years, what may we reasonably suppose to have been in Languages that existed above three Thousand Years ago?

The question is significant, because we see here how empirical findings led to reinterpretations of the biblical story before they would eventually usher in the end of its literal readings. Although not undermining the validity of the above question, Wotton puts forward an interesting counter-argument, which is twofold in nature. First, the examples given show how all these languages are 'manifest Deviations from one common Original, tho' not all from the same'.⁶¹ Some of the languages can be traced to Latin, but other languages must stem from other originals: 'there are several such common Originals in the World'. And second, these languages, although they 'may have some few Words in common', are characterized by 'a quite distinct Frame and Make from many others; and this Frame and Make runs thro', and is manifestly visible in their Subdivisions, and has been so from all Antiquity'.⁶² I will return to this argument, which Wotton develops in the following ten pages or so, in more detail later on. Taking into account that 'by the lowest Computation the Earth was MDCCXVII Years old, when this Confusion happened; and that by that Account it is not six Thousand Years old now',⁶³ he therefore reaches the conclusion that, 'considering the Time that has elapsed since the Building of the Tower of

59 Ibid., p. 12.

60 Ibid., p. 13.

61 Ibid., p. 14.

62 Ibid., p. 15.

63 Ibid., p. 31.

Babel; and considering what Progress and Alterations some of the Languages which we know have made in three Thousand Years [...],⁶⁴ the fundamental diversity of languages can only be accounted for by invoking a miraculous design of languages.

The above statement is of special interest, because Wotton formulates an explicit assumption here which is, in a merely implicit way, truly seminal and all-pervading in the Early Modern mindset, while at the same time being very far removed from our present-day thinking. The reasoning of my opponents, Wotton thus suggests, is valid if—and only if—our earth is much older than it really is—in other words, it should be much older than fifty centuries or so. Indeed, Wotton's train of thought thus makes clear the extent to which contemporary views on our planet's life-span impacted ideas on prehistory. If we as 21st-century readers try to interiorise such an extremely restricted life-span, it suddenly becomes much less absurd to speculate, for instance, about the nature of the original 'primal language'. And it also explains why there had been, in Wotton's view, simply not enough time for a gradual coming into being of such a fundamentally diversified linguistic landscape. 'Let any Man look here in Europe into the Finnish Tongue, and its Dialects, the Esthish, and the Lettish; let him examine the Hungarian, which is a Language entirely different from any other spoken in Europe'.⁶⁵ Further on he mentions, among other languages, Gaulish, Persian and Chinese as plausible original languages.⁶⁶

Wotton concludes his dissertation by mentioning that he had received 'some Objections which our excellent Friend Mr. Reland did me the Honour to send me, when I sent him a Sketch of my Thoughts some Years ago, upon this Subject'.⁶⁷ This thus implies an epistolary exchange between Wotton and Reland predating 1710 or so. Wotton is so kind as to take his time in formulating Reland's opinion on this matter:

His Notion is much the same with *Stiernhielm's*, that there were no Tongues formed in *Babel*; but that either they have all been derived by gradual and imperceptible Alterations from the *Hebrew*, which he takes for granted was the Language of *Noah*, or were formed at once by mutual Agreement. And that if we consider what an entire Separation of all Intercourse; a Disability in some Nations of pronouncing four or five Letters, which are Familiar to other People, by Reason of the different

64 Ibid., p. 36.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., pp. 42–43.

67 Ibid., p. 55.

Disposition of the Organs of their Speech; what different Customs and different Diet will produce, this is not so much to be wondered at.⁶⁸

Indeed, we see how Reland, in his dissertations, traces some Greek, Latin and Dutch words back to Hebrew (such as *vinum*, *wyn*, οἶνος ['wine'] to וַיִּין).⁶⁹ This was common practice in the Early Modern period, and in combination with Wotton's testimony, we can be quite sure that Reland truly believed Hebrew to be the primeval language, thus doing more than paying just lip service. Wotton then paraphrases Reland's objections (which are four in number) and his own answers to these criticisms, three of which I will succinctly present here.

If one assumes that God suddenly created new languages 'in order to oblige the Workmen to disperse', Reland asks, why do we see that 'those Colonies which spoke Languages that were nearly akin to one another' remained neighbours? We would expect, rather, that tribes with similar languages would be 'removed at the greatest Distances and those whose Languages were entirely different placed next one another. The Chineses for the Purpose should have been planted near the Chaldeans and their nearest Neighbours removed into China. This would have done the Work to Purpose [...]'. Wotton is forced to acknowledge that Reland's reasoning is ingenious and valid, and he does not offer a really convincing rebuttal.

In another objection, we learn more about Reland's ideas about Japanese and Chinese as being artificial languages.

But Mr. Reland supposes that some Languages have been made by Agreement all at once. Thus he thinks that the Chinese, and the Language of the Incas of Peru were at first imposed upon those People at the Command of the Sovereigns of those Countries who might imagine and not improbably by this Means to keep their Subjects together and to hinder them from mixing with other Nations.⁷⁰

Reland's strong belief in Hebrew as the world's first language and his conviction that languages had developed only gradually from Hebrew may have prompted him to embrace this rather idiosyncratic idea. Wotton counters Reland by pointing out that such an imposition could be only successful in a 'Monarchy where the Sovereign is entirely absolute and where the People are disposed to pay a religious as well as an entire Obedience to all his Commands.

68 Ibid., pp. 42–43.

69 Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis Americanis', p. 151.

70 Wotton, *Discourse*, pp. 65–66.

That was the Case of the Chineses and Peruvians and more so perhaps than of any other People in the World'.⁷¹ Both Wotton and Reland do not seem to wonder how a monarch can suddenly make an entire population speak another language, but their silence in this regard could possibly be explained by taking into account the typically Early Modern assumption that a specific language is strongly linked to a specific script—and it seems to be more obvious to impose a written script than a spoken language.⁷² Indeed, we have already seen that Reland tends to make a connection between language and script, and that he is first and foremost interested in the latter, especially when one reads his dissertation on the eastern islands. Whatever it may be, Wotton goes on to argue that many other peoples have never been troubled by such a strict monarchy, probably ignoring the fact that Reland only invokes the authoritarian imposition of an entirely new language for explaining why certain languages can in no way be linked to Hebrew. Reland would probably have answered that the counterexamples given by Wotton, peoples without continuous tradition of living in an absolute monarchy such as the Germans, did not undermine his point, in that German could be ultimately traced to Hebrew.

Wotton, however, makes a very important point when addressing the first criticism voiced by Reland. The European tongues, Reland argued, have so much affinity with the Hebrew language that one should assume that they could be traced back to that language and that they have not been designed suddenly.⁷³ Wotton's reply to that criticism is of the utmost significance:

My Argument does not depend upon the Difference of Words, but upon the Difference of Grammar between any two Languages; from whence it proceeds, that when any Words are derived from one Language into another, the derived Words are there turned and changed according to the particular Genius of the Language into which they are transplanted.⁷⁴

Wotton thereupon argues that the points of community between Icelandic and Greek can be explained by invoking 'one common Mother which is and perhaps has for many Ages been entirely lost'.⁷⁵ On the other hand, he demonstrates that '[n]ot one European Language that is derived from a Greek or Teutonic Stock declines its Verbs any otherwise than according to an active

71 Ibid., p. 66.

72 For a recent example of top-down language planning, see Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. I owe this reference to one of the anonymous reviewers.

73 Wotton, *Discourse*, p. 56.

74 Ibid., p. 57.

75 Ibid.

or a passive Form. Not one of them affixes possessive Pronouns to the Nouns, to which they belong'.⁷⁶ A short list of similar characteristics follows.

In every of these Particulars we find an essential Difference in these Languages from those Eastern ones, which are related to the Hebrew. And there is no doubt but many other grammatical Observations may be made, by which the different Construction of these European and those Asiatic Languages would appear yet more plainly, if these should not be thought sufficient.⁷⁷

Wotton's conclusion is in our present-day eyes a model of iron logic: the lack of grammatical similarities implies that any similarities between Hebrew and the European languages should be explained in terms of borrowings:

I do not therefore think that the Affinity between many European Tongues and the Hebrew, upon which our Friend lays so great a stress, even though it were much greater than it is, proves what he designs it should. It may be very easily accounted for by those that know that the Phenicians carry'd on all the Trade of the Mediterranean for many Ages.⁷⁸

Many readers will recall how it was precisely the attention given to similar grammatical structures that had given way to the breakthrough in comparative linguistics in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁷⁹ If we concluded earlier on that Reland was not far ahead of his time, then it is safe to say that this is at least partly the case for Wotton. Admittedly, Wotton was not the first scholar to underline the relevance of shared grammatical structures before one could claim genealogical kinship,⁸⁰ but he was, to the best of my knowledge, the first to demonstrate its primordial importance. This is why it may come as a surprise that so far not more than a handful of historiographers have paid any attention to Wotton. It also needs to be stressed that Wotton's observations were more than an occasional argument developed in order to trump Reland's criticisms. In the first part of his work he had already attached great significance to this insight, which deserves an analysis in its own right.⁸¹ Reland,

76 Ibid., p. 59.

77 Ibid., p. 60.

78 Ibid.

79 See, for instance, A. Morpurgo Davies, 'Nineteenth-Century Linguistics'.

80 Van Hal, *Moedertalen en taalmoeders*, pp. 458–60.

81 Wotton, *Discourse*, pp. 15–27. I am currently preparing a book which will devote a chapter to the increasing attention paid to grammatical similarities throughout the Early Modern period.

in turn, had occasionally mentioned conjugations and inflections of some of the languages under investigation, but always against the background of the lexicon.⁸² Just like previous scholars, such as Goropius Becanus and Philippus Cluverius,⁸³ Reland, for instance, selected the third person singular of the verb *to be* in order to make some comparative exercises, in his case between Hebrew, Persian, Greek and Dutch.⁸⁴ It is important, however, to highlight the fact that these three scholars do not consider these similarities in a conjugational paradigm to be a special category in their argumentative strategy. In other words, any similarities in the conjugation are part and parcel of lexical parallels in general.⁸⁵

The discussions between Wotton and Reland have thus shown how a literal reading of the Bible could still result in divergent and linguistically innovative ideas. More generally, we have seen how Reland, while elaborating on the thorough and lively discussion on language similarities in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century, also crucially contributed to refining a number of methodological principles. His untimely death, 300 years ago, prevented him from further developing his ideas, which were certainly in a state of flux.

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82 E.g. Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis Americanis', pp. 178–80.

83 Goropius Becanus, *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita*, Herm., p. 66; Cluverius, *Germaniae antiquae libri tres*, pp. 73–74.

84 Reland, 'Dissertatio de linguis Americanis', p. 151.

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Digging without Dirt: Adriaan Reland's Explorations of the Holy Land

Ulrich Groetsch

Adriaan Reland was, without question, a seminal figure in the Early Modern study of Arabic and Islam.¹ He seamlessly fits into a tradition of Early Modern scholarship that started with figures such as Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) and Jacob Golius (1596–1667) and includes doyens in the field such as Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), Georg Sale (1697–1736) and Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–1774).² Obvious economic and political considerations notwithstanding, Early Modern interest in Arabic studies, and the Arabic language in particular, cannot be dissociated from its theological relevance.³ Aside from the fact that an understanding of Islam was perceived as essential for Christian writers in their polemical effort to disavow the most recent Abrahamic religion, Arabic's close relationship to Hebrew was seen as an important avenue to illuminate the intricacies of sacred scripture. No matter how uniquely open-minded Reland's study and perception of Islam may have been, he remained, to the core, a professor at a university steeped in a long history of theological debates.⁴ From 1713, Reland was also a formal member of a society for the advancement of Christianity.⁵ Indeed, Reland himself re-emphasized the

1 I am grateful to my father, Franz-Xaver Grötsch, who overcame the extremely adverse circumstances of his upbringing during and after the War in Germany. Although he never became an academic, his training in Latin and Greek at the old German *Gymnasium* in the Bavarian boondocks puts my own linguistic training to shame, and the father, at the age of 81, continues to exceed the son.

2 On the subject, see Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*.

3 The scholarly literature on the subject of Early Modern European interest in Arabic and the Islamic world has virtually exploded during the past two decades. For matters of brevity, see contributions in Loop, Hamilton and Burnett, *The Teaching of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*; on the economic and political implications, see for instance Zwierlein, *Imperial Unknowns*; Vrolijk and van Leeuwen (eds), *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*; Klein and Platow (eds), *Wahrnehmung des Islam zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung*.

4 On the 'Reland turn' in the perception of Islam, see Stroumsa, *A New Science*, pp. 136–137 as well as Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 83–85.

5 [Nicéron], *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des Lettres* (1729), vol. 1, p. 335: 'En 1713. on établit en Angleterre une Société pour l'avancement

theological grounds for the utility of the study of Arabic in the preface to his seminal *De religione Mohammedica* (1717)—to illustrate difficult passages in Scripture that the Jewish interpreters no longer understood themselves.⁶ In this regard, Arabic, just like Syriac, Ge'ez, or Coptic, becomes a 'handmaiden' to theology and falls in line with the voluminous biblical scholarship of Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), the Polyglot Bibles of Paris, Antwerp, and London, and the seminal philological work on the Book of Job of Albert Schultens (1686–1750).⁷ It rests on the non-negotiable premise that 'the codices of the Old and New Testaments contain characters of divine origin', as Reland pointed out, reiterating what Protestant theologians had emphasized decades before him.⁸

When Reland assumed his professorship at the University of Utrecht in 1701, the gun smoke of the heated debates about the genuine text of the Bible had barely dissipated. The disputes had reached new heights with the attacks of the Oratorian priest Jean Morin on the *Hebraica veritas* during the 1620s and had culminated in the controversies surrounding the publication of Louis Cappel's *Critica sacra* (1651) and Hugo Grotius's Old Testament commentaries in 1644.⁹ Not surprisingly, the Protestant orthodoxy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reasserted the integrity of the biblical text. Even decades after these controversies, orthodox theologians such as Johann Gottlob Carpzov (1679–1767) of Leipzig seriously grappled with the arguments of Cappel and others. The orthodoxy did not welcome a new wave of religious heterodoxy that would shake the foundations of Scripture.¹⁰ Figures such as William Whiston (1667–1752) or Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), who had dared to embrace

de la Religion Chretienne, l'année suivante il s'en forma une autre pour la propagation de l'Evangile dans les Païs Etrangers. M. Reland fut associé à l'une & à l'autre.'

- 6 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica*, 2nd edn., Praefatio, fol. *****2r: 'Sed, an theologo haec vox proficisci potest? Unde tot loca difficilia, tot ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, quae Judaei ipsi fatentur se non intelligere, in Jobo, in Prophetis, in aliis S. Scripturae libris lucem accipiunt, nisi ex lingua Arabica?'
- 7 Schultens, *Opera minora*, as well as idem, *Commentarius in Librum Jobi*; on the subject, see Schenker, 'The Polyglot Bibles'; Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*; also Dunkelgrün, 'The Multiplicity of Scripture'.
- 8 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica*, fol. *****2r: 'Nostri codices Veteris & Novi Testamenti omnes characteres divinae originis habent quos vel Mohammedanus vel quivis alius desiderare potest [...].'
- 9 On these subjects, see Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, pp. 249–274 and 308–361.
- 10 See, for instance, Carpzov, *Critica sacra*, 'Praefatio', fol. biv.: 'Ille enim [William Whiston], cum novo post Cappellum, Is. Vossium, Rich. Simonium, Paul. Pezronum, impetu in Scripturam S. involasset, & hinc integritatem eius multis in locis, dudum, alias vexatis pariter ac vendicatis, sollicitasset, hinc de versionibus, de Masora, de punctis Vocalium & Accentum apud Hebraeos, aliisque Criticae capitibus perverse ac temere, & eum omnino in modum disseruisset, quo convicium fieret Scripturae [...].'

the work of earlier critics such as Cappel, Grotius, or Richard Simon (1638–1712), were often mentioned in the same breath as Spinoza or John Toland (1670–1722), the arch-foes of revelation.¹¹ Orthodox theologians, regardless of their whereabouts, reemphasized principles of exegesis that had been laid out by first- and second-generation Reformers such as Matthias Flacius (1520–1575) or Salomon Glassius (1593–1656).¹² In his seminal *Clavis Scripturae* (1567), the Istrian Reformer Flacius had noted that the blame for the supposed obscurity of Scriptural passages lay with the exegete, not with divine revelation.¹³ According to Flacius, there were many reasons for a certain degree of obscurity of Scripture, but the main reason was our own ignorance.¹⁴ In fact, the ‘main source for the difficulty of Holy Scripture was’, as Flacius wrote, ‘that theologians have never striven with utmost diligence to understand Holy Scripture itself and its text more perfectly or to explain it to others.’¹⁵ Flacius emphasized that the Holy Spirit was both author and exegete, and would lead us to truth. In regard to the Old Testament, Flacius identifies a double Mosaic veil making it difficult to discern the Old Testament’s true meaning.¹⁶

To lift this veil we must make an effort to understand properly Ancient Jewish Ceremonial Law and to look for guidance in Christ, the ultimate goal of Scripture. As Paul had emphasized, salvation does not occur through the Law

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- 11 Carpzov, *Critica sacra*, 6: ‘Iure suo, eo quidem nomine vapulat Ludovicus Capellus, ingenium vir meritorum, ni nefandam in eo posuisset operam, ut corrasis undique, fictisque & obrutis observationibus Criticis, sacrum Codicis Hebraei textum, in summum adduceret discrimen. Lubrica isthaec & inauspicata vestigia improvide preferunt Joannes Morinus, Claudius Cappellanus, Hugo Grotius, Richardus Simonius, Joannes Clericus, P. Pezronus, aliique [...]’.
- 12 On Glassius, see Bultmann and Danneberg (eds), *Hebraistik—Hermeneutik—Homiletik*; on Flacius, see for example, Ilic, *Theologian of Sin and Grace*; on the typological and allegorical exegesis among Lutheran orthodoxy, see Steiger, ‘The Development of the Reformation Legacy’.
- 13 See Flacius, *Clavis Scripturae*, p. 2: ‘[...] sed quod, nostra culpa, non ubique ita apertus nobis eius sermo ac sensus videtur, ut in multis aliis scriptoribus. Quae non eo a me dicuntur, ut vel impiis calumniandi Sacras literas occasio detur: vel quisquam ab earum studio absterreatur: sed contra, ut tanto magis diligentia Lectorum excitetur; utque, observatis hisce difficultatibus, tanto exactius postea remedia, quae proponam, perdiscantur’.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 2: ‘Sermo est non nihil obscurus, cuius rei multae sunt causae, de quibus mox dicam; praecipue autem nostra eius imperitia’.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 7: ‘Hic enim ferme primarius fons est difficultatis Sacrarum literarum: quod propemodum nunquam Theologi summa diligentia in id incubuerunt, ut perfectius, vel cognoscere ipsi, vel aliis explicarent, ipsum Sacrum sermonem aut textum [...]’.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 606: ‘Velamen Mosis, est quaedam obscuritas Legis, ut eius primarius, verus, ac genuinus sensus aut scopus, non plene aut perspicue perspicui possit. Id vero duplex est, teste Paulo, 2. Cor. 3, 13, 14’.

of the Old Covenant but through Christ alone.¹⁷ Likewise, over fifty years after the publication of Flacius's *Clavis*, the Lutheran sage Salomon Glassius iterated similar premises in his widely circulated *Philologia Sacra* (1623). Against all critics and polemicists, he reaffirmed the divine origin of the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, the 'fount of all holy tenderness and the bubbling spring of the water of life'.¹⁸ Glassius essentially dismissed the argument of critics who bemoaned that Scripture was contradictory and obscure. He pointed out that potentially problematic passages were few and far between and of little dogmatic value anyway.¹⁹ Especially with regard to the Old Testament, the application of the New Testament served as the panacea.²⁰ Just like Flacius before him, Glassius stressed the twofold sense of Scripture: the literal sense and the mystical or spiritual sense. While the literal sense referred to the immediate and obvious (e.g. Jonah was three days and three nights captive inside the big fish), the same words simultaneously served to deliver a deeper meaning (e.g. Christ spent three days and three nights in the grave).²¹ Under the *sensus mysticus*, Glassius argued, fell the *sensus typicus*, which specifically referred to events and stories in the Old Testament that foreshadowed Christ's life, passion, death, and subsequent glory. This was already stated explicitly in Romans 5:14, which refers to the biblical Adam as 'the figure of him that was to come'.²² In order to grasp such references, however, the exegete must

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- 17 Ibid., p. 61: 'Detrahit igitur, in novo Testamento, Christus, huius Populi Rex & Dominus, velamen Mosis, in judiciali aut Politica Lege [...]. Docet enim is, Act. 13. v. 38. 39. Homines non potuisse justificari, ac liberari a peccatis, per Legem; sed per Christum liberatos esse'.
- 18 Glassius, *Philologia sacra*, p. 1: '*Dulcius, addo &, purius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae*. Fons omnis dulcedinis sanctae & aquae viventis scaturigo, est *Hebraea Veteris; & Graeca Novi Testamenti veritas* [...].
- 19 Ibid., p. 282: 'Objiciat quis, quaedam nihilominus in Scripturis obscuro & perplexo sermonis genere proponi [...]. 1. Pleraque illorum non concernunt dogmata fidei. 2. Et pauca sunt, a quibus ad Scripturam universam nullus consequentiae nexus [...].'
- 20 Ibid., p. 267: '[...] Cum causas illas ἑμωυμῶν in Vet. Testam. tantum stylo locum habere asserat; fateatur ergo genus sermonis, quo Spiritus S. in Nov. Test. scriptis utitur, planum, perspicuum, & ab ambiguitatibus liberum esse, praesertim cum No. Test. (dicente saepius LUTHERO) sit *instar Solis, quae V.T. ceu Lunam splendore suo illustrat*'.
- 21 Ibid., pp. 349–350: 'Est enim *Sensus literalis is, qui proxime & immediate per ipsa verba, sive sint propria sive modificata, significatur, ut Jonas tribus diebus & tribus noctibus fuit in visceribus piscis*. Jon. 11.1. Hic *sensus literalis* est, qui proxime ex ipsis verbis eruitur, ut Jonas intelligatur Propheta ipse, qui suam descripsit historiam [...]. *Sensus mysticus* est, qui non significatur proxime per ipsa verba, sed per rem ipsis verbis significatam. Sic *sensus mysticus* in texto paulo ante allegato est is, *quod Christus tribus diebus & tribus noctibus futurus sit in sepulchro, in morte sua*'.
- 22 Ibid., p. 443: 'Theologi hoc in negotio per *Typos* nihil aliud intelligunt, quam *rerum* sive *praesertim* sive *futurarum imagines & figuras*; & praesertim *facta & historias V.T.* quae ad Christum Salvatorem in N.T. exhibendum respexerunt, eum que in actionibus, vita, passione, morte, & subsequente gloria praefigurarunt. Quo sensu appellationem hanc

have acquired a profound understanding of the biblical text in its original languages. This required an expert knowledge of Hebrew and Greek grammatical and literary devices, ranging from simple ellipses to metonymy, synecdoche, paronomasia, and antanaclasis.

The principles laid out by Flacius and Glassius transcended Protestant theologians' denominational divide. In Franeker, the doyen of prophetic theology Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722), professor of Oriental languages, included numerous scholarly treatises on Old Testament typology in his two volume *Observationum sacrarum* (1683–1708).²³ Vitringa's colleague at Franeker and scholarly nemesis was the extremely prolific Hebraist Jacob Rhenferd (1654–1712). In 1704, Rhenferd published his *Dissertatio De ratione observandi genuinam vocabulorum Hebraicorum significationem* [Treatise on the reason for complying with the true meaning of Hebrew vocabulary], and upon his retirement from the rectorate, he laid out the principles of the *philologia sacra* in his parting speech, *Oratio De fundamentis & principiiis philologiae sacrae* (1710) [Discourse on the fundamentals and principles of sacred philology].²⁴ Rhenferd was also working on a comparative grammar of Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, and Hebrew. The outline for the book, with its heavy emphasis on Hebrew and its frequent references to the biblical text, suggests that Rhenferd viewed this work as a future tool for the biblical philologist.²⁵ In Groningen, the Hebraist and biblical scholar Johann Braunius (1628–1708) reiterated many of the principles laid out by Flacius and Glassius in his systematic theology. Braunius stressed that Scripture, as the word of God, was the only true source of theology and the Christian faith.²⁶ Since the Holy Spirit guided the hand of the amanuenses, Scripture in all its parts was perfect and without error.²⁷ From this perfection, Braunius imbued a clarity in meaning of the biblical text, although the human mind, due to its inferiority, may be challenged in interpreting the text correctly.²⁸ To communicate his word, God adopted the vernacular of the people he was addressing. As the first language created by God,

ἔγγραφον esse quidam existimant, hucque referunt dicta Rom. v.14. ubi *Adam primus homo dicitur τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος, figura futuri* [...].

- 23 See for instance, Vitringa, 'Typi *crucifixioni Christi*', in his *Observationum sacrarum*, vol. 1, pp. 409–419; on Vitringa, see Telfer's somewhat overdramatic *Wrestling with Isaiah*.
- 24 Rhenferd, *Dissertatio philologica*; idem, *Oratio De fundamentis*, pp. 917–941.
- 25 Idem, *Rudimenta grammaticae*, pp. 828–886.
- 26 Braunius, *Doctrina foederum*, p. 11: 'Unicum igitur atque Verissimum *principium Theologiae & Religionis salutaris Revelatae, est verbum Dei*.'
- 27 Ibid., p. 17: 'Erant igitur Sacri Scriptorum *organa & amanuenses*, quibus Spir. S. in tradenda Sacra Scriptura usus est. Ut nec voluerint, nec potuerint, errare viri θεόπνευστοι.'
- 28 Ibid., p. 25: 'Cum Scriptura S. sit *perfecta*, sequitur eam etiam esse *perspicuam* [...]. Deinde certum est mentem nostram occoecatam, immo *mortuam* esse per peccatum: Ephes.2:1. ut non possimus capere ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei. 1 Cor.2:14.'

the Hebrew language was thus perfect and the basis of all other languages.²⁹ Just like his Lutheran predecessors Flacius and Glassius, Braunius equally distinguished between the *sensus literalis* and the *sensus mysticus*.³⁰ Although Braunius acknowledged that the ceremonial law of the Old Testament lost its practical relevance with the implementation of the New Law, it maintained its relevance as a bearer of a typological and prophetic meaning.³¹

Those were roughly the theological boundaries that delineated the field of scholarship which Reland and his early eighteenth-century colleagues at Utrecht occupied.³² It was an overall theologically conservative environment where the purity and infallibility of Scripture was guarded carefully and maintained among all Protestants.³³ Nor was this intellectual space confined by national boundaries. It was not a universe that was exclusively Dutch, German, French, Italian, or English, as some recent publications in the field would like us to believe.³⁴ It was part of a 'global' Protestant Republic of Letters, in which biblical scholars quibbled and quarreled.³⁵ Of course, denominational doctrinal disputes within Protestantism remained and included mutual defamations and accusations of heterodoxy and Spinozism.³⁶ These theological debates and boundaries, however, did not inhibit scholarly production. On the contrary. Reland's scholarly universe should be classified as the 'golden age of biblical scholarship'.³⁷ In their attempt to refute real and imaginary attacks

29 Ibid., p. 28: 'Hebraea lingua est *perfectissima*, ut nulla ostendi possit perfectior, quae naturam rerum perfectius & accuratius exprimat [...]. Omnes fere gentes totum terrarum orbem nomina sua habent ex lingua Hebraea, quae exstat in Scriptura S. [...].'

30 Ibid., p. 33: 'Cum S. Scriptura sit legenda & vertenda, sequitur eam etiam esse interpretandam, & eius sensum indagandam. Est autem *sensus* Scripturae *literalis*, vel *mysticus*'.

31 Ibid., p. 42: 'Ubi autem est exactissima convenientia inter *typum* & *antitypum*, picturam & rem depictam, id est inter praedictionem & eventum aliquem particularem, isti praedictioni respondens secundum omnes circumstantias sive rationes, ibi necessario debet esse complementum istius praedictionis, adeoque verus sensus Prophetiae'; *ibid.*, p. 504: 'Hinc *Principes huius saeculi* dicuntur, id est saeculi *Veteris Testamenti*, qui debebant *aboleri*. 1 Cor. 2:6'.

32 By far the best contextualization of theological patterns and scholarship is Levitin's 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion'. Somewhat helpful for the Dutch context is Touber, 'Biblical Philology and Hermeneutical Debate in the Dutch Republic'.

33 Spinoza (like all freethinkers) was an anomaly and was perceived as an arch-foe of revelation. Protestant scriptural interpretation, by and large, remained in very strict boundaries, its Lutheran or Reformed provenance notwithstanding.

34 Touber, *Spinoza and Biblical Philology*; Van Miert, *The Emancipation of Biblical Philology*. Still seminal is Goldgar's *Impolite Learning*.

36 See, for instance, my article on the Lutheran polemicist Sebastian Edzard, entitled 'Adversus Haereticos: Sebastian Edzard's Epic Battle for Souls', at p. 137.

37 I believe that there is enough evidence that this period could be called the 'golden age of biblical scholarship', as opposed to 'biblical criticism in the Dutch Golden Age' (see n. 34 above).

from theological opponents such as Roman Catholics and freethinkers and to prepare future generations of Protestant theologians and preachers of the sacred word, Christian (mainly Protestant) Hebraists produced a massive body of biblical scholarship. The message across the board was always the same: the Hebrew Bible was literally true and the biblical text was without error and should be interpreted in accordance with the principles of the *philologia sacra* outlined above. At the same time, obscure passages could be unlocked with the help of auxiliary, profane disciplines. Accordingly, it was perfectly legitimate to elucidate the sacred text with the help of the sciences, geography, or other (Semitic) languages, as long as the textual integrity was not violated. The idea was ‘to employ rather than enjoy’ profane disciplines, as the pastor from Magdeburg, Johann Justus von Einem declared succinctly.³⁸

This meant that the events recorded in the biblical text were not just plausible as the amanuenses had recorded them, but literally true. Eden was a real place that could be located on a map, as was the Re(e)d Sea or Mount Sinai. As a consequence, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a flood of publications and commentaries on virtually every aspect of Scripture. A testimony to the breadth (and depth) of this scholarly enterprise are Johann Albert Fabricius’s *Bibliographia Antiquaria* (1713) and, somewhat later, Blasius Ugolini’s massive *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum* (1744–1769). Ranging from broad subjects such as the geography of the Holy Land to more specific ones such as the uses of acacia wood in ancient Hebrew construction, the value of ancient Hebrew monetary units and coins, or the design of King David’s lyre, Early Modern savants covered virtually every aspect of Scripture in general, and biblical Israel in particular. This body of ‘antiquarian’ scholarly literature, be it the short philological treatises on a single contested Hebrew word in the Bible or hefty monographs on any aspect of ancient Israelite culture, was incorporated in the erudite theological commentaries and treatises with the impressive scholarly apparatuses so typical of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as the series of commentaries by the Arminian Jean Le Clerc or the Benedictine Calmet.³⁹ Reland was an active player in this world: he ‘mapped Paradise’, identified the Re(e)d Sea of the Exodus, and demonstrated his antiquarian skill in his learned treatises on Samaritan coins.⁴⁰

A glimpse of Reland’s early scholarly promise is provided by a public disputation that was directed in 1696 by Reland’s mentor, the formidable and quarrelsome Melchior Leydecker (1642–1721).⁴¹ When Reland came to Utrecht,

38 Von Einem, *Selectae animadversiones*, p. 65: ‘*Profanis auctoribus utamur, non fruamur*’.

39 See, for example, Calmet, *Commentaire literal*, or Le Clerc, *Commentarius in Mosis*.

40 See, for example, Scafì, *Mapping Paradise*.

41 On Leydecker see Van Asselt, ‘Leydekker’; Hoek, ‘Leydecker’.

the Leydeckers took the young student into their home. Although it was very common for professors to have students board with them, those who secured such a spot enjoyed additional opportunity for intellectual exchange and, ideally, access to the professor's library. Access to resources required influence in the Republic of Letters and a glowing recommendation from a student's previous teachers certainly did no harm. It was undoubtedly helpful if the student's teacher had considerable standing in the Republic of Letters, which was anything but a community of equals as both Anne Goldgar and Lawrence Brockliss have so convincingly demonstrated.⁴² Not unlike today, where academic success is also determined by class and access to resources at an early age, this inequality during the Early Modern period was perpetuated by the concentration of resources at a few select centres of learning and the incestuous relationship of academic elites, exemplified by the scholarly dynasties of the Buxtorfs, Vossii, Cappels, Hottingers, Gronovii, Spanheims and many others. Less privileged students were often ill-prepared for the academic challenges at institutions of higher learning and, while struggling through a propaedeutic course of study, could only hope to catch the attention of one of the professors, who would recognize their talent and would be inclined to be their mentors.⁴³ That such a stroke of luck would happen was much more likely in the setting of private teaching, which ensured a more intimate connection with the professor, but which required the payment of an additional fee, thus putting students with lesser means at a disadvantage.⁴⁴ Much of such a 'stroke of luck' depended on the skill of the student, his previous training, and his willingness to approach professors, who were often looking for assistants to organize their library, buy books, or help them with their research.⁴⁵ For the

42 See Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, especially pp. 115–173; Brockliss, *Calvet's Web*.

43 See La Vopa, *Grace, Talent and Merit*, p. 46.

44 On private and public teaching practices see Van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*, pp. 115–166.

45 Johann Salomo Semler for example was extremely fortunate in gaining the attention of Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten, for whom he became a research assistant, but whose mentorship became instrumental for his studies and career. See Semler, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 95–117: 'Den zweiten Winter fingen wir Collegia an bey dem sel. Baumgarten [...] und wir ersonnen viele Gelegenheiten, um ihn oft sprechen zu können; denn in der festgesetzten Stunde, kamen wir oft nicht vor, wegen der grossen Anzahl derer, die vielleicht was für sie selbst wichtigeres anzubringen hatten. Meine Blicke waren gleichsam in seine Augen geheftet, so oft sie auch ehrerbietig sich wieder zurückzogen [...]. Da der grosse Kanzler Böhmer gestorben war, trug mir Baumgarten auf in seinem Namen ein sapphisches Trauergedicht lateinisch zu entwerfen [...] Bisher setzte ich also in Halle solche Arbeiten noch immer fort, die mir Baumgarten anwies; worunter manche Recensionen in den Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek sind [...]'; on the subject of the 'poor theology student', see La Vopa, *Grace, Talent and Merit*, pp. 25f.

immensely talented, though overly shy, Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–1774), for example, the studies at Leipzig during the 1730s turned out to be a nightmare. With no friend or mentor in sight, he studied mainly by himself, frequently succumbing to the temptations of different fields of interest, but never able to sustain any of them.⁴⁶

The experience of Reland and Reiske could not have been more different. Reland was undoubtedly a very talented student, but he was fortunate to have access to resources of which most students could only dream. At the *Athenaeum* in Amsterdam, barely eleven years old, he studied under the foremost scholars of his day. Most probably Reland's rhetorical skills were polished by Petrus Francius (1645–1704), a master in the field of eloquence and poetry, and a firm believer in the pedagogical benefits of the disputation.⁴⁷ Reland may have received private training in Hebrew and rabbinic literature from a young Willem Surenhusius (1664–1729), who was not yet appointed formally to a professorship, and private lessons in Arabic from Alexander de Bie (1623–1690).⁴⁸ It speaks for itself that Reland, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, was recruited by Surenhusius to participate in the latter's celebrated six-volume edition of the Mishna.⁴⁹ This surely made an impression on distinguished professors such as Leydecker and the immensely learned Hebraist and rabbinic scholar Johannes Leusden (1624–1699), who, like Surenhusius, had acquired much of his proficiency in Hebrew (and possibly Arabic) among the Jews of Amsterdam.⁵⁰ This, of course, explains why these world-renowned experts

46 See Johann Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 8–9: 'Ich lebte für mich, studirte nach meiner Fantasie, hörte keine Collegia, hatte keinen Lehrer, keinen Anweiser, keinen Freund, fragte niemanden um Rath [...]. Ich studirte immer drauf los, ohne Ordnung und Endzweck, ohne zu wissen auf was; und ich muß gestehen, der größte Theil derer fünf Jahre, die ich als Student in Leipzig zubrachte, sind für mich verloren gegangen [...].'

47 Van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*, p. 151.

48 Burmann, *Traiectum eruditum*, pp. 293–294: 'Vix undecim aetatis annum ingressus, scholarum stadio confecto, triennium in illustri Amstelodamensium gymnasio moratus est, ibique Petrum Francium humanitatis studia, Alexandrum de Bie, Mathesin & Graecam linguam, Guilielum Surenhusium linguas Orientales, Judaicasque antiquitates docentes, audivit.'

49 Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 14: '[...] Gulielmum Surenhusium, nunc juris Judaici Professorem, peritia linguarum Orientalium praecellentem, sub quo biennii spatio tantos in lingua Hebraea, Syra, Chaldaea, Arabaea progressus fecit, ut Viri eruditi plane obstupescerent, summa quaevis & praeclara omnia hunc nostrum minari dicerent. Partem tunc operis Mischnici latine vertit'; on Surenhusius's Mishna project see van Rooden, 'Willem Surenhuys' Translation of the Mishna'.

50 See 'Johannes Leusden', in *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, col. 2409: 'Nach dieser verfügte er sich nach Amsterdam, und ließ sich daselbst von einigen Juden, darunter auch ein arabischer war, noch ferner in der hebräischen Sprache, desgleichen in Talmudicis und

in the field received the ‘freshman’ Reland at Utrecht with open arms. When he started at Utrecht he exhibited great evidence of scholarly promise at an unusually young age.⁵¹

The topic of Reland’s public debate in Utrecht in 1696 was the creation narrative in Genesis. Although authorship of the published dissertations generated by these public disputations is not always clear—both *praeses* and *respondens* could be the author—it gives us a glimpse of the scholarly standards to which Reland was held.⁵² The disputation lists two *respondentes*, Reland and a certain Adrian Pennis, of whom we know very little other than that he was originally from Rotterdam. Leydecker served as the *praeses*. Pennis is listed as the *respondens* of part one and two of the disputation, Reland as the *respondens* of part three and four.⁵³ Regardless of authorship, both *praeses* and *respondentes* needed to be intimately familiar with the subject matter and capable of meticulously following the argument that was made. The printed disputations thus offer a window onto scholarly practices, familiarity with ongoing controversies, and erudition of the student body at particular institutions. The portion ascribed to Pennis is that of a solid, albeit not brilliant, student. It is theologically sound and remains within the safe boundaries of a very traditional *philologia sacra*. Almost all references in Pennis’s work come from both Testaments and the Church fathers. Many references are in Greek, with only an occasional phrase from the Old Testament in Hebrew. The portion ascribed to Reland, in contrast, demonstrates an intimate knowledge of rabbinic sources. Its focus lies on how rabbinic scholars throughout the ages had interpreted the phrase וימר אלהים [and God said] and how God’s voice or speech related to those of human beings and prophets. The treatise starts with the conundrum in the Mishnaic tractate *Avot*, according to which the world was created in ten utterances. The little treatise then continues, illustrating how Jewish sages often arrived at rather perplexing explanations of the creation narrative, ranging from the Mishnaic reference to the ten punishments inflicted on the wicked, to ten positive attributes associated with the divine creation process.⁵⁴

in ihren Gebräuchen unterrichten, wobey er sich eine so gute Kenntniß erwarb, daß man ihn 1650 zum extraordinario, und 1651 zum ordin. Professore der hebräischen Sprachen und Antiquitäten in Utrecht bestellte’.

51 [Nicéron], *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des hommes illustres*, vol. 1, pp. 332–333: ‘A quatorze ans on l’envoyà Utrecht, où il eut pour Professeurs Messieurs Graevius & Leusden, sous lesquels il se perfectionna dans la connoissance de la Langue Latine, & des Langues Orientales. Il y étudia aussi en *Philosophie*, & y fut reçû Docteur’.

52 See Van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*, pp. 149–166.

53 Pennis, *Dissertationis historico-theologicae*; Reland, *Dissertationis historico-theologicae*.

54 *Ibid.*, fol. a2r–v: ‘Praeterea in *Pirke Aboth* haec quaerunt ex isthac observatione mysteria. *Cum verbo creari mundus potuerit, scias quantam poenam luant impii, שמאבדין את העולם, שנברא בעשרת מאמרות, qui perdunt mundum, decem verbis creatum; quanta item danda*

Maimonides interpreted the Hebrew phrase *וימר אלֵהים* figuratively. The medieval Jewish philosopher argued that God did not utilize a human voice in order to express his will. This interpretation is simply a result of humanity's inability to comprehend that God's will made real—that is, made the world manifest.⁵⁵ The work provides a glimpse of the unusual level of erudition the young Reland would have exhibited by the age of twenty. Aside from references to the Mishna, Maimonides, or Ibn Ezra, Reland must have been familiar with the Christian Hebraism of his day, citing Louis Cappel and John Owen specifically, and the Arabic scholarship of Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667) as well as Levinus Warner (1618–1665).⁵⁶ Both corpora, the rabbinic and to a lesser extent the Arabic, are utilized to illuminate Scripture. Aside from the fact that Reland was undoubtedly gifted at an early age, talent alone was not enough to launch a career on the level of Reland's. In his case, the support and resources of scholars such as Leydecker or Leusden were vital. They provided access to books and facilitated entry into the Republic of Letters. It was probably also no coincidence that Reland continued his studies at Leiden under the illustrious Friedrich Spanheim, under whom Leydecker had studied as well.

The influence of these scholars is very apparent in Reland's work as a teacher, Hebraist, and biblical scholar. Reland's most impressive scholarly work in the field of biblical studies, his *Palestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (1714), is a testimony to both his talent and to the excellent training he had received. It fits into the rich scholarly tradition of the Early Modern *geographia sacra* that had its roots in Arias Montano's Antwerp Polyglot (1568–1573).⁵⁷ Among its practitioners were illustrious figures such as the French polyhistor Samuel Bochart (1599–1667).⁵⁸ Bochart was one of the titans of seventeenth-century biblical scholarship. His collected works were a massive arsenal of philological knowledge about biblical geography and flora and fauna.⁵⁹ Although Bochart had been dead for a decade when Reland was born, Bochart's encyclopedic scholarly output remained an important cornerstone in the field of biblical

sit merces illis, בעשרת מאמרות שנברא העולם שמקימין את העולם qui mundum decem verbis creatum stabiliunt. Nempe nihil non inveniunt Judaei ubique, quod praebeat materiam καυχῆματος & erroris de operum justitia! Addunt Alii, decem verbis creatum esse mundum, uti decem במדות, attributis, qualia sunt, sapientia, intelligentia, scientia, potentia, fortitudo, increpatio, justitia, iudicium, benignitas & misericordia'.

55 Ibid., fol. azv.: 'Quin etiam caute Rabbi istud *ויאמר* ad voluntatem retulit eo sensu, quod omnia existant per voluntatem & sententiam Dei, evitata *sermonis significatione* [...].

56 On Hottinger, see Loop, *Hottinger*; on Warner, see Vrolijk and van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, pp. 48–59.

57 Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*, pp. 23–71.

58 Ibid., pp. 141–203.

59 See Bochart's *Hierozoicon* and his *Geographia sacra*.

philology throughout the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ It should not surprise us that Reland, like most of his seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colleagues, could hardly avoid grappling with Bochart's scholarly output. This happened, however, almost a decade before Reland published his celebrated *Palestina*.

By 1706, Reland had already established more than one connection to Bochart's world. Reland dedicated his *Dissertationes miscellaneae* to the French man of letters and bishop of Avranches, Pierre-Daniel Huet, one of the leading figures of the seventeenth-century Republic of Letters. Huet himself had studied under Bochart, befriended him, and travelled with him to the ends of the Earth to stay with him at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden.⁶¹ The idyllic friendship between the Roman Catholic Huet and the Protestant Bochart soured after the latter accused Huet of intentionally shading Origen's meaning to advance his own doctrinal position in his newly published edition.⁶² Although Bochart remained indebted to him, Bochart's death and their falling out made it easier for Huet to take on his great mentor and benefactor on a scholarly level. In 1698 Huet published a lengthy scholarly treatise, entitled *Tractatus de situ paradisi terrestri*.⁶³ In its preface, Huet briefly outlines the twisted course biblical interpreters had taken in their attempt to locate the biblical Eden. Similar to the continuing quest for the mythical city of Atlantis, scholars throughout history placed the biblical garden in virtually every possible space in the universe, ranging from the lunar orbit to the Arctic, America, Africa, and Asia.⁶⁴ And the quest continues to this day!⁶⁵ The scholarship on the subject was massive, right up the alley of Bochart's voluminous scholarly world. Huet explained that the late Bochart, whom Huet continued to praise as 'one of the most learned men of his age', supposedly worked on this

60 See Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*, pp. 203–211.

61 On Huet see Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters*.

62 Huet described his falling out with Bochart as follows: 'Avec l'aide de ce manuscrit, je rétablis le passage tel qu'il devait être. Mais aveuglé par l'esprit de parti et tout plein d'un zèle furieux, ne se souvenant plus ni de notre ancienne amitié, ni de l'expérience qu'il avait faite de ma nonne foi, Bochart écrivit à ses coréligionnaires, dans tous les pays de l'Europe, que j'avais falsifié Origène. J'eus un chagrin profond de cette calomnie et de l'attentat inouï fait à mon honneur par le main d'un ami; je le lui reprochai doucement, mais je n'en obtins pas la plus légère satisfaction. Ce procédé inique et barbare rompit pour jamais, à ma très-grande douleur, une amitié qui s'était affermie par un commerce de tant d'années et par tant de bons offices réciproques'. See Huet, *Mémoires*, pp. 97–98.

63 See Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, pp. 307–313; also Massimi, 'Montrer et démontrer'.

64 Huet, *Tractatus de situ paradisi*, 4: 'Nihil vero melius ostendere potest, quam notus sit Paradisi situs, quam opinionum diversitas eundem investigantium. Fuere, qui collocarent eum in tertium coelum [...]. Alii eum collocarunt sub Polo Arctico [...]. Alii in Americam, alii in Africam sub Aequatore, alii ad Orientem aequinoctialem [...]'.

65 Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, pp. 11–15.

project, but the outcome was more or less fragmentary.⁶⁶ In fact, among the papers Bochart left behind, no such work could be uncovered.⁶⁷ According to Huet, judging from the savant's published work, Bochart's verdict on the location of Eden was rather ambiguous. In his *Phaleg*, first published in 1646, Bochart situated the elusive place in the area around Babylon. Later, however, in *Hierozoicon* (1663), his massive encyclopedia about the biblical flora and fauna, Bochart located it near the ancient city of Apamea in Syria.⁶⁸ Following the long-winding road of philology, Huet proposed that Eden must have been located in the area between the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and where the latter empties into the Persian Gulf.⁶⁹ This verdict went back to Calvin, who placed it in Mesopotamia as well.⁷⁰

When Reland entered the debate in 1706 Huet was an intellectual giant, well connected in the scholarly universe. It is not entirely clear when Reland first reached out to Huet, because none of the letters appear to have survived. The famous man of letters, politician, and antiquarian Gijsbert Cuper (1644–1716) from Deventer may have played a key role in this 'transaction'.⁷¹ Cuper was probably Reland's closest contact in the Republic of Letters. They corresponded almost on a daily basis.⁷² Although not the most prolific author himself, Cuper

66 Huet, *Tractatus de situ paradisi*, 6: 'Bochartus, iam pridem defunctus, quem unum ex viris eruditissimis huius seculi fuisse existimo, persequi hoc argumentum sibi proposuerat'.

67 Huet must not have been entirely in the loop about the exact content of Bochart's estate. Although none of the surviving manuscripts of Bochart's work on Paradise are complete, the *Bibliothèque Nationale* holds a draft at an advanced stage. See Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds*, pp. 168–169.

68 Huet, *Tractatus de situ paradisi*, p. 6: '[Bochartus] aperuit quidem hac de quaestione hinc inde in operibus mentem suam, sed rationibus plane diversis, quaeque sibi contradicere videntur; nam in Phaleg Paradisum circa Babylonem ponit; at in libro De animalibus sacrae Scripturae Calvinii opinioni videtur accessisse, eundem ad ripas Tigridis atque Euphratis iam conjuncti, idque Chaldaea, inter urbem Apamiam & Sinum Persicum, constituentis'.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 87: 'Existimamus satisfacisse nos instituto nostro, solidissimeque probasse, Paradisum terrestrem situm fuisse ad fluvium, quem confluens Tigridis atque Euphratis producit, quemque hodie fluvium Arabum appellant, inter hanc divisionem, quam facit hic ipse fluvius, antequam se in mare Persicum praecipitat'.

70 See Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, pp. 270–283.

71 In 1714, for instance, Cuper responded favorably to a request by the French savant Maturinus Veyssièrre La Croze to help a promising young student who wanted to study under Reland. He wrote: 'Je dois réponse à deux de vos Lettres; dans la première qui étoit du 30. de Juin, vous me recommandiez un Jeune * Réfugié, qui alloit avec Madame sa mere à Utrecht, pour y étudier sous Mr. Réland'. See Cuper, *Lettres*, p. 158.

72 Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 40: '[...] in Belgio nostro, praeter ingens illud nostrae patriae ornamentum, *Gijsbertum Cuperum*, cum quo ipsi fere quotidianum literarum commercium fuit [...]'].

was one of the puppet masters of the *Respublica literaria*.⁷³ Many of the threads of scholarly exchange passed through his hands. Evidence for Cuper's involvement in facilitating the contact between Huet and Reland comes from a letter Cuper wrote to Huet, in which he refers to Reland's treatise and desire to engage in a scholarly exchange with the great Jesuit scholar.⁷⁴ Reland's dedicatory letter to Huet displays all the excessively humble submissiveness the genre prescribed: undying gratitude and friendship; exuberant praise of Huet's scholarly accomplishment; profuse apologies for adopting a different position from Huet's on the subject matter.⁷⁵ It appears that Huet's response to Reland's pleas was favorable, because their relationship remained intact and remained part of Reland's scholarly network.⁷⁶

The basis for 'finding Paradise' were the markers provided by Scripture. Accordingly, the garden was located 'eastward' [מקדם] 'in Eden' [בעדן]. A river ran through the garden, which parted into 'four branches' [לארבעה ראשים]: the 'Pishon' [פישון], the 'Gihon' [גיחון], the 'Hiddekel' [חדקל], and 'Euphrates' [הוא].⁷⁷ The Septuagint translates the Hebrew חדקל as *Tίγρις* [Tigris] and הוא פרת as *Εὐφράτης* [Euphrates]. What remained unclear, however, was the meaning of Pishon and Gihon. Huet solved this problem by identifying Pishon and

73 Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, pp. 26–34.

74 Cuper writes: 'Trajecti ad Rhenum publice linguas orientales docet summo cum laude Adrianus Relandus, et parat dissertationem *de Paradiso*; in qua in alia omnia a te facit discessionem docereque conatur hortum illum delicatum fuisse in Armenia, et inter fluvios illius refert Phasin et Araxin; quam novam opinionem quibus argumentis fulcitur sit, ego equidem capere nondum possum, neque tamen lucubrationem eam edet, antequam de placito suo tecum egerit'. See Pélissier, 'Lettres Inédites', p. 63.

75 Reland, *Dissertationum miscellanearum*, fol. *2r.–*3v.: 'Ea est Tua eruditio, & fama per orbem diffusa, Illustrissime Praesul, ut etiamsi nullus ante mihi patuisset ad amicitiam Tuam aditus, Tu praecipue deligendus esses, cui munusculum hoc literarium, ad consuetudinem nostrorum temporum, sacraretur [...]. Quod harum literarum omniumque bonarum artium & scientiarum, Tu cultor, Tu patronus, Tu decus eximium sis & ornamentum, quem ego Judicem peritorem desiderare possem? quod idem me benevolentia tua privatim complecti volueris, quem benigniorem meorum conatum arbitrum & interpretem exoptarem? [...] Nec tu ex illorum numero est, qui, si quis modeste a Te dissensum profiteatur, ferre illum nequeas, aut amice monere non velis, ut saniorem sententiam amplectatur [...]. Te vero, ut quicquid hoc munusculi est, Vir Illustrissime, aequo animo accipias, rogo, & me Tui amantissimum amare perseveres, diuque Gallia Tua Te sospite fruatur'.

76 Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 39: 'Ingentem vobis hic catalogum exhibere possem Virorum Illustrium, ad quos frequenter a nostro literae mittebantur, a quibus etiam frequentes accipiebat; verum longum foret omnes enumerare, inter quos fuerunt in Gallia, Illustris praesul *Petrus Daniel Huetius*, *Abbas Bignonius*, *Bernardus Montfauconius*, *Antonius Gallandius*'.

77 Gen. 2:8–14.

Gihon as two distributaries that emerge after the point of confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris and flow into the Persian Sea. This meant that the single Edenic river split outside the boundaries of Paradise: into the Euphrates and the Tigris in the North, and into the Pishon and Gihon in the South.⁷⁸ Reland agreed with Huet that Scripture was referring to four separate bodies of water. He observed that each of the four bodies of water in the scriptural passage carried its own proper name. Although all of them originated from the same river in Eden, the branches became distinct, flowing rivers in their own right.⁷⁹ Despite his agreement with Huet on the split into four distinct rivers, Reland's map of Paradise looked different from Huet's. According to the biblical text, the Pishon wound through the 'entire land of Havilah' [כל ארץ החוילה] and the Gihon through the 'entire land of Cush' [כל ארץ כוש].⁸⁰ In regard to the former, Reland noted that this suggested a much lengthier course of the river than what Huet had proposed.⁸¹ Instead, Reland identified the Pishon as the River Phasis. Reland explained that one of the key criteria was size. Just like the Tigris and Euphrates, the Pishon and the Gihon must be larger bodies of water. Ancient authorities such as Strabo confirmed that the Phasis was a great river that sprang from a source in Armenia.⁸² With regard to the Gihon, Reland set his eyes on the Araxes River. The ancient writer Arrian had numbered the Araxes among the great rivers of Asia. Reland explained that there was some confusion among ancient writers about the name of the river. The scholia on Appollonius's *Argonautica*, for example, report that the River Thermodon was called by the same name as the river originating in Armenia. Ultimately, however, there was no question that the Pishon and the Gihon were to be identified as the Phasis and Araxes rivers, because their springs

78 Huet, *Tractatus de situ paradisi terrestris*, p. 29: '[...] & non videre possit, quatuor fluvios, magnum Paradisi fluvium dividentes, a parte superiore Euphratem & Tigrem exitisse; & a parte inferiore due brachia, quae communem alveum Tigridis & Euphratis dividunt, antequam in Sinum Persicum illabatur'.

79 Reland, 'Dissertatio de situ paradisi terrestris', p. 7: 'Erunt itaque ut emphasi verborum Mosis satis fiat Phison & Gihon flumina ab ipso Euphrate & Tigri distincta & ex eodem cum iis loco profluentia a communi origine, fluvio Edenico'.

80 Gen. 2:11–13.

81 Reland, 'Dissertatio de situ paradisi terrestris', p. 13: 'At non est id flumen tantae magnitudinis (quod uno tantum gradu: e.15. milliaribus Germanicis ipse Illustris Huetius in tabula Geographica definit) ut terram Chavilae & quidem emphatice כל ארץ החוילה *universam terram Chavilae* ambire possit dici'.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 8: 'Et praeterea notari meretur ipsum Phasin a scriptoribus profanis diserte magnum flumen appellari. Strabo *Geograph. Lib. x.* de Colchide loquens διαρρεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Φάσις μέγας ποταμὸς ἐξ ἀρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων'.

were in close proximity to those of the Tigris and Euphrates.⁸³ In fact, Reland elaborates, Pliny reported that the Araxes had its source in the same mountain as the Euphrates, which Strabo called Mount Abus.⁸⁴ Therefore, since the sources of all of these rivers were in Armenia, it was clear to Reland that this is where Paradise must have been located.⁸⁵ Reland's thesis about the Armenian origins of Paradise was not entirely new. Allusions to such a theory existed as early as the sixteenth century.⁸⁶ Using references to Roman, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Persian sources, Reland's treatise was without a doubt the most detailed scholarly attempt at this point to situate Paradise in Armenia without worrying about an extant single river of origin. From the correspondence between Gisbert Cuper and Huet, we get the impression that the latter did not endorse Reland's theory—something which nonetheless had no effect on their cordial scholarly relationship.⁸⁷ It is telling, however, that the Benedictine Dom Augustin Calmet (1672–1757), whose voluminous *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* was published between 1707 and 1716, basically hijacked Reland's thesis without giving him any scholarly credit.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, even modern scholars have somewhat uncritically credited Calmet rather than Reland with this contribution to the Early Modern quest for Paradise.⁸⁹

But neither modern scholars nor their Early Modern predecessors could ignore Reland's magnum opus in the field of sacred geography. Even if he had not received deserved applause, his early treatises on the *geographia sacra* had placed Reland firmly on the map of scholarly explorers. He travelled through time and space to find Paradise in Armenia, tracked down the Israelites on their flight to the Red Sea, plowed through the Samaritans' story to 'climb' Mount

83 Ibid., pp. 32–33: 'Quemque Arrianus *lib.* vii. De exped. Alex. inter maximos Asiae fluvios recenset. Ut prohoc statuamus facit non tantum ipsa Systematis nostri ratio, quod fontes alicuius fluminis proprio fontibus Tigridis, Euphratis & Phasidis nuspiam invenit, sed mira convenientia nominis Ἰϛϛλ cum Araxe'.

84 Ibid., p. 50: 'Plinius *lib.* vi. c.9. ubi scripserat Armeniam fundere Euphratem & Tigrin, pergit. *Araxes eodem monte oritur quo Euphrates vi. mill. passuum intervallo.* Strabo illum montem Ἄβρον nominat *lib.* xii. ὁ Ἄβρος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης ῥεῖ καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης. *Abus, a quo Euphrates fluit & Araxes.*'

85 Ibid., p. 4: 'Puto itaque in Armenia fuisse olim Paradisum terrestrem, & eo quidem loco, qui medius est inter fontes quatuor fluviorum, Phasidis, Araxis, Tigridis & Euphratis, quos esse illos credo qui a Mose describuntur nominibus Phisonis, Gihonis, Chiddekel, & Phrath [...].'

86 See Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, pp. 317–320.

87 See Péliissier, 'Lettres inédites', pp. 65–66.

88 See Calmet, *Commentaire littéral*, pp. 59–76.

89 See Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, pp. 321–322.

Gerizim, and 'sailed' to Goa to find Salomon's mysterious Ophir.⁹⁰ Reland's network and scholarly reputation yielded an audience eagerly awaiting his next work.⁹¹ In 1713, for instance, Gisbert Cuper informed Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze that the third and last book of Reland's *Palaestina* had been sent off to the press and that this 'excellent work' would be available soon.⁹² But the scholarly network did not just remain on the sidelines. It became an important asset and resource for Reland in the pursuit of completing his work. Five years before the work appeared in print, the *Journal des Sçavans* printed excerpts from a letter it had received from Reland. The journal announced that Reland's book on the *geographia sacra* would be 'much more precise and clear than those that had appeared until now, because it contained nothing that was not proven by authoritative evidence.'⁹³ Although these announcements in scholarly periodicals may have been important means to publicize a scholarly work, they also raised the bar of anticipation. Reland may have thrived under pressure, but it certainly took its toll. In spite of his excellent preparation and skill, the work was incredibly challenging, mentally draining, and physically exhausting. Reland apparently subordinated his entire daily routine to this project. He even moved to an estate outside of Utrecht to eliminate any unwanted distractions and find the peace and focus to work on his book.⁹⁴ Peter Burman, one of Reland's colleagues at Utrecht, wrote in a letter to their mutual friend Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714):

Our Reland has pressed on to elucidate his *Geographia sacra* with such vigour that he fell ill, which completely drained all of his physical strength; thus he was ordered by the doctors to abstain entirely from all literary contemplation; although some of his strength appears to have

90 These are all treatises in Reland's *Dissertationum miscellaneorum*.

91 On 25 May 1711, for instance, Gijsbert Cuper wrote to La Croze: 'Les quatre Médailles Arabes sont entre mes mains, & j'en ai envoyé une à Mr. Reland, qui travaille toujours à la Géographie Sainte [...]'. See *Lettres de critique*, p. 95.

92 '[...] le 3^{me}. & le dernier Livre de la Palestine de Mr. Reland est mis sous la presse, & je crois, que nous aurons bientôt cet excellent Ouvrage; je parle ainsi parce que j'en ai vû des beaux échantillons'. See Cuper, *Lettres de critique*, pp. 127–128.

93 *Supplément du Journal des Sçavans* (30 September 1709), p. 658: 'M. Reland se propose de donner au public une *Geographie de la Terre sainte beaucoup plus exacte & plus certaine que celles qui ont paru jusqu'à présent: elle ne contiendra rien qui ne soit appuyé sur des autorités*'.

94 'Wir erinnern uns zur selben Zeit aus Briefen guter Freunde verstanden zu haben, wie der Verfasser über dieser seiner Arbeit so eifrig gewesen, daß er derselben auf einem Landgute unweit Utrecht obgelegten, um desto ungestörter zu bleiben'. See *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum*, vol. 31, p. 521.

been restored, I am greatly worried that he does not want to comply with the warnings of his friends to take a break from this overly harsh and intense study routine.⁹⁵

Burman's intellect and wit may have been extraordinary in matters of classical philology and scholarship, but apparently not so in practical matters of social and medical care. His plea with Magliabechi on behalf of his colleague Reland could hardly have been more misdirected. Although a kind soul who was always willing to help others in matters of scholarship, Magliabechi was the archetype of a scatterbrained academic, who neglected personal care and hygiene to a degree of self-endangerment.⁹⁶ Fortunately, Burman's concern, at least at this point, must have been unwarranted; Reland was able to complete *Palaestina illustrata* without collapsing in the process. Reland's illness may have delayed the completion of his work, but it did not prevent it.⁹⁷ And the work was everything he had promised and more! Although academic publications that are celebrated as the 'definitive treatment of anything' never really are, since they are all mere snippets of a scholarly world in motion, Reland's massive book was indeed a showcase of philological erudition and a treasure trove of information in the field of biblical scholarship. Its dense content elevated it into a league with the work of Bochart or Spanheim. The latter had published his *Introductio ad geographiam sacram Patriarchalem, Israëliticam, & Christianam* in 1679. But with a mere 300 pages, Spanheim's work pales in comparison to Reland's massive two-volume tome of over 1,000 pages.

In all fairness to Spanheim, he had a different readership in mind to that of Reland. Spanheim's work was explicitly meant to be used by the *studiosa*

95 'Relandus noster tanta contentione in *Geographiam sacram* illustrandam incubuit, ut in infirmitatem, quae omnes fere vires exhaustit, incideret, ita ut a Medicis plane ab omni literarum meditatione abstinere iussus sit, & licet paullum refectae iam vires videantur, timeo tamen ipsi male, nisi obtemperare amicorum monitis, & a studio illo nimis acri & vehementi animum remittere velit'. See Magliabechi, *Clarorum Belgarum*, p. 300; on Burman, see my 'The Scholar as Whoremonger'; also, Grafton, 'Spinoza's Hermeneutics', pp. 179–182.

96 See 'Magliabechi', in *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, p. 370: 'Er war sonstens von sehr schlechten äusserlichem Putz, und trug Winters-Zeit allemal ein Kohl-Feuer bey sich, woran er sich öfters die Kleider und Hände beschädigte, pflegte auch gemeinlich auf rohen Büchern, die er mit einer Madratze bedeckt, zu schlaffen'.

97 'Sie würde auch vermuthlich ehe an den Tag gekommen seyn, wenn nicht der Herr Verfasser mitlerweile in eine schwere Kranckheit gefallen wäre, die ihm vielleicht sein allzuvielles Studiren zugezogen, und von der er sich erst erholen müssen'. See *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum*, vol. 31, p. 521.

iuventus. It was a 'college textbook', so to speak.⁹⁸ Reland's book, on the other hand, was much more ambitious. What started out as a commentary on Josephus became the first comprehensive attempt to create a topographic map of Palestine.⁹⁹ Included in the book are eight detailed maps that show the location of mountains, rivers, lakes, and several key cities. Unlike his predecessors, Reland did not simply follow the established custom of copying some preexisting map, but had all maps redrawn on the basis of the information available to him.¹⁰⁰ These, of course, were ancient sources, which he used to reassess distances between cities and places in order to enter them in Roman miles.¹⁰¹

For instance, adding up the distances between individual cities recorded in Josephus, Eusebius, and others, Reland arrived at a total distance of about 156 Roman miles from Dan in the north to Bersabee in the south of Palestine.¹⁰² Reland applied this same precision to both physical and cultural geography. A testimony to Reland's detail-oriented approach was his documentation of mountain ranges. Earlier maps of the Holy Land, including those in Bochart's and Spanheim's *Geographia sacra*, were imprecise when it came to such topographical detail. Reland's work, on the other hand, included one entire map dedicated solely to displaying mountain ranges. It is labeled 'Conspectus Libani atque Antilibani secundum observationes Henr. Maundrelli ex autographo eius descriptus' [Survey of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountain according to the observations of Henry Maundrell, sketched from his autograph]. The map is based on the Levantine travels of the English clergyman Henry Maundrell (1665–1701), whose journals were published two years after his death in 1703. The purpose of Maundrell's trip from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697 was not solely spiritual, but also an attempt to provide an improved

98 Spanheim, *Introductio ad geographiam sacram*.

99 'Hadrianus Relandis Loca Geographica Josephi justo Commentario illustrare constituit'. See *Acta Eruditorum*, vol. 2, p. 272.

100 Reland, *Palaestina*, fol. *3r–*3v: 'Nolui consuetudinem sequi quae increbuit, & mappam aliquam vulgatam, cuiusmodicunque fuerit, correctam hic illic in conspectum hominum denuo proferre: sed quum mihi in uniuerso hoc argumento nihil fuerit antiquius quam certe discernere ab incertis, omnes tabulas iuxta aestimare & veluti dubias atque ambiguas negligere idoneum visum fuit, atque ab ipsis carceribus justo itinere viam illam conficere, quam ingrediendum est si quis feliciter in hoc stadio voluerit decurrere'; see Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan*, pp. 88–95.

101 Reland, *Palaestina*, fol. *3v.: 'Ex veterum itaque scriptis collegi quaecunque ad situm locorum & intervalla facere videbantur; inprimis quae per miliaria Romana aut stadia, quae ad miliaria redege, erant digesta; qualia multa extant in scriptis Josephi, Eusebii, Hieronymi, itinerariis Romanis, & aliis monumentis: eaque tantum non omnia libro singulari, operis huius secundo, comprehendi'.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 423: 'A Bersabee usque ad Hierosolymas sunt mil. 42. Ab Hierosolymis ad Bethel. Ex Itinerar. Veter. Hieros. & Eusebio, mil. 12 [...]. Hic fiunt millaria Romana 156'.

description of the geography of the area.¹⁰³ The journals, however, did not include the map apparently sketched by Maundrell, but Reland was able to obtain the drawing through his contacts.¹⁰⁴ Maundrell's notes in combination with classical sources helped Reland identify and chart the course of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges.

Reland traced the term 'Libanus' to the Hebrew לָבַן, 'to whiten'. But this may not necessarily be a reference to its snow-covered peaks. According to Reland, the term 'Libanon' could also be a reference to the Temple of Jerusalem. Jewish sages such as Yohanan ben Zakkai viewed the Temple as the place where the slaughter of sacrificial beasts atoned for the transgressions of the faithful. Alternatively, of course, it could also be a reference to the cedar trees that were brought in from Mount Lebanon during the construction process of the Temple.¹⁰⁵ When it came to further identifying these mountain ranges, Reland was able to draw on a wealth of information from ancient writers. As usual, however, there was little agreement among them. Ancient evidence from coins suggested to him that the ancients sometimes utilized the term Lebanon when they were actually referring to the Anti-Lebanon range.

This, for instance, was the case with the cities of Hierapolis and Laodicea, which were both situated in the Anti-Lebanon mountains.¹⁰⁶ Strabo placed Mount Lebanon in the North, above the sea near Tripolis, and the Anti-Lebanon above the sea near Sidon further to the south. Both mountain ranges were separated by a large valley of about 400 *stadia*.¹⁰⁷ But some of the geographical

103 Butler, 'Maundrell'; see also Matar, 'The Sufi and the Chaplain', pp. 164–184.

104 Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 320: 'Sed est quod mihi gratuler ipsius Maundrelli αὐτόγραφον ad manus meas pervenisse, in quo & Libani situm atque Antilibani locorumque vicinorum descripsit'.

105 Ibid., pp. 312–313: 'Libani quod a לָבַן duximus. Inde intelligimus quamobrem in scriptis Prophetarum nomen Libani tribuatur Templo. Non ignoravit hoc vir clarus inter suos, Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, qui quum apertas sponte templi fores conspiceret [...] praesagiebat non longe abfore tempus quo aedes sacra conflagraret, exclamans, Aperi, o Libanon, portas tuas ut consumat ignis cedros tuas. Si rationem Judaeos roges, quamobrem templum Libanus dicatur, respondebunt quia oblationem victimarum in Templo peccata expiabantur [...]. Posset quoque dici, ob eximiam copiam cedrorum ex Libano petitarum ad constructionem templi, locum hunc regione ubi ligni caeteroquin magna erat penuria veluti alterum Libanum extitisse'.

106 Ibid., pp. 311–312: 'Adde & ipsos veteres Antilibano nomen Libani tribuisse. Extant nummi cum epigraphe ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΛΙΒΑΝΩ & ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΙΟΣ ΤΩ ΛΙΒΑΝΩ vel ΕΝ ΤΩ ΛΙΒΑΝΩ. Erant tamen hae urbes Antilibani'.

107 Ibid., p. 313: 'Ipsum audiamus *lib.* xvi. Δύο δὲ ταύτ' ἐστὶν ὄρη τὰ ποιούντα τὴν κοίλην καλουμένην Συρίαν ὡς ἂν παράλληλα, ὃ τε Λίβανος καὶ ὁ Ἀντιλίβανος μικρὸν ὑπερθεὶν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχόμενα ἄμφω, ὃ μὲν Λίβανος τῆς κατὰ Τρίπολιν, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μάλιστα πρόσωπον, ὃ δ' Ἀντιλίβανος τῆς κατὰ Σιδῶνα· τελευτῶσι δ' ἐγγύς πως τῶν Ἀραβίων ὀρών τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς

markers in Strabo and other ancient writers such as Procopius complicated matters for Reland. They seemed to suggest that the Lebanon mountains extended as far as the Euphrates river. Reland, of course, thought that this was absurd.¹⁰⁸

More useful to Reland was the information he gathered from Josephus. The Jewish historian located the city of Dan not far from Mount Lebanon, near the springs of the Lesser Jordan River. Dan was twenty Roman miles from Tyre and a day's journey from Sidon.¹⁰⁹ But where the information of ancient writers did not satisfy him, Reland was able to draw on more recent accounts. The medieval geographer Marino Sanuto the Elder (1260–1338) reported that Mount Lebanon was never more than two leagues from the sea, except in the area of Tripoli, where the distance between the Mediterranean and the mountain range was three leagues. With the aid of Maundrell's journal and the sketched map, Reland was able to shed further light on the course of these two mountain ranges. He concluded that Mount Lebanon must run parallel to the coastline of the Mediterranean and was separated from the Ani-Lebanon mountain range in the east by a substantial valley, as Strabo had noted. This was confirmed by Maundrell's description of the group's journey east from Sidon on the Mediterranean to Damascus, which led them across both the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges.¹¹⁰

In spite of their disagreements over exact locations, it would have been hard for ancient and Early Modern writers to ignore massive landforms such as mountain ranges or lakes. Other physical characteristics of a region, however, were much easier to miss. Fluvial systems were a case in point. The course of the Jordan was, of course, well-documented, but other rivers and streams were much harder to locate, especially when the language was ambiguous.

Δαμασκηνης και των τραχώνων εκεί λεγομένων εις άλλη ὄρη γεώλοφα και καλλίκαρπα. ἀπολείπουσι δὲ μεταξὺ πεδῖον κοῖλον πλάτος μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ διακοσίων σταδίων, μήκος δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ὁμοῦ τι διπλάσιον'.

108 Ibid., p. 316: 'Quis non videt hanc Chalcidem ab alia superiore longe esse diversam? Nisi velimus Libanum porrigere usque ad viciniam Euphratis, quod absurdum est'.

109 Ibid., p. 316: 'Urbem Dan ille non longe a Libano & fontibus Jordanis minoris conditam scribit *Antiq.* v.2. aberat autem haec Tyro 20 mill. & a Sidone itinere unius diei quod alibi ostendimus'.

110 Ibid., p. 319: 'Unum ex scritoribus nostrorum temporum addam Henricum Maundrellum, qui Libani atque Antilibani situm accurate describit; sic ut Libanus iuxta litus maris (Sanutus *in secretis fidelium crucis pag.* 155. tradit nusque Libanum a mari recedere per duas leucas nisi iuxta Tripolin, ubi per 3 leucas distat: interdum tamen ita accedere ad mare ut nulla relinquatur via) se extendat ab austro versus septentrionem: Antilibanus similiter ad austro septentrionem versus procurrat valle intermedia a Libano secretus, & Damasco sive plagae orientali vicinior'.

Based on their location, Reland divided Palestinian streams into those in the Transjordan and Cisjordan regions. Depending on their size, Reland explained, ancient writers may have used alternative expressions to refer to fluvial systems. For a smaller stream, Greek authors were more likely to use the term *ποταμίσκος* rather than *ποταμός*. This explains why Philo somewhat cryptically observed that there were no rivers anywhere near Jerusalem, although the Kedron ran right by it. Similarly, the Hebrew term נחל can mean 'a valley' or 'a brook', because small streams dry up and become valleys without water. The Greeks called these seasonal winter-swollen streams *χείμαρροι*.¹¹¹ Reland's sources revealed several examples of these bodies of water that were not found easily on maps. This means there may be bodies of water where no one had suspected. One example comes from Scripture, where Psalm 126:4 mentions streams in the Negev [כאפיקים בנגב], in the Cisjordan region, in the south of the Holy Land. According to Reland, Strabo cited Eratosthenes who reported that there were underwater streams that surfaced in the area around Rhinocolura and Mt. Cassius. Further confirmation came from Joshua in the Bible, which mentions 'the brook of Egypt' [נחל מצרים], flowing near Rhinocolura, as the southern boundary of Judah.¹¹² Reland argued that the course of this stream must have been east of the city, because Jerome situated it between Pelusium and Rhinocolura. Misleadingly, it could be taken as a reference to the Nile, because, as stated in 1 Chron. 13:5, 'David assembled all Israelites from the Schichor River in Egypt'.¹¹³ But despite the name 'brook of Egypt', this elusive stream could under no circumstances be a reference to the Nile. Reland explained:

111 Ibid., p. 284: '[...] adeoque ποταμίσκους potius quam ποταμούς dicendos: atque Hierosolyma longe a ποταμοῖς sita scribit Philo de *somniis*, quum tamen in proximo esset torrens Kedron. At is ποταμού nomen haud meretur. Deinde nomen נחלים valles aequae ac flumina notare, & saepe numero incertum esse, quando נחל aliquis memoratur in Sacro Codice, debeatne vallis an flumen intelligi: quumque multa flumina ex his torrentia sint, & aestate exsiccata alveum suum uti vallem ostendant, quemadmodum & Ovidius *lib. 11. Metamorphoseon* septem brachia fluvii exsiccata appellat *septem sine flumine valles*, potest ea vox נחל & flumini & valli adaptari. Graeci vocem נחל per χείμαρρον reddere solent, id est, torrentem sive hybernium flumen'.

112 Jos. 15:4.

113 Ibid., pp. 285–286: 'Strabo *lib. xvi.* ita refert eius opinionem, 'Ερατοσθένης δὲ τῶν λιμνῶν μνησθεὶς τῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, φησὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορούμενον διεξόδων ἀνοῖξει πόρους ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ὑποφέρεσθαι μέχρι Κοιλοσύρων· ἀναθλίβεσθαι δὲ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ἰννοκόρουρα καὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος ποταμός [sic] [...]. [...]. In *Sacro Codice Jos.* 15.4. & alibi נחל מצרים flumen Aegypti appellatur illud quod Rhinocolura alluit. Erat autem ad austrum urbis, quia Hieronymus illud labi testatur inter Pelusium & Rhinocolura. De ratione huius nominis disquiri solet, unde ductum sit, & an non ipse Nilus intelligi debeat, quoniam שִׁיחֹר Schichor, & Schichor Aegypti appellatur 1 *Chron.* 13.5'.

Since at the time of Joshua Egypt did not extend as far as to where Rhinocolura was built later, it appears clear that the river flowing near Rhinocolura was not called ‘stream of Egypt’ as if it was in Egypt but that epithet ‘of Egypt’ refers to something else.¹¹⁴

Besides, Egypt did not even share a border with Israel. In the first twenty-six chapters of his book Reland had established the historical boundaries of Palestine, partly also by including regions and population groups with which it shared borders. Although Cyril of Alexandria noted that the Egyptians shared a border with the Canaanites, Reland judged the passage unreliable as a source. The Greek text stated that the Euphrates marked the southern border of Palestine, which suggested to Reland that a verb was missing and the passage was corrupt, because the Euphrates was nowhere near that location.¹¹⁵ Instead, it seemed very clear that Palestine shared a border with the Philistines in the south. Reland explained that the Philistines traced their origins to the Cashluhites who came originally from the region of Capthor, which appeared to have been on the Egyptian coast near Pelusium.¹¹⁶ Later, ancient Greek sources referred to the Philistines as *ἀλλόφυλοι*, ‘foreigners’.¹¹⁷ According to Exodus 13:17–18, God instructed the fleeing Israelites to take a detour rather than the direct route through the land of the Philistines [דרך ארץ פלשתים].¹¹⁸ Accordingly, the Philistines must have occupied the coastal area along the

114 Ibid., p. 286: ‘Quum porro Aegyptus ipsa tempore Josuae se non extenderit usque ad illum locum ubi Rhinocolura postea condita sunt, clarum videtur non posse flumen Rhinocolura alluens fluvium Aegypti dici ac si in Aegypto esset, sed alio referri oportere illud epitheton Aegypti’.

115 Ibid., p. 58: ‘Idem *in comm. ad Jesaiam lib. iii. tom. i. pag.* 382. Τερατίζεται τοίνυν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ χώρα, τοῖς τε Εὐφράτου νόμασιν ὡς ἦώ τε καὶ νότον, καὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πινοκορούρων. Πόλις τε αὐτῆ τῆν τε Αἰγυπτίων ὀρίζουσα, καὶ μέντοι τῆν Παλαιστινῶν [...]. Nota obiter locum esse mendosum: scribendum enim fuerat, nec hoc ignorare potuit Cyrillus, ipse Archiepiscopus Alexandrinus, ad austrum esse Rhinocorura teminum Palaestinae, & delendum illud καὶ ante τῇ καλουμένῃ. Euphrates ad austrum Palaestinae collocari nequit. Res notior est quam ut verbum addere necesse sit’.

116 Ibid., p. 74: ‘Philistaei, פלשתים Hebraeis dicti & φυλισταῖοι vel φυλιστιεῖμ (vide Siracidem *cap.* 46.21. & 1 *Macc.* 3.24.) originem traxerunt a Casluhaeis, qui patrem habuere Mitzraim *Gen.* 10. Profecti sunt e regione Capthor, כפתר, *Amos.* 9.7. *Deut.* 2.23. quae videtur in ora maritima Aegypti circa Pelusium quaerenda’.

117 Ibid., p. 75: ‘Deinde Philistaei dicti sunt ἀλλόφυλοι, quasi extrarii, & regio eorum γῆ ἀλλοφύλων’.

118 Ibid., p. 77: ‘Nam *Exod.* 13.17,18. opponuntur viae duae, quibus ex Aegypto ad terram Canaan iter esset, altera דרך ארץ פלשתים *via per terram Philisaeorum*, qua Deus populum suum non duxit, licet esset קרוב *brevior*, ne armis & apparatu bellico Philistaeorum territus reverteretur in Aegyptum [...].’

Mediterranean between Egypt and Canaan. Since the Philistines are not mentioned in the conquest narrative, they could not have inhabited Palestine proper during the time of Joshua. This, however, changed. Later, the cities of Gaza, Gath, Ascalon, Ashdod, and Ekron were called *πέντε σατραπείαι τῶν ἀλλοφύλων*, ‘five satrapies of foreigners’, which suggests that parts of Palestine were from time to time under Philistine occupation.

Given that Palestine did not share a border with Egypt and Rhinocolura was on Palestinian soil, where was this mysterious ‘brook of Egypt’ [נחל מצרים] located? Reland found a solution to the problem in Scripture. In Joshua 13:3, Schichor is described as the river ‘that faces Egypt’ [שיחור אשר על פני מצרים]. Reland concluded that the Hebrew term ‘Egypt’ [מצרים] referred to the stream’s direction and did not at all mean that it was a river in Egypt. It ‘turned towards Egypt’ or was near the Egyptian border, just as the biblical ‘Almon Diblathaim’ should be translated as ‘Almon near Diblathaim’.¹¹⁹ We can almost visualize Reland at work; consulting every possible classical writer, looking at existing maps, puzzling over philological terminology, corresponding with his network about intricacies of the text and access to information.

Admittedly, some of Reland’s arguments were far-fetched and did not even convince his contemporaries. Reland’s successor at Utrecht, the Hebraist David Mill (1692–1756) for instance, was unwilling to abandon the idea that the Schichor [שיחור] was a reference to the Nile in Egypt, and so were others.¹²⁰ But hardly any Early Modern biblical scholar, philologist, or theologian was able to ignore or fail to acknowledge the monumental contribution of Reland’s *Palaestina illustrata*. It elevated the study of biblical geography onto a new plane. Even the notoriously critical savant Jean Le Clerc, who used his pen to reduce the work of many of the giants of the Republic of Letters to mere rubble, graced Reland’s work with an exceptionally elaborate and positive review.¹²¹ According to Le Clerc, ‘nobody before made such an effort in this subject matter as Mr. Reland’, who examined the whole body of ‘Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Latin sources’, along with records from ancient and modern travellers’ in order

119 Ibid., pp. 286–287: ‘Aetate Josuae Aegyptus eo usque se non extendit & inter illam ac terram Israeliticam erat intermedia regio Philistaeorum [...]. Jos. 13. 3. flumen hoc appellatur מצרים שיחור אשר על פני מצרים Schichor qui est ante faciem Aegypti. Hic discimus idem esse flumen Aegypti quod flumen respiciens Aegyptum [...]. Erit ergo Schichor, vel flumen Aegypti id flumen quod Aegyptum respicit vel Aegypto, vicinum, uti Almon Diblathaim creditur esse Almon prope Diblathaim [...].’

120 Mill, *Dissertationes selectae*, pp. 1–30.

121 Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque*, pp. 360–408.

to provide 'numerous clarifications' of locations and places of previously unclear provenance.¹²²

If the *Palaestina* cemented Reland's reputation as one of the foremost biblical scholars of his age, his influence as a teacher was certainly no less profound. Reland's commitment to teaching becomes clear just by simply looking at a number of his publications. Many of them were geared toward a student audience. They include his *Analecta rabbinica* (1702) [Rabbinical Excerpts] and his *Elenchus philologicus* (1706) [Philological Cross-Examination], which were all designated as *in usum studiosae iuventutis* [for the use of students].¹²³ This does not, of course, diminish their value, but it highlights the pedagogical side of Reland's 'Orientalism' and scholarship. In fact one could argue that his influence as an educator in the field of Christian Hebraism may have been even more pervasive and lasting than his scholarly legacy. Reland wrote what would be the seminal textbook for the study of Jewish antiquities for decades to come. The nineteenth-century English theologian and bibliographer Thomas Hartwell Horne (1780–1862), author of the immensely popular *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, referred to Reland's *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum* as the 'textbook of professors'.¹²⁴

The reason for the enduring and pervasive influence of Reland's book was certainly not due to a lack of material on the market. Quite the contrary was the case. As we have pointed out earlier, the seventeenth century in particular could be called the 'heyday of Christian Hebraism'. The market was virtually flooded with books on every aspect of the *antiquitates sacrae*. The most impressive testimony of the amazing prolificity of the Christian Hebraism of the period are the thirty-four mighty tomes of Blasius Ugolini's *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum* (Venice, 1744–1769), which cover virtually every aspect of ancient Jewish culture. The roots for this interest were manifold. They range from political idealizations of the commonwealth of the Hebrews to a curiosity about 'exotic cultures', triggered by the age of discovery.¹²⁵ What matters in our case, however, is the emphasis Protestant savants mainly placed on the study of ancient Jewish rituals and customs as a key element of their

122 Ibid., p. 368: 'Il a fouillé, dans tous les monuments Hebreux, Arabes, Grecs, Latins, & dans les Voyageurs anciens & modernes, ou il a pu trouver quelque éclaircissement; & je croi en effet que personne ne s'est tant donné de peine, sur cetter matiere, que M. Reland.'

123 Reland, *Elenchus philologicus*; idem, *Analecta rabbinica*.

124 Horne, *Introduction*, p. 727, referring to the abridged edition: 'Hadriani Relandi Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum recensuit, et animadversionibus Ugolinianis-Ravianis auxit, Georgius Joannes Ludovicus Vogel . 8vo. Halae, 1769. The best edition of a valuable little summary, which for many years continued to be the text-book of professors.'

125 Nelson, *Hebrew Republic*; Stroumsa, *A New Science*, p. 71.

hermeneutica sacra.¹²⁶ Terminological lines between the concepts of *philologia sacra* and *hermeneutica sacra* were much less pronounced than today. Salomon Glassius divided his *Philologia Sacra* into the categories *philologia*, *grammatica*, *rhetorica sacra*, and *logica sacra*. Under the category *philologia*, he covered the twofold sense of scripture, namely *sensus literalis* and the *sensus mysticus*.¹²⁷ Similarly, the Christian Hebraist August Pfeiffer (1640–1698) from Lübeck included the section *De sensu Scripturae Sacrae* in his celebrated *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684), as did Johann Jacob Rambach (1693–1735) a few decades later in his widely influential *Institutiones hermeneuticae sacrae* (1752).¹²⁸ Both Pfeiffer and Rambach include in their work a section on proper tools of interpretation. Under the section *De mediis hermeneuticae sacrae* both authors included not only grammatical exegetical tools but also auxiliary disciplines such as history, chronology, geography, and rabbinic sources. According to Rambach, an understanding of the rituals and antiquities of the Jews was vital for an understanding of both Testaments, especially with regard to typology. Many passages in the Old Testament would hardly make sense unless they were put into the context of Jewish antiquities. Even more importantly, a lack of understanding of ancient Jewish ritual law would be detrimental to a proper understanding of the New Testament.

Already Louis Cappel had, according to Rambach, emphasized that there were ‘many passages in the New Testament, in which both Christ and the Apostles turned their thoughts to the ideas, proverbial expressions, parables, pithy sayings, customs, and principles of the ancient Jews of their time, among whom they lived and taught’.¹²⁹ For instance, Jesus’ parable in Matt. 21:44 must be viewed against the background of ancient Jewish laws of capital punishment by stoning, outlined in the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin.¹³⁰ This example

126 Van Miert, *Emancipation*, pp. xiii–xxiii.

127 Glassius, *Philologia sacra*, p. 347: ‘*Scripturae sacrosanctae sensus duplex esse: Literalis & spiritualis seu mysticus*’.

128 Steiger, ‘The Development of the Reformation Legacy’, pp. 740–743.

129 Rambach, *Institutiones*, pp. 535–536: ‘*Praecipuum vero usum praestant, qui ritus et antiquitates suae gentis descripserunt; quarum cognitio quam plurimis utriusque testamenti locis lucem adspersit, & typologiam sacram quodammodo adiuvat. Multa veteris testamenti loca difficilia esse intellectu, nisi peritia antiquitatum ebraicarum instructus, ad illa accesseris, experientia docet [...]. Multa enim sunt in N.T. in quibus tum Christus, tum eius apostoli respexerunt ad sententias, proverbia, parabolas, gnomas, mores, dogmata veterum sui temporis Iudaeorum, inter quos vixerunt & docuerunt [...]; ut monet LUD. CAPPELLUS, in praefat. Spicilegii sui*’.

130 *Ibid.*, p. 537: ‘*Verba Matth. XXI, 44. Qui in eum lapidem ceciderit, confringetur; & in quem lapis inciderit, eum conteret: ex ritu lapidationis, apud Iudaeos recepto, explicanda sunt, de quo Sanhedrin c. VI. Locus lapidationis altitudine aequavit duplicem hominis staturam:*

illustrates how vital a knowledge of the Talmud and Mishna was not only for the study of the Old Testament but for the New Testament as well. The English Hebraist and minister John Lightfoot (1602–1675) meticulously compiled these kinds of references to the Talmud in the New Testament in his massive six-volume *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–1678). When John the Baptist, for instance, refers to the Pharisees and Sadducees as ‘generations of vipers’, Lightfoot supplied an elaborate cultural and linguistic discussion of the terms Pharisee and Sadducees. Providing ample references from the rabbinic corpus, Lightfoot noted, for instance, that the doctrine of the denial of the resurrection must have existed some time before the Sadducees entered the scene.¹³¹

References to ancient Jewish practices, such as the example about execution by stoning, generated a massive body of scholarly works. These were the kind of topics debated in disputations at universities and throughout the ‘Republic of Christian Hebraism’ during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A casual glance into Johann Albert Fabricius’s *Bibliographia antiquaria* (1713), one of the standard reference publications for the studies of Greek, Roman, Hebrew, and Christian antiquities, reveals a section on *poenae apud Hebraeos* (punishment among the Hebrews). Fabricius briefly explained that there were four execution methods practiced in ancient Judaism, namely death by burning, stoning, strangulation, and decapitation.¹³² Besides references to Surenhusius’s edition of the Mishna, Fabricius then lists dozens of references to books and treatises written by Christian Hebraists on capital punishment. They include references to Calmet or Johannes Leusden (1624–1699), as well as to lesser known scholars and their work such as Johann Ernst Bornitz’s *De מיתות seu suppliciiis capitalibus Ebraeorum* (1643), Christoph Borstorf’s *Dissertatio de poenis capitalibus Hebraeorum* (1696) or Friedrich Siegfried Ring’s *De lapidatione Hebraeorum* (1716). Although Fabricius’s main goal was to compile as thoroughly as possible all publications about the death penalty in ancient Israel, his inclusion of works on the martyrdom of St. Stephen highlights how the study of Jewish antiquities was seen as a vital component of doctrinal training and education.¹³³

inde e clivo eum in terram praecipitavit unus e testibus, in lumbos impactum. Si inde moriebatur; bene; sin minus, testis alter lapidem in cor eius impingit’.

131 Lightfoot, *Horae*, p. 59: ‘Sadducaeos ergo haereticos a *Zadok* denominatos non est inficiandum, at Sadducaeorum haeresim de Resurrectione antiquiorem nomine isto fuisse, non sine ratione opineris [...]’.

132 Fabricius, *Bibliographia antiquaria*, p. 747: ‘Apud Hebraeos quatuor in usu fuisse suppliciorum capitalium genera feruntur, vivicrematio, lapidatio, strangulatio et poena gladii, quam putabant esse turpissimam’.

133 *Ibid.*, pp. 747–749.

Not surprisingly, Christian Hebraism became one of the greatest advocates and vehicles of the study of the *antiquitates sacrae*. Professorships of Biblical Antiquities existed at virtually every major university, including Utrecht, of course. Closely tied to the study of 'Oriental' languages, the subject matter basically included everything that pertained to the study of ancient Judaism. The Hebraist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1681–1750), grandson of the great Swiss Arabist and theologian, and like Reland a protégé of Willem Surenhusius, provided the following 'job description' for prospective candidates:

Broadly, under the name 'Jewish Antiquities' fall all those records of the ancient Jews, which faithfully bequeath the origin of this people, its progress, its language, books, beliefs, customs, its rituals, both sacred and human, its places, calculations of time, offices, and so forth, for the purpose of an easier and clearer understanding of both Old and New Testaments.¹³⁴

While Hottinger's description of the discipline makes perfect sense, the practical implications are clear. As the example of capital punishments in ancient Judaism may have suggested, this was a herculean task. We are talking here about a massive case of 'information overload' with no simple cure in sight.¹³⁵ There were entire books on major subjects such as Johann Braunius's seminal work on Hebrew priestly garments or Johann Saubertus's book on sacrifices, not to mention the flood of smaller dissertations on even the smallest detail of ancient Judaism.¹³⁶

How can all of the information about ancient Judaism along with its theological implications be packaged succinctly into the format of a monograph? Moreover, the challenge was to condense this information into a format that was digestible to students, but was still mindful of scholarly subtleties. One way of looking at this might be the attempt to write a world history textbook for undergraduate students today. Granted, the audience would be a lot less specialized and much broader, but the author would be faced with similar challenges with regard to the massive amount of material that needed to be covered. But whereas a team of authors is generally recruited by publishers

134 Hottinger, 'ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ', fol. Aiv.: 'Late *Antiquitatum Judaicarum* nomine veniunt, omnia Veterum Judaeorum monumenta, quae Gentis illius origine, progressum, linguam, libros, dogmata, mores, ritus, tam Divinos quam humanos, loca, tempora, magistratus & si quae aliae, fideliter tradunt, ad utrumque Codicem Veteris & N. Testamenti facilius & clarius assequendum'; see 'Hottinger', in *Forsetzung und Ergänzungen*, cols. 2157–2158.

135 See Blair, *Too Much To Know*.

136 Braunius, בְּגָדֵי כֹהֲנִים *id est*; Saubertus, *De sacrificiis*.

today to work on a textbook project, the task to brave the flood of information and compile a textbook on the 'cultural history' of ancient Israel fell to courageous individual scholars. And some dared to venture into that territory, although with limited goals and success. The work by the Genevan Hebraist Bonaventure Corneille Bertram (1531–1594) is quite short and focuses strictly on the political and ecclesiastical governing bodies of ancient Judaism.¹³⁷ More substantial was Carlo Sigonio's *De republica Hebraeorum libri III* (1582). The Roman Catholic Sigonio divided his book into seven chapters, focusing on the political and civil, and religious structure of the ancient Hebrew state. Apart from the fact that Sigonio's agenda was mostly political, as more recent scholarship has demonstrated, he was not a Hebraist and drew most of his information from the Vulgate, Philo, Josephus, and the church fathers.¹³⁸

Among the first comprehensive works by a Christian Hebraist was Petrus Cunaeus's (1586–1638) learned work published under the same title as Sigonio's. Unlike Sigonio, the Dutchman Cunaeus was an expert Hebraist, well acquainted with the rabbinic corpus and amply utilizing it to advocate ancient Israel as the perfect republican model.¹³⁹ We can already see that many of these works were hardly suitable for the education of future generations of Hebraists, theologians, and ministers. Thomas Goodwin's much less idealistic *Moses and Aaron: Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites used by the ancient Hebrews* (1614), however, was indeed suitable.¹⁴⁰ The book went through numerous editions in English and was published in Latin in Bremen in 1679 and in Utrecht in 1690. A Dutch translation of it appeared in 1694, along with a foreword by Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), one of Reland's teacher's when he was a student in Utrecht.¹⁴¹ It was reissued again in a Latin edition with scholarly notes by the younger Hottinger, 'the grandson' in 1710.¹⁴²

137 See Bertram, *De politia iudaica*. The scholarship on 'political Hebraism' is massive and not a focus of this article. See, above all, Nelson's *The Hebrew Republic* and the very good introductory, albeit slightly dated, article by Neuman, 'Political Hebraism'.

138 Sigonio, *De republica Hebraeorum*. On the 'Hebraist' Sigonio, see Guido Bartolucci, *La repubblica ebraica*; also Bartolucci's article, 'Carlo Sigonio and the "Respublica Hebraeorum".'

139 Cunaeus, *De republica Hebraeorum*. On Cunaeus, see Ziskind, 'Petrus Cunaeus'; also, Katchen, *Christian Hebraists*, pp. 37–55; Laplanche, 'Christian Erudition'; Nelson, *Hebrew Republic*, pp. 74–78.

140 Goodwin, *Moses and Aaron*; idem, *Moses et Aaron*.

141 Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 16: 'In eadem quoque caelestis sapientiae disciplina operam dedit Celeberrimis ea tempestate in hac Academia Viris, Gerardo van Mastricht, Hermanno Witzio, & Hermanno van Halen'.

142 Fabricius, *Bibliographia antiquaria*, p. 15: 'Anglica lingua Thomas Goodwin in Moses et Aaron, sive de ritibus et antiquitatibus hebraicis, qui ex vernacula saepius editus, hinc

It would be interesting to know what motivated Reland to write his *Antiquitates sacrae*. Inspiration may have come from his own teacher Leydecker, who published a rather substantial volume under the title *De republica Hebraeorum libri XII* in 1704, four years before Reland's book appeared in print.¹⁴³ But, just like Sigonio and Cunaeus, Leydecker's focus was predominantly on the ancient Hebrew theocracy. Leydecker's book may provide some clues. In his preface, Leydecker seems to classify Goodwin's *Moses et Aaron* mainly as a textbook.¹⁴⁴ We know that Witsius used Goodwin's book in class, at least once he was at Leiden, and it would be intriguing to imagine Reland taking a class under Witsius on the *antiquitates sacrae* in Utrecht.¹⁴⁵ One reviewer in the *Journal des Sçavans* notes the similarity in the layout of both Goodwin's and Reland's books.¹⁴⁶ It is very likely that Reland's textbook was based on his own lecture notes. This was, in fact, not at all uncommon at the time. For instance, Fabricius's *Bibliographia antiquaria* was based on lectures of his own which he delivered at the *Gymnasium illustre* in Hamburg.¹⁴⁷ We are left guessing here, because Reland did not add a preface to the work.

We know, of course, that Reland was in full agreement with his Christian Hebraist peers about the tremendous importance of the subject matter. It is no exaggeration to say that Reland viewed the study of Jewish antiquities as part of the process of knowing Christ. At the time when he was formally appointed to the professorship of sacred antiquities in 1713, Reland made this clear when

Belgice quoque, Daniele Peenio interprete, recusus apud Batavos Amstelod. 1694. 8. et latine cum notis brevibus Io. Henrici Reitzii, Breaeae 1679 et sexta vice ibid. 1722. 8. cum novis eiusdem editoris animadversionibus et Herm. Witsius dissertat. duplici de theocraia Israelitica Rechabitis. Cum clarissimi Ioan. Henrici Hottingeri Nepotis, notis et animadversiones prima vice Francof. ad Moen. 1710 [...].

143 Leydecker, *De republica Hebraeorum*.

144 Ibid, 'Ad lectorem praefatio', n.p: 'Et postulata quoque sunt ab Academica Juventute Collegia ad *Cunaeum & Goodwinum*, non neganda petentibus'.

145 See Jennings, *Jewish Antiquities*, p. ix: 'This piece of Godwin, stiled Moses and Aaron, the method of which our author chose to follow, hath been annotated and commented upon by a variety of authors [...]. There are two sets of annotations in manuscript, one by the learned Witsius, which he read to his students in the university of Leyden'.

146 *Journal Des Sçavans* (December 1746), p. 723: 'Le *Moyse & l'Aaron* de Goodwin, n'est proprement qu'un Recueil de tous les Monuments qui concernent la République des Hébreux; ce Livre est rédigé à peu près dans le même ordre que les Antiquités sacrées de Relands [...].

147 Fabricius, *Bibliographia antiquaria*, fol. *3r: 'Bibliographia haec privatarum more paelectionum primum a me tradita, totaque consecrata fuit progressibus et captui studiosorum Iuvenum, frequentantium Gymnasium huius Urbis, quod hoc ipso anno 1713 bonis ut voveo speroque auspiciis celebrabit primum suum Iubilaeum, sive memoriam saecularem Musei huius publicaeque virtutum, pietatis et bonarum litterarum officinae, Optimorum Patrum cura ante hos centum annos conditae atque dedicatae'.

he mounted the lectern on 11 February that year to address his audience. In his inaugural ‘Address on the Value of Sacred Antiquities,’ Reland emphasized the responsibility the study of Scripture as a divine gift imposed upon both scholar and student. The study of these monuments provided, according to Reland, the key to unlock the mystery behind the powerful sacred words.¹⁴⁸ In this regard, Reland’s work fits perfectly into the long tradition of the *philologia sacra* outlined above. Coupled with his membership of a missionary society, which he joined in 1713, the purpose of Reland’s scholarship was conservative from a theological point of view—Reland was committed to advancing the gospel.

Just as Goodwin had organized his *Moses seu Aaron* topically, so does Reland, but with some modifications. Reland’s *Antiquitates sacrae* are divided into four sections: *de locis sacris* [about sacred places], *de personis sacris* [about sacred persons], *de rebus sacris* [about sacred matters], and *de temporibus sacris* [about sacred times]. He overlaps here with Goodwin, whose book consisted of the parts *personis* [of persons], *locis* [of places], *diebus & temporibus* [of days and times]. But Goodwin also included the parts *idolatria* [of idolatry], *consistoriis seu confessibus* [of consistories and confessions], and *ritibus mixtis* [of mixed rites]. The first part of his *Antiquitates*, ‘about sacred places,’ is at least in part Reland’s home turf. Although his *Palaestina* was, at best, a work in progress when he completed his *Antiquitates*, we have seen that Reland’s interest in the *geographia sacra* was a permanent fixture throughout his scholarly career. In his textbook he moves from the macro to the micro perspective, delineating first the boundaries of ancient Palestine, then moving to ancient Jerusalem, its temple, all the way into the Holy of Holies. The first chapter provides a brief treatment of Canaan’s topography, including the ‘river of Egypt’ [נהל מצרים] in the south, as well as mountain ranges such as the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. What Reland would cover in close to four hundred densely-packed annotated pages in his *Palaestina* he condensed in his *Antiquitates* to seven meager pages.¹⁴⁹ It is more or less a lecture outline, with hardly any scholarly references. Most of the references come from the Old and New Testaments, Josephus, and rabbinic sources.

148 Reland, *Oratio De usu antiquitatum sacrarum*, p. 7: ‘Sacer codex coeleste donum est, & inter illa quae Dei concessu atque munere generi humano tributa sunt, longe praecipuum [...]. Quis ergo dubitet quin omnia ad elucidandam vim verborum & investigandum sensum qui in sacris his tabulis latet conferre oporteat? Quid jucundius, quam inoffenso pede in evolvendis illis monumentis pergere posse quibus ea docemur quae omnes reliqui mortales ignorant?’

149 Reland, *Antiquitates*, pp. 1–7.

David Ruderman once observed that Reland's former mentor, the Hebraist Willem Surenhusius, viewed the Mishna as ever more closely approaching the New Testament as a source of revelation.¹⁵⁰ We do not know exactly if, or to what extent, Reland may have been influenced by Surenhusius. But in his inaugural address, Reland dismissed 'potential Judaizing' charges as the spirit of bygone ages, when 'those who devoted themselves to the Hebrew writings were believed to take the side of the Jews'.¹⁵¹ Reland would certainly not go as far as to view the rabbinic corpus as an avenue to salvation, as Ruderman would like us to believe was the case with Surenhusius. But he saw the writings of Jewish sages as a key tool to find Christian truth in both Old and New Testaments.¹⁵² It may be premature to call Reland a 'philosemite', given the implications of the term.¹⁵³ But comparing Reland's work with textbooks of the same genre such as Conrad Iken's *Antiquitates Hebraicae* (1732) shows that Reland was utilizing rabbinic sources to a much greater extent than Iken. This did not go unnoticed by his intellectual peers at the time.¹⁵⁴ At no point when he referenced rabbinic material, did Reland dismiss them as fabulous or inferior. Reland consulted rabbinic sources whenever the account in Scripture was scanty, as was the case with his description of the inner sanctuary of the temple. According to Scripture, the ark was made of acacia wood, measuring $2.5 \times 1.5 \times 1.5$ cubits.¹⁵⁵ We know that the mercy seat was decorated elaborately with gold and two cherubs, but Scripture does not report its height. We only learn that the dimensions of its lid were 2.5×1.5 cubits, equivalent to the length and height of the ark itself. Reland observed that B. Bava bathra 14a translated 1 cubit into 6 handbreadths and stated that it was 15 handbreadths long, 9 handbreadths wide, and 9 handbreadths high. Since B. Sanh. 7a reported that

150 Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, p. 179.

151 Reland, *Oratio De usu antiquitatum sacrarum*, p. 9: 'Illa fuit infelicitas priorum temporum quum qui ad Hebraeas literas animum appellerent ab Iudaeorum partibus stare crederentur'.

152 Ibid., pp. 8–9: 'Edocemur aliunde, si scripta Iudaeorum consulimus, multa tum in Veteritum in Novo Instrumento insigni luce perfundi. Quidni ergo ab iisdem in pluribus opem petimus?'

153 The list of publications on the subject is massive, although a substantial monograph on philosemitism in the Early Modern period is still missing. See, for instance, Coudert, 'Seventeenth-Century Christian Hebraists'; more recently, Melamed, 'The Revival of Christian Hebraism'; Sutcliffe, 'A Philosemitic Moment?'

154 *Supplement Du Journal Des Sçavans* (30 January 1709), p. 126: 'L'Auteur emprunte ce qu'il nous apprend sur ces quatre points, non seulement de l'Écriture sainte, mais du *Thalmud*, & des autres Écrivains Hebreux'.

155 Exod. 25:10–22.

the total height of the ark measured 10 handbreadths, then the height of its lid must have been 1 handbreadth.¹⁵⁶

The question remains, of course, of how this information translated into the Early Modern classroom.¹⁵⁷ There is plenty of evidence that Reland's students were just as troublesome or studious as students today: they drank too much, studied too little, and picked professors not for the quality of the lecture but for the jokes they made.¹⁵⁸ When the Hebraist Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768) from Hamburg enrolled at the University of Jena, he complained about the poor proficiency in Latin of his fellow classmates.¹⁵⁹

If students then were struggling with Latin, what assumption can we make about their proficiency in Greek or Hebrew, let alone Arabic or Syriac? Granted, just as they do today, some disciplines served as a natural weed-out, but the question still remains as to how students were able to follow a lecture that required proficiency in more than just one classical language. It is almost impossible to come up with a general scenario on the practicalities of Early Modern teaching. First of all, there was the distinction between public and private teaching. Then there was the actual practice of teaching and lecturing, which included dictation, discussion, and quizzing.¹⁶⁰ One reason that may explain the popularity of Reland's *Antiquitates* was its concise nature and

156 Reland, *Antiquitates*, pp. 49–50: 'Erat autem cubitus sex palmorum אמה בת ששה טפחים, uti dicitur *Gem. Bava bathra*. 14.1. *Gem. Hier. Sota*. 22.3. Sic ut cum operculo altitudo arcae fuerit 10 palmorum. Operculi enim altitudo unius palmi fuisse legitur in *Gem. Nidda*. 26.2. *Gem. Schabbath*. 92.1. *Gem. Sanhedrin* 7.1. Observant Judaei, quum reliquorum fere vasorum Tabernaculi memoretur in sacro Codice longitudo, latitudo atque alitudo, operculi altitudinem non dedisse Mosen'.

157 See the discussion of the practicalities of teaching and student experience in my *Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768)*, pp. 28–61 and pp. 62–110.

158 See for instance, the account in Müller, *Meines Lebens Vorfälle*, part 1, p. 58: 'Unter anderen nannte er den Herrn Professor Stellwagen, welcher den grösten Applausum, aber nur bei den meisten seiner Poßen wegen habe; denn die meisten derer Herren Studenten eilten nur dahin, wo es was zu lachen gäbe'; on the subject of student culture see Klenke et al. (eds), *Von Professorenzirkeln*.

159 Letter from Hermann Samuel Reimarus to Christoph Wolf, 16 June 1714, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Supellex 119, fol. 417v–418r: 'Ceteri vero plerique omnes nil agunt aliud, quam ut ea, quae charta in papyrum describere ipsi, dictitent in calammum l[ingua] Latina Buddei verba, germanicis iisque amplioribusque reddere conentur, cujus quidem rei non ipsorum imperitia, sed summa ignorantia plerumque discentium et incredibilis stupor causa est. Hi enim ultra prima Grammatices et pietatis elementa vix quicquam progressi, e Vicinia huc advolant, mox, ubi summa capita Doctrinarum, ut canes Nilum, degustaverint, rursus abituri [...]. Multa mihi promisseram de Bibliotheca hac Jenensi, et est profecto satis magno librorum apparatu instructa, sed quoniam disjecta sunt omnia atque inter se permixta, paucis huc usque usui esse potuit [...].'

160 Van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science*, pp. 115–166.

organization. As I have shown elsewhere, Reland's book was most probably used over the course of more than one academic term. For instance, a professor may have lectured publicly on Reland's *de locis sacris*, but held private lectures in his home on *de rebus sacris* during the same semester.¹⁶¹ During the actual 'class meeting', the professor may have read slowly a passage from Reland, followed by his own comments.

What these comments were, we can discover by looking at a number of extant lecture notes. One of them, a manuscript at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, is entitled *Observationes ad Hadriani Relandi Antiquitates Sacrae Veterum Hebraeorum datae Celeberrimo H.S. Reimarus, LL. OO. PP. Gymnasii Hamburgi*.¹⁶² It is based on the lecture notes by the Hebraist and closet Enlightenment radical Reimarus, who was teaching at the *Gymnasium illustre* in Hamburg and dates from 1729. The other set is published as *Vorlesungen über die Jüdischen Alterthümer nach Anleitung Hadr. Relands Antiquitatum sacr. veterum Hebraeorum* and is based on the lecture notes by the Hebraist and theologian from Halle, Johannes Simonis (1698–1768).¹⁶³ Comparing these two lectures even peripherally reveals that Reland's textbook allowed for a number of contexts and teaching formats. In the second chapter of *de locis sacris*, for instance, Reland describes the city of Jerusalem. According to B. Bava Kamma 82b, it held the status as a holy city. Reland then provides a list of prohibitions and stipulations, all based on his rabbinic sources. He pointed out that corpses could not be held overnight in the city, including bones or tombs for the dead, except in the cases of David and the prophetess Huldah. No residences of converts were permitted, nor, perplexing though it may sound, were houses with balconies. Neither gardens nor dung heaps were allowed; likewise there could be no agricultural activities such as the raising of chickens. Fruit-bearing trees could only be planted at a distance of 25 cubits from the city, ornamental trees only at a distance of 50 cubits.¹⁶⁴

While some stipulations in this list make sense, others must have seemed perplexing to the students. After the passage was read to the students, professors

161 Groetsch, *Reimarus*, pp. 75–77.

162 Reimarus, *Observationes*.

163 Simonis, *Vorlesungen über die Jüdischen Alterthümer*.

164 Reland, *Antiquitates*, pp. 14–15: 'In Gem. Bava kama. 82.2 Hierosylomae privilegia prae aliis urbibus terrae Sanctae haec recensentur. Non pernoctare illic cadaver, (confer *librum Siphra fol. 290. l.*) nec ossa mortui ei inferri: non locari aedes: non concedi illic habitationem prosyeto inquilio: non esse in ea hortos: non feri nec arari, nec plantari arbores (quid? quod arbores frugiferas ad 25 cubitos ad urbe removendas, infrugiferas ad 50 legatur in *Bava bathra 11.7*) nulla esse illic sterquilinia, Meniana aedium, fornaces calcarias, non ali gallos gallinaceos [...].'

provided their own explanation. The students in Simonis's classroom would learn that there were a total of 16 such stipulations in the B. Bava Kamma alone. Citing Johann Christoph Wagenseil's commentary on the Mishna Sotah, Simonis reported that supposedly nobody was ever bitten by a snake nor by a scorpion in the holy city. He told his students that the reason for the prohibition against planting gardens was that the use of manure and fertilizers might produce an unpleasant stench.

More problematic, of course, was explaining the prohibition against raising chickens. According to Simonis, chickens 'had a predilection to scratch around'. This 'would easily bring bones of dead bodies to the surface', which would 'defile the city'.¹⁶⁵ The students in Hamburg heard nothing about snakes or scorpions. To Reimarus, it seemed more important that students should learn about the ancient practice of burial and corpse handling. Rather than providing an elaborate explanation of Jewish law, the Hebraist from Hamburg stated only briefly that the presence of corpses overnight was believed to defile the city. Instead, Reimarus provided a historiographical list of key sources that included Jean Le Clerc's commentary on Leviticus, Johann Kirchmann's monograph about ancient Roman funeral rites, and William Outram's book on ancient Jewish sacrificial practices, which indicates that he viewed ancient Judaism in a much broader ancient cultural context.¹⁶⁶ Both professors, however, could not ignore the implications these regulations had for their Christian student audience. If chickens were not allowed in the holy city, then how could Peter have heard a rooster crow twice after denying Jesus three times?¹⁶⁷ Here, the professor from Halle was the most vocal. Simonis expressed his doubts about the trustworthiness of the Talmudists in the first place. However, rather than denouncing the latter as liars, Simonis explained to his students, some Christian scholars, including Reland himself, tried to reconcile both accounts.

165 Simonis, *Vorlesungen über die jüdischen Alterthümer*, pp. 39–40: 'Solche Vorzüge der Stadt Jerusalem zählen die Juden 16 in der Gemara Bava Kama, wozu sie in Tractatu Avoth noch andere setzen; als daß niemals eine Schlange oder Scorpion Jemanden daselbst beschädiget habe, daß niemals eine Feuerbrunst darin gewesen sey und dergleichen, conf. *Wagenseil* ad Sota p. 900 seq. Die Ursache, warum man keine Gärten in der Stadt hätte anlegen dürfen, soll gewesen seyn, damit durch das Düngen derselben und durch faule stinkende Kräuter kein Gestank verursacht würde. Hühner habe man deswegen nicht halten dürfen, weil dieselben gerne scharren und leicht Knochen von todten Körpern hätten hervorkratzen und also die heil. Stadt verunreinigen können'.

166 Reimarus, *Observationes*, fol. 13: 'Non p[er]noctare ibi cadaver, quia cadavere polluebantur, vid. Cleric. ad Lev. 21 1. 11 et Kirchmann, de funeribus Romanis lib. 6. C. 2 et 3. [?] Outram, de sacrificiis, l. 6 [...]'; see Le Clerc, *Commentarius*; Kirchmann, *De funeribus Romanorum*; Outram, *De sacrificiis*.

167 Mk. 14:68–72.

In March 1709 Reland gave a public talk entitled *De galli cantu Hierosolymis audito* [On the crowing of the rooster that was heard in Jerusalem], which was published nine years later. Reland argued then that there was no reason to distrust either the New Testament or Jewish sages. Although Jewish law prohibited raising chickens within the city limits, the rooster could have been heard from outside of the city. In spite of the prohibition, there were scenarios of roosters living within the city limits regardless. For instance, the Romans were not bound by Jewish laws. But even among the Jews there may have been some people who did not always play by the rules and disregarded the law.¹⁶⁸ Although Reland's argument was convincing to most Early Modern scholars and theologians, some came up with alternative scenarios. Simonis noted that some proposed that the Greek term *ἀλέκτωρ* was mistranslated. Rather than a reference to a rooster, it may actually have referred to one of the priestly officials, the *praefectus temporibus*, who was in charge of making sure that priests assumed their respective tasks each morning in a timely fashion. Essentially, this official was a 'walking wake-up call'.¹⁶⁹ Others, such as the Swiss theologian from Bern, Johann Georg Altmann (1695–1758), apparently went as far as to identify the *ἀλέκτωρ* as the holy city's nightwatchman. Altmann's interpretation was again rejected by the theologian Daniel Gottfried Werner (1695–1752), who gave a public talk at Jena in which he came out in support of Reland's original explanation.¹⁷⁰

It would be difficult to overstate the influence Reland's *Antiquitates sacrae* had on generations of Christian Hebraists and theologians. A testimony to its importance was its inclusion in the second volume of Blasius Ugolini's massive *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum* (1744). Ugolini's compilation included only the crème de la crème of biblical scholarship. There, Reland was in the company of the giants in the field, such as Buxtorf, Huet, Bochart, Selden, and Spencer. Reland's *Antiquitates sacrae* provided a plausible and concise structure that allowed for a contextualization of revelation history, and it justifiably

168 Reland, *Oratio De galli cantu*, p. 28: '[...] nihilominus gallum extra Hierosolymas canentem in urbe audiri potuisse, & eam fuisse conditionem illorum temporum, ut varii modi concipi queant, quibus etiam intra urbem galli existere vel ali a Romanis, aut ab ipsis Judaeis, leges patrias negligentibus, potuerint'.

169 Simonis, *Vorlesungen über die Jüdischen Alterthümer*, p. 40: 'Wir finden aber in der Leidensgeschichte das Gegentheil, da wir lesen, daß der Hahn gekrähet habe. Damit nun die talmudischen Lehrer nicht zu Lügnern werden, haben einige Gelehrte unter den Christen verschiedenes hervorgesucht, beydes mit einander zu vereinigen [...]. Andere meinen, durch *ἀλέκτωρ* sey der Praefectus temporibus zu verstehen, der die Priester des Morgens aufwecken mußte [...] wogegen aber *Altmann* in Biblioth. Bremens. Class v. p. 45 seq. verschiedenes einwendet und dadurch einen Nachtwächter versteht'.

170 Werner, *Gallus gallinaceus*.

became the standard textbook on the subject. By providing, for instance, a precise description of ancient Jewish sacrificial practices, Reland supplied the framework for theologians to offer a typological reading to their students. It could be, and was, used by Lutherans, Reformed, and Roman Catholics alike. This was certainly Reland's goal. At the same time, each chapter offered an opportunity for each professor to demonstrate his own learning by touching upon recent debates and scholarly controversies. In this respect, the book provided a cluster of theologically relevant topics that were talking points in the academy and were producing a massive body of scholarly literature. For obvious reasons carrying around Ugolini's thirty-four volume thesaurus was not really practical. Reland's work was thus also a way of dealing with an overload of information and organizing knowledge in 'the philological republic of Christian Hebraism'.

However, as we have seen with the example of the rooster, Christian Hebraists such as Reland also laid the foundations for the de-theologization of Scripture, because their inclusion of sources outside of Scripture drew attention to instances where revealed history did not fit into verifiable and verified cultural clusters of the ancient world. The larger the body of sources that provided an alternative story to the generally accepted biblical account was, the harder it became for the theological establishment to salvage the account on the same playing field since that would require the ability to provide credible alternative examples from the ancient world in support of the biblical narrative. Ironically then, the theological classrooms at Leiden, Utrecht, Hamburg, or Jena became a space of profanation and secularization. The body of knowledge provided by Christian Hebraists such as Reland opened the door to reveal to students weaknesses in the biblical narrative that could not be simply explained away. Eventually, the massive philological data contradicting the revealed account tilted the balance in the minds of these young students in favour of a secularized general model of the ancient world where the culture of ancient Israel and ancient Christianity stood on the same plane as those of ancient Egypt, Persia, Greece, or Rome.¹⁷¹

Similarly, it would not be exaggerated to classify Reland's scholarly work, especially his work in the field of the *geographia sacra*, as the Early Modern precursor to modern archaeology, regardless of any charges of anachronism. In this regard, Reland's work paved the way for later models of biblical scholarship by Immanuel Benzinger, Paul Volz, or Roland De Vaux.¹⁷² Reland practised

¹⁷¹ See, for instance, Mulsow, *Radikale Frühaufklärung*, pp. 12–109.

¹⁷² Volz, *Die Biblischen Altertümer*; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*; De Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament*.

cutting-edge biblical scholarship, which was the equivalent of work in the field of biblical (or Syro-Palestinian) archaeology. He traced ancient cities, identified mountains, and followed the course of lost or invisible rivers. In this process Reland combined expert philological mastery with new 'archaeological' insights from the field provided by travel accounts and the recent philological scholarship of the day that included work with objects such as ancient coins. Almost every contemporary reviewer celebrated Reland's *Palaestina* as a milestone in the field, especially his inclusion of newly-drawn maps: it was as transformative to the field then as GIS has been now.

Reland's influence persisted for decades thereafter.¹⁷³ Similar to what Ptolemy was to Columbus and Bochart was to the participants of the Danish Expedition to Arabia, Reland's *Palaestina illustrata* became the guidebook for the father of modern biblical geography, Edward Robinson, during his travels to Palestine over one hundred years later.¹⁷⁴ In fact, it is utterly perplexing that the otherwise excellent, voluminous series *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* has failed to recognize Reland's milestone in the history of biblical geography. In his contribution to the section on nineteenth-century biblical interpretation, Steven W. Holloway dismisses Reland's map for its crude accuracy, where major biblical/classical names are plotted 'within 5–10 miles of the actual site'.¹⁷⁵ In fact, Holloway's dismissal of Early Modern savants such as Reland is rather symptomatic of the field of modern biblical

173 Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, vol. 2 no. 2, pp. 360–361: 'C'est ici une des meilleures descriptions de la Palestine, que l'on ait encore vuës, & qui seroit aussi parfaite, qu'elle le pourroit être; si les Anciens, qui nous ont instruits de ce pais-là, eussent autant pris de peine à nous le décrire, que Mr. *Réland* a employé se soins & d'exactitude à profiter des lumieres, qu'il a trouvées dans leurs Ecrits'; *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum oder Geschichte der Gelehrten*, vol. 31, p. 523: 'Herr Reland ist ein Mann, dem die Orientalischen Sprachen nicht weniger als die Griechische geläufig sind, drum hat er nicht mit fremden Augen sehen dürffen, wie in der Geographie und Historie sonst gar oft geschieht, da ihrer etliche wie die Spanier, die Brillen voneinander erben, indem sie solche nicht zum sehen, sondern zum Staat und zur Mode tragen. Unser Autor ist durchgehende Original, wie man solches aus seiner Schreib-Art leicht erkennet, da er überall Stellen der Alten und zwar mit Verstande anführt, sich wenig bekümmert erzeigt, wo ein Neuer gefehlt und angestossen [...]. Viele, die Land-Charten in der alten Geographie machen, haben genung, wenn sie nur sein viele Nahmen drauf setzen, wo sie eigentlich gelegen seyn. Um Berge und Ebenen bekümmern sie sich gar nicht [...]. Diese Mode ist Herrn Relanden zu gemein gewesen. Er hat demnach auf seiner Chartre von Palästina zwar weniger Oerter als andre, dieselben aber um so viel gewisser gesetzt [...].'

174 On Robinson, see Soler, *Edward Robinson*; also Davis, *Shifting Sands*, pp. 4–12.

175 See Holloway, 'Expansion of the Historical Context', p. 104.

scholarship.¹⁷⁶ In their efforts to strive for ‘scientific’ accuracy and against the backdrop of ideological quibbles, modern biblical scholars and theologians have tended to emphasize the power of recent archaeological data and, with a few noteworthy exceptions, have been almost completely ignorant of the philological scholarship of earlier generations of biblical scholars and Hebraists.¹⁷⁷ They are neglecting the scholarly heritage upon which they have built, and assuming that their work emerged fully-formed, as Athena did. The example of Adriaan Reland may prove otherwise.

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176 Similarly, but in a different context, Anthony Grafton criticized the ignorant dismissal of past scholarship. See Grafton, ‘From Politian to Pasquali’, p. 176.

177 See Groetsch, *Reimarus*, pp. 308–309.

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‘Geleerdster der Landbeschryveren’? Adriaan Reland Mapping Persia and Japan, 1705–1715

Tobias Winnerling

In 1764 the Amsterdam learned journal *Maandelyke uittreksels, of Boekzaal der geleerde waerelt* called Adriaan Reland ‘den geleerdsten der Landbeschryveren’, ‘the most learned of land-describers’.¹ Reland had won such praise with his short treatise on the location of the earthly paradise.² Yet contemporaries might have been tempted to extend this judgement to another strand of his geographical-historical studies too, to cartography proper. For cartography was indeed one of the many facets of Reland’s scholarly pursuits. He published standalone maps as well as geographically informed works which relied on maps as a central part of their argument. His last major work, the two-volume *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* of 1714,³ constantly mapped the features of ancient Palestine discussed in the text to thematic maps dispersed throughout the book. Of all of Reland’s works this would be the one best suited to the heading of ‘land-description’, as it clearly illustrates his method of combining maps with further research on the topic on the one hand and of relying on contemporary indigenous sources in drafting these maps on the other. In the case of the Holy Land these were Biblical sources as well as ancient authors writing on Palestine, above all Flavius Josephus. Reland had projected an edition of this work but was not able to carry it out before his death. The question I am going to ask in this chapter is whether this twofold approach to cartography can also be found in Reland’s standalone maps. If this were the case, these maps might be aligned with, and integrated in, his overarching research patterns more closely than has been argued so far.

To do this I will focus on two maps by Reland: his 1705 map of Persia⁴ and his 1715 map of Japan.⁵ In the beginning of the eighteenth century Reland was

1 Van Wolde, ‘Wederlegging van Jonas Kortens gevoelen’, p. 172: ‘Het andere heeft tot uitvinder den geleerdsten der Landbeschryveren, Adriaan Reland’.

2 Reland, ‘Dissertatio de situ paradisi terrestris’, in his *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars prima*, pp. 1–55.

3 Idem, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*.

4 Idem, *Imperii Persici delineatio*.

5 Idem, *Imperium Japonicum*.

acclaimed as a Dutch authority on Asia, but this was mostly due to his reputation as a known specialist in the languages of the Near East.⁶ His cartographic endeavours were long seen to constitute no more than a sideline of his scholarly production.⁷ Now, while Reland's map of Japan has attained a certain prominence in the history of cartography and has been the subject of substantial research already, his map of Persia has hitherto been somewhat neglected by researchers. To my knowledge there has not been any publication dedicated to it. It is not even mentioned in de Bruijn's summary of Reland's contributions to Iranian studies in the Netherlands.⁸ Cyrus Alai in his current standard reference work on maps of Persia seems not to have known who Reland was, as we see from his description of a copy of this map:

There is a decorative dedication cartouche in the lower right corner of the map, inscribed with the Name of Nicolao Witzen, a Dutch consul, signed by A Relando, the author of the geographical text. A portrait and the coat-of-arms of the said consul are incorporated into the cartouche. The name of Petrus Schenk as the mapmaker appears in a smaller cartouche in the lower left corner of the map.⁹

This exemplifies a familiar phenomenon in the Reland reception so far: while some of his works have received some share of scholarly attention, the majority have not. His *Palaestina illustrata* is likewise overshadowed by his earlier work on Islam, *De religione Mohammedica* of 1705.¹⁰ Such lacunae have, if not caused, at least been reinforced by the dearth of primary sources, as the greater part of Reland's papers, manuscripts and letters have been lost since the middle of the eighteenth century.

Where the two maps under consideration here are concerned, there are at least some letters which touch upon them. Reland communicated his map of Persia to his close correspondent and friend Gijsbert Cuper (1644–1716), mayor of Deventer and professor at the Deventer Athenaeum, on 25 April 1705, shortly after it came off the press.¹¹ He also announced his progress on the map of Japan to Cuper on 13 August 1714, and sent him the finished print on

6 Bastiaensen, 'Adrien Reland a la recherche d'une méthode comparative', pp. 45–46.

7 Cf. Kiss, 'The Cartography of Japan during the Middle Tokugawa Era', p. 103.

8 Bruijn, 'Iranian Studies in the Netherlands', pp. 170–171.

9 Alai, *General Maps of Persia 1477–1925*, p. 89.

10 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (1705). A second edition was published in 1717.

11 The Hague, Royal Library, 72 H 11 CL 105 (1704–1709), Adriaan Reland to Gijsbert Cuper, Utrecht, 25 April 1705.

20 February 1715.¹² We know that he really did so, because, in contrast with most such cases, the maps have never been removed from these two letters and are still attached to them in the archival files. On 9 April 1705 Reland wrote a letter to the Italian scholar Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714) announcing that he would send him a copy of the *Imperii Persici delineatio* when it came off the press in a few days' time.¹³ On 20 March 1715 Reland sent a copy of *Imperium Japonicum* to the director of the Prussian Royal Library in Berlin, the noted Orientalist Maturin Veyssi re de la Croze (1661–1739), with whom he exchanged letters on Asian alphabets.¹⁴ Moreover, at least in the case of the map of Japan, Reland communicated it in wider circles too, for on 23 June 1714 he quite explicitly mentioned it in a letter to the editor of the *Journal des Savants*, Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743) in Paris, to whom he would later dedicate the finished product.

You might perhaps ask whether this same geographical map of the Japanese Empire, divided into 66 regions (whose true individual names I have written in Japanese and Latin letters), will be the best I have issued. I have [used] many maps sent from Japan itself, from our Indian Society [= the VOC], many hand-drawn ones by seamen accustomed to do so, and from other sources. I try to remove from all these the most egregious errors and lies which so far occupy the maps, and because of which the geography of this part of the globe, though not unknown, merits only little trust.¹⁵

This letter was in itself a follow-up to a letter to Bignon sent ten days earlier. With this first letter Reland had notified Bignon about a rather large shipment

12 The Hague, Royal Library, 72 H 11 CL 105 (1710–1716), Adriaan Reland to Gijsbert Cuper, Utrecht, 13 August 1714; Adriaan Reland to Gijsbert Cuper, surroundings of Utrecht ('in hortis suburbanis'), 20 February 1715.

13 Targioni Tozzetti (ed.), *Clarorum Belgarum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnullosque alios epistolae*, p. 384.

14 University of Tartu, Universitas Tartuensis DSpace, Adriaan Reland to Maturin Veyssi re de la Croze, Utrecht, 20 March 1715.

15 The Hague, Royal Library, 72 D 37, 11 A, Adriaan Reland to Jean-Paul Bignon, Utrecht, 23 June 1714: 'Rogabis forsitan ipse met. Mappa geographica imperii Japonici, divisa in LXVI regiones (quarum singulis vera nomina adscripsi caractere Latino & Japonico) primum erit quod a manu mea proficiscetur. Plures actus sum mappas ex ipsa Japonia mittas, plures quas Societas nostra India, manu pictas nautis dare consuevit, et alia praesidia. His nixus errores crassissimos et mendas quae obsederunt mappas hactenus omnis tollam, & de e geographia particulae hujus orbis terrarum non ignobilis, haud male me meritum confido.'

of books he had sent to Bignon via the publishing house of Fritsch & Böhm in Rotterdam.¹⁶ In the later letter we read that the parcel included ten copies of Reland's *Palaestina illustrata* with clear instructions about the people to whom Bignon should pass on those nine not destined for himself, plus a stack of additional treatises and copperplate tables, and Reland now seemed to worry that something might go wrong with the shipping.¹⁷ I know of no similar letters connected with Reland's policy of distributing his maps, whether it concerns the map of Japan or that of Persia, but I am inclined to believe that he might have used similar means of disseminating his works in order to draw greater attention to them. But to be able to do so, he first had to procure something which he could advertise. So how did he draw up his maps?

1 *Imperii Persici delineatio*, 1705

For his map of Persia Reland claimed to have used indigenous source materials: 'drafted from the most capable Persian and Arabic geographers' as the subtitle states.¹⁸ Unfortunately he did not go into detail about these sources. Reland was a capable Arabist with an interest in Persian and has even been termed the 'only important contemporary Dutch scholar of the Persian language'.¹⁹ It seems perfectly possible that he did indeed access such materials; but which ones?

There are only few Early Modern maps of Arabic or Persian origin available, so it is hardly possible to determine similarities just by visual comparison. European cartographers contemporary with Reland usually based their maps on written descriptions when they included regional material from the Near and Middle East,²⁰ and it may be supposed that Reland based his map on similar sources. This is hardly surprising given that cartography in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a craft based on division of labour between a cartographer, a draughtsman, and an engraver. There were

16 Preserved in an early twentieth-century copy in Leiden, University Library, BPL 885 (Rabault-Risseuw), Adriaan Reland to Jean-Paul Bignon, Utrecht, 13 June 1714.

17 The Hague, Royal Library, 72 D 37, 11 A: 'Quum ante paucos dies literas ad te dederim quibus significari me aliquot exempla Palaestinae meae Roterodamum ad Fritschium misisse ut ad te illa curaret, miraberis forsitan me tam lentum nuper nunc rursus ad te epistolam exarare'.

18 Reland, *Imperii Persici delineatio*: 'Ex scriptis potissimum geographicis arabum et persarum tentata ab Adriano Relando'.

19 Floor, 'Dutch-Persian Relations'.

20 Allen, 'The Sources for G. Delisle's "Carte des Pays Voisins de la Mer Caspiene" of 1723', p. 139.

mapmakers who could perform more than one, or even all, of these tasks but this was rarely the case. So what the cartographer would hand over to the draughtsman would in most cases be a textual matrix defining by coordinates which geographical features would have to be placed where on the map, perhaps with some added sketches. This constitutes what Alai described as being ‘the author of the geographical text’ in the quotation above. The draughtsman would convert this into a drawing which the engraver would then prepare for the press.

For his *Imperii Persici delineatio* Reland relied on the services of Pieter or Petrus Schenk (1660–1715), a German-born engraver and map-maker residing in Amsterdam. The use of geographical tables for the coordinates of cities, rivers, mountains and coastlines to prepare the description, which he would then forward to Schenk for the creation of the actual map, would have been obvious.

The geographical tables of the medieval Muslim cartographers Ulugh Beg (1393/4–1448/9) and Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (1201–1274) were known amongst European scholars,²¹ as they had been translated into Latin and published already in 1648 by John Greaves (1602–1652).²² And from Reland’s *Palaestina illustrata* we see that he used ‘Alfaras; Kias; Ptolemaeus; Ibn Said; Albiruni’ for the compilation of his maps of Palestine.²³ This suggests that in 1714 Reland used geographical or astronomical tables by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Tarkhān Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 950) (= Alfaras), Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Qurṭubī (1029–1070) (= Ibn Said), and Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973–1048) (= Albiruni). This does not mean that he already did so in 1705, although there is no reason why he should not already have known about this material. Al-Bīrūnī’s calculations in particular became the basis of much of European cartography on Persia, complemented since the seventeenth century by the work of Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī Malik Mu‘ayyad ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā’ (1273–1331),²⁴ on whose work the French Geographer Royal Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726) based his map of Persia of 1721.²⁵

But whichever of these sources Reland had used to lay the groundwork for his approximation of the shape of the Persian Empire, as he called it on his map, they all were—as geographical descriptions always are—shaped according to the perspectives and needs of their makers. To obtain as close as possible

21 Cf. Brancaforte, *Visions of Persia. Mapping the Travels of Adam Olearius*, pp. 180–182.

22 Greaves, *Binae tabulae geographicae*.

23 Reland, *Palaestina illustrata*, vol. 2, p. 511.

24 Alai, *General Maps of Persia*, p. 203.

25 According to Hismann (ed.), *Neue Welt- und Menschengeschichte*, vol. 1, p. 389.

an approximation of the physical geography posed a serious problem. Medieval and Early Modern Persian cartographers knew little about the Caspian Sea because it was seldom navigated at the time.²⁶ On the whole Persian cartographers had little interest in the body of water bordering their realm in the North,²⁷ since they still based much of their work predominantly on the results of Ulugh Beg.²⁸ This did not mean that they could not devise innovative solutions on this basis. The only two known Persian world maps from the seventeenth century are essentially based on Ptolemy but their unknown makers ingeniously adapted his approach to a curved globe in order to be able always to determine the correct *qibla*, the prayer direction towards Mecca.²⁹ Yet for the coordinates of the cities they inserted into their adapted Ptolemaic grid they relied on Ulugh Beg's tables.³⁰ So whatever Persian sources Reland perused, he had in any case access to those works which the Persian cartographers themselves viewed as the state of the art of their discipline. But he could not avoid the problem that these still embodied a particular perspective. This had already prompted other European geographers to resort to similar solutions regarding the shape of Persia and the Caspian Sea. The first of these seems to have been Nicolas de Fer (c. 1647–1720), who, in 1685, published a map with similar geographical features.³¹

Now, Reland might also have had access to another source for material on Persia through his personal contacts, in this case via Cornelis de Bruyn (1652–1727), to whom he referred as 'amicus noster' in 1714.³² De Bruyn had only visited Persia itself in 1704 during an extensive voyage through Russia, Persia, India and Indonesia between 1701 and 1708. He published a long account of it in 1711,³³ which was hugely successful in the book market. While this would of course have been too late for the map of Persia, which was finished in 1705, De Bruyn had been on a journey to the Levant, including Syria and Egypt, in 1698, which had also led to the publication of a travel book in the same year.³⁴ Cornelis de Bruyn was also a long-time protégé of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717),³⁵ for many years one of the directors of the VOC's Amsterdam chamber, and,

26 Planhol, 'Caspian Sea. I. Geography'.

27 Alai, *Special Maps of Persia 1477–1925*, p. 117.

28 Allen, 'Sources', p. 149.

29 King, 'Two Iranian World Maps', p. 66.

30 Idem, p. 69.

31 Cf. Alai, *General Maps of Persia*, p. 87.

32 Reland, *Palaestina illustrata*, vol. 2, p. 635.

33 Bruyn, *Cornelis de Bruins reizen over Moskovie*.

34 Idem, *Reizen door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia*.

35 Rietbergen, 'Witsen's World', p. 127.

since the publication of his map and two-volume book on 'North and East Tartary' in 1688 and 1692 respectively, esteemed as the greatest authority in matters of North Asian geography and cartography.³⁶ Fittingly it was to 'the most esteemed Nicolaes Witsen' that Reland dedicated his map of Persia in 1705.³⁷ There was an exchange of letters between Witsen and Reland of which at least two letters have survived, but these contain nothing about maps.³⁸ So how exactly Reland gained his knowledge about Persian geography and who the 'most capable Persian and Arabic geographers' were whom he claimed to work from must be left open. There is a hint in the auction catalogue of his son Johan Hubertus Reland (1716–1760), who had inherited his father's manuscripts and papers, which points to a Persian geographic table.³⁹

But regardless of how Reland got access to the sources of information which he utilized for his *Imperii Persici delineatio*, the most important thing about them was that he could claim that they were genuine. Once the map was printed, it proved a successful product. Apart from being printed in several atlases and map collections by the original publishers, the map proved a success. This also emerges from the fact that, although with some delay, it was pirated by other mapmakers, a fairly common phenomenon in the early eighteenth century.

The Nuremberg engraver and publisher Christoph I Weigel (1654–1725) copied Reland's map of Persia in 1719,⁴⁰ as did the Augsburg engraver and map publisher Matthias Seutter (1678–1757) in 1720.⁴¹ That Seutter would have done so is unlikely to have been a coincidence, since he had learned engraving and map-making as an apprentice to the Nuremberg engraver and map-maker Johann Baptist Homann (1664–1724) before he established his own publishing house in his native Augsburg in 1707. Homann would also use Reland's map of Persia in compiling one of his own around 1720, of which I will say more below,

36 Witsen, *Nieuwe lantkaarte van het noorder en ooster deel van Asia en Europa*; idem, *Noord en Oost Tartarye*.

37 Reland, *Imperii Persici delineatio*: 'Amplissimo Viro Nicolao Witsen. Virtutibus suis et praeclaris in rem literariam meritis non minus ac Consulatu Urbis Amstelodamensis, honorificentissimis Legationibus aliisque summis muneribus illustri'.

38 See the contribution by Anna Pytlowany in this volume for details.

39 'Descriptio totius universi continens longitudines, & latitudines urbium, enarrationem climatum, montium, fluviorum & rerum in orbe memorabilium, auctore Abulhazen Saad Ibn Ali', perhaps by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sa'īd (d. 1044); see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*, Manuscripts, p. 12, Oct. n^o 24 (and Appendix 2, A oct 24 in this volume). I thank Bart Jaski for pointing me to this.

40 Cf. Brancaforte, 'German Baroque and Enlightenment Cartographers and their Representation of the Persian Gulf from 1650 to 1760', pp. 376–377.

41 Seutter, *Nova imperii Persici delineatio*; cf. Alai, *General Maps of Persia*, pp. 145–146.

and he copied the map of Japan. Nuremberg thus served as a kind of relay station for Reland's work in Germany, not only for his maps as copied by Weigel, Homann, and Seutter, but also for larger printed works. In 1716, the Nuremberg publisher Peter Conrad Monath (c. 1683–1747) would issue an edited version of Adriaan Reland's *Palaestina illustrata*,⁴² which was regarded as an only thinly veiled pirated copy inferior to the original. Nuremberg was still an important centre for the printing of geographic knowledge and this may explain why Reland's works were copied there in the first decades of the eighteenth century. It also raises the question of whether there was any more tangible connection, but since I have not yet come across any evidence I cannot say any more about this here.

2 *Imperium Japonicum*, 1715

Reland never left Europe—not even the Netherlands—so that he had to rely on his source materials. This had been the case in drawing up his map of Persia and was still more so in setting to work on the map of Japan ten years later, for genuine Japanese material was even harder to come by than Persian material. While information about Japan was accessible in many European travel accounts, missionary letters and printed treatises of all kinds, these sources were often contradictory, and only very imprecise where many subjects were concerned. So how could this be overcome?

The obvious answer was to ask those who had really been there, and this meant the VOC. Via the VOC trading post at Dejima in the harbour of Nagasaki a small but steady stream of people and material objects travelled back and forth between Japan and Europe, so if genuine Japanese sources were to be found in Europe, they would most probably have been connected to the VOC. Apart from his connections to Nicolaes Witsen, Adriaan Reland seems to have had access to the cartographical collection of Benjamin Dutry (1668–1751), another high-ranking VOC official, who owned Japanese maps.⁴³ It is most likely that Reland found the model for his *Imperium Japonicum* in this collection, although the exact nature of his contacts with Dutry is hard to determine. The legend to *Imperium Japonicum* explicitly stated that the sources were ...

by the most learned Mr. Paul Collignon, once one of our students, communicated to me from the library of the most renowned and refined

⁴² Monath (ed.), Reland, *Hadriani Relandi Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*.

⁴³ Barron, 'Europäische Karten und Kartographen', p. 17.

Mr. Benjamin Dutry, magistrate in Haeften and master of the East India Company.⁴⁴

Obviously Reland had not approached Dutry directly but rather indirectly via the above-mentioned Paul Collignon (d. 1728) who seems to have been attending Reland's lectures. Where and how this happened is difficult to say, as there is no entry for Collignon in the matriculation roll of Utrecht University. Collignon is a somewhat elusive figure, but the scattered evidence which I have been able to find states that he was a native of Hesse-Cassel who died as minister of the Dutch Church in London in 1728.⁴⁵ Collignon moved to this London post in 1718 after serving as minister in Haeften,⁴⁶ where Dutry was the local authority,⁴⁷ so that a connection between the two does not seem unlikely. For want of better evidence I thus assume that Reland did indeed approach Dutry via Collignon and thus got hold of the model for his map of Japan. It is clear from the list of his manuscripts auctioned off after the death of his son that Reland actually owned works written in Japanese and Chinese containing geographical information. These were city and cadastre plans, and one fully fledged map.⁴⁸ This may well have referred to the model for *Imperium Japonicum*.

As Walter has pointed out, this model was a contemporary woodblock map by the Japanese ukiyo-e artist and painter Ryūsen (琉宣, Ishikawa Toshiyuki 石川寿之, d. 1715) from 1691,⁴⁹ the *Dai-Nihonkoku-Ō-Ezu* (大日本國大繪圖,

44 Reland, *Imperium Japonicum*: 'per virum eruditissimum PAULUM COLLIGNON, nuper auditorum nostrum, communicata mecum ex bibliotheca spectatissimi atque humanissimi viri BENJAMINIS DUTRY, Toparchae in Hasten et magistri societatis Indicae orientalis' (capitals in the original).

45 's Gravezande, *Twee honderd jarige gedachtenis van het eerste synode der Nederlandsche kerken onder het kruis, en, zo in, als buiten Nederland, allesins verstrooid*, p. 172; *Naam-Register der predikanten, zo van de Nederduitsche als Walsche kerken*, p. 140.

46 'Kerknieuws', *Maendelyke uittreksels, of Boekzael der geleerde werelt*, vol. 6, no. 6, p. 749.

47 Cf. Gelders Archief, Toegang 0002, Leenkamer van Gelre en Zutphen, 220a, Stukken betreffende de heerlijkheid Haeften, 1712–1729.

48 *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum* p. 13, among the 'Manuscripta Sinica & Japonica': 'Speculum Jedo iv. vol.'; 'Liber Japonicus Geographicus continens descriptionem Urbis Miaco & praecipuarum partium ejus, cum figuris'; 'Tres tabellae in quibus depicta est Jedo metropolis Imperii Japonici'; 'Tabula geographica totius imperii Japonici'; 'Duae tabellae in quibus depictae Urbes Japoniae Osacka & Miako'; 'Liber Sinicus varios conspectus praediorum & regionum eleganter delineatos cum descriptione' (see also Appendix 2, A MSJ, e, h-m). I thank Anna Pytlowany and Bart Jaski for pointing me to these.

49 Walter, 'Zur Typologie gedruckter Japankarten (1595–1800)', p. 45.

Large Map of Great Japan),⁵⁰ an enlarged version of Ryūsen's earlier map *Honchō Zukan Kōmoku* (本朝圖鑑綱目, Outline map of our country) with added details.⁵¹ The individual sheet which Reland worked from was an undated manuscript copy of this map, which George Kiss already identified in 1947.⁵² The result of this decision to rely on a Japanese model in drawing up his map was that, in Reland's map, Japan assumed a shape that had no precedent in European cartography.⁵³ Kiss speculated that the main reason for this departure from European cartographic production of the time was the unsolved problem of Hokkaidō, or whether the northern parts of the Japanese archipelago were part of the Asian mainland. As European cartographers had so far failed to produce a satisfactorily solution, Reland might have chosen to rely on Japanese authors instead, assuming that they would know better.⁵⁴

A further hint that he relied on additional genuine Japanese sources is that in the top right corner of the map, where the south-western tip of Hokkaidō was depicted, the fortress of Matsumae, a Japanese outpost only constructed in 1605, was marked, and the strait of Tsugaru separating Honshū and Hokkaidō was approximated relatively well.⁵⁵ Information on both these features of his map was hardly available to Europeans in Reland's day, as becomes clear from the presentation of Reland's map in the third volume of the travel compilation series *Recueil de voyages au Nord* published by Jean-Frédéric Bernard (c. 1683–1744) in 1718,⁵⁶ where it was contrasted with a letter by Guillaume Delisle who claimed, also by referring to Japanese evidence, that the strait of Tsugaru was indeed a gulf, and that both Hokkaidō and Honshū were thus directly connected to the Asian mainland.⁵⁷ Reland's map was supposed to

50 A digitized copy of 1717 is available via the University of British Columbia (see bibliography).

51 A digitized copy of 1689 is available via the University of British Columbia (see bibliography).

52 Kiss, 'The Cartography of Japan', p. 114.

53 Walter, *Japan mit den Augen des Westens gesehen*, p. 45.

54 Kiss, 'The Cartography of Japan', pp. 118–119.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

56 Bernard (ed.), *Recueil de voyages u Nord*, vol. 3, p. 73 (also 2nd edn., *Recueil de voyages au Nord*, vol. 4, p. 32).

57 'Article CLIV: Recueil de voyages au Nord, contenant divers memoires très utiles au commerce & à la navigation', pp. 2011–2012: 'Une Lettre de M. de Lisle sur la question, si le Japon est une isle? A la verité les cartes represent ordinairement comme une isle: mais cet habile Geographe a cru devoir le joindre au continent de Jesso, ou de Jeço, sur le temoinage d'une carte que les Japonois firent voir aux Hollandois, & qui assurent que la mer entre Zungar & Jesso est une golfe qui n'avance que quarante lieuës entre les terres. S'il n'y a de communication entre Japon & Jesso que par mer, c'est parce qu'elle est impraticable par terre, à cause des montagnes qu'il n'est pas possible de traverser. Cependant

supply evidence to the contrary, which amounted to ranking his judgement on the matter as high as that of the French Geographer Royal.

Relying on Ryūsen's map would seem a sound choice, as it was hugely popular in Japan itself and went through many editions; but considering the difficulties of the transfer of information between Europe and Japan, it was also a likely choice, as it was more probable for a copy of a widely distributed map to end up in a European collection than for a comparatively rare one to do so. Ryūsen, who himself—like Reland—was no professional cartographer, had relied in 1687 on the *Shinkai Nihon Ō-ezu*, the first woodblock map of Japan to include data from both European material and the Keichō base map.⁵⁸ It thus kept closely to the cartographical tradition of depicting Japan in the so-called Gyōki style, which dated back to eighth- and ninth-centuries' maps attributed to the monk Gyōki (行基, 668–749) and was familiar to the Japanese public, while enhancing the usability of the map by including new cartographical data. The popularity the *Shinkai Nihon Ō-ezu* gained is probably why Ryūsen decided to work up a new edition of it. As in Europe, map-making in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Japan was not only a scientific but also an economic activity, and Ryūsen's products sold well. The *Honchō Zukan Kōmoku* became the standard model for popular woodblock prints of the Japanese main islands throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, it was not as geographically accurate as it might have been. In making it Ryūsen deselected information that was already available and straightened out the southwest to northeast curvature of the main island of Honshū, which distorted the shape of the country considerably. That this was no problem to the Japanese public was not merely because of a lack of geographical knowledge against which the map could have been measured, but above all because of its function which did not rely on geographical accuracy.

First and foremost, the *Honchō Zukan Kōmoku* and its follow-up, the *Dai-Nihonkoku Ō-Ezu*, were road maps intended as travel guides. Their main feature was that they depicted the overland roads and shipping routes of Japan, the cities in their relation to these, and the travel distances of the individual routes. They even listed roadside inns where travellers might eat and sleep on their journey. The purpose of these maps was to make predictable travel possible throughout the realm of *Dai-Nihonkoku*, Great Japan.⁶⁰ To fulfil

dans une nouvelle carte dressée par M. Reland sur une carte d'un Japonois, & inseré dans ce volume, on voit encore que le Japon est une isle.

58 Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', p. 412.

59 Unno, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, p. 412.

60 Cf. the reproduction in Yamashita, *Japanese Maps of the Edo Period*, pp. 48–49.

this function, a physically correct approximation of the lands depicted was less important than presenting a recognisable image of the country which would allow users to identify at one glance what the map was about and to find the position of the cities of their interest in a short time. Both were facilitated by employing the traditional Gyōki style layout which also had one additional advantage: it was much easier to fit into a rectangular print format than a physically more correct approximation. This made it attractive to both users—who would not have to handle a more unwieldy format while being given a very detailed map—and printers—who thus could cut down on expenses for paper and get a better marketable product—alike. Much like a modern day tube map or railway timetable, the aim of the product was not to provide a correct depiction of the shape of Japan but rather to present a most practical one.

I doubt whether Reland was aware of this. His treatment of the details of Ryūsen's map in drawing up his *Imperium Japonicum* suggests that he was not: he carried over some of the cities, but seems to have done so at random; and he discarded all the city names and, more important still, all the roads. The reason for this is unlikely to have been that he did not understand what this type of map was for, because he had just produced one himself a little earlier. One of the maps included in the first volume of his *Palaestina illustrata* depicted all major roads and routes in ancient Palestine.⁶¹ Most probably he did not want to bother European users with details which were of no use to them—he only kept the names of provinces, both in Chinese characters and in Dutch transliteration—but in doing so he took away the only basis guaranteeing the functionality of the map. Consequently, he was left with a physical shape of Japan which was never intended to be true to the real forms of the country, but which he treated as if it were.

The map which Reland now drew up was published in two versions as a standalone map, by his Utrecht printer Broedelet⁶² and by the specialized map publishers Otten.⁶³ This time he relied on the drawing and etching skills of the well-known Amsterdam engraver Jan Goeree (1670–1731) and his sometime affiliate Balthasar Ruyter.⁶⁴ The *Imperium Japonicum* was promptly reviewed favourably by some learned journals.⁶⁵ Adaptations and reprints followed. It was translated into French under the title of *Le Japon divisé en sois-sante et six provinces* as an add-on map for the *Recueil de voyages au Nord*, and

61 Reland, *Palaestina illustrata*, vol. 2, p. 422[b].

62 Cf. idem, *Imperium Japonicum*.

63 Cf. idem, *Imperium Japonicum*.

64 I thank Bart Jaski for identifying Ruyter.

65 'Nova Litteraria', p. 94; 'Nova Litteraria', pp. 239–240; 'Akademienieuws', p. 260; 'Nouvelles Litteraires', p. 182; 'Utrecht', *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, pp. 149–150.

also included in Henri Abraham Chatelain's (1684–1743) seven-volume *Atlas historique* in 1719.⁶⁶ Bernard's version shifted the promise of authentic indigenous sources to the subtitle: 'Cette carte est tirée des cartes des Japonois par Monsieur Reland'.⁶⁷ The large maps accompanying the *Recueil de voyages au Nord* were originally sold separately too; the books contained directions about where to glue them in. That Bernard kept the reference to the source material is thus indicative of its advertising value beyond academia proper. Chatelain did the same thing, while doing away with Reland's name; the legend only said that the map was directly copied from Japanese originals.⁶⁸ From a contemporary German remark about the Otten's copy it seems that this was indeed what constituted the major appeal of the map:

Who only has one look at this map cannot refrain from buying it. For first come the names of the provinces, of which there are a great many, all expressed in Japanese characters. Following this at the bottom the coats of arms are presented of not only the emperor but also of the most distinguished persons of rank.⁶⁹

Being part of the cartographical portfolio of the Otten brothers, the map of Japan made its way into some of their collectible atlases. But more important for its distribution and the attention later historians of cartography paid to it was that it was referred to by other map-makers. Johann Caspar Scheuchzer (1702–1729) referred to Reland's map in his edition of Engelbert Kaempfer's maps for the publication of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*⁷⁰ because he based his maps on the same sources, Ryūsen's maps.⁷¹ Although there is no tangible evidence, I regard it as highly likely that Scheuchzer was only inspired to do so

66 Chatelain and Gueudeville, *Atlas historique ou Nouvelle introduction a l'histoire*.

67 A digitized copy of the map is available via Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5963179z> (accessed 16 April 2019).

68 Chatelain and Gueudeville, *Atlas historique*, vol. 5, p. 161: 'Cette carte a été copiee exactement sur une pareille faite par les Japons c'est pourqoui on n'y a rien changé. Elle contient la Division de cet Empire en soixante six Royaumes, avec leurs veritables nomes ecrits en nôtre langue & dans la langue du païs'.

69 Hübner, *Museum geographicum*, p. 31: 'Wer diese Charte nur ansiehet, der kan sich nicht enthalten, dieselbe zu kauffen. Denn erstlich sind die Nahmen der Landschafften, derer feine viel sind, alle mit Japonischen Littern exprimiret. Darnach sind unten die Wappen nicht nur des Käysers, sondern auch der vornehmsten Standes-Personen vorgestellet'.

70 Scheuchzer (ed.), Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*.

71 Walter, 'Engelbert Kaempfer und die europäische Kartographie Japans', p. 63.

by Reland's example. Although no direct copy, his map is a true follow-up of Reland's *Imperium Japonicum* in spirit.⁷²

Kaempfer's work became a huge success on the European book market. It was almost instantly translated into Dutch and French,⁷³ and remained a very influential source for European knowledge about Japan for at least one century. Its popularity drew equal attention to Scheuchzer's map,⁷⁴ and thus to a cartographic representation of the archipelago in the style of Reland. Matthias Seutter of Augsburg directly copied Reland's map in 1730—as he had done with Reland's map of Persia ten years earlier—and Isaac Tirion did the same thing in 1740.⁷⁵ Seutter continued to reprint his copy of the *Imperium Japonicum* until 1745.⁷⁶

3 How to Do Things with Maps

While the mapping of Persia and the mapping of Japan seem to be quite different topics from a modern-day perspective, an early eighteenth-century observer might not necessarily have thought so. For both realms were somewhat impenetrable for European scientists, and thus both posed a number of special problems to geographers and cartographers alike, quite apart from the general problem of the shapes of these countries. The two most prominent of these problems might be the shape of the Caspian Sea—in mapping Persia—and the situation of the island of Hokkaidō, then called Ezo (or Yezo)—in mapping Japan. Was the Caspian an oval, as suggested by the strand of European cartography going back to the rediscovery of Ptolemy, and did it stretch from East to West or from North to South? How large was Ezo, and was it connected to the Asian mainland, so that Japan might—at least in part—be a peninsula rather than clearly separated from the continent?

That both phenomena may be seen as not only coincidentally connected becomes clear from the map-making activities of those Europeans who were active in Persia and Japan. Engelbert Kaempfer had already drawn up a manuscript map of the Caspian giving it as oriented from north to south rather than

72 Cf. Scheuchzer, *Het koninkryk Japan verdeelt in acht en zestig provintien*.

73 Scheuchzer (ed.), Kaempfer, *De beschryving van Japan*; Scheuchzer (ed.), Kaempfer, *Histoire naturelle, civile, et ecclesiastique de l'empire du Japon*.

74 Michel, 'Johann Caspar Scheuchzer (1702–1729) und die Herausgabe der *History of Japan*', p. 128.

75 Kiss, 'The Cartography of Japan', p. 119.

76 Seutter, *Imperium Japonicum*, reprinted in Cortazzi, *Isles of Gold*, p. 151.

from east to west, but this map never got into print.⁷⁷ Kaempfer had most probably been perusing the notes he made during his journey to Persia, to which he had taken the overland route via the Oka, the Volga, and the Caspian Sea.⁷⁸ Johann Caspar Scheuchzer, who edited Kaempfer's *History of Japan* and made use of Reland's map of Japan in compiling his own, had already proposed to edit and print Kaempfer's travels through the Eurasian continent as well in 1728.⁷⁹ The map he produced for the *History of Japan*, based on Japanese sources after Reland's mode, featured an inlet in the left upper corner which detailed the situation of Hokkaidō as Scheuchzer saw it, namely as being synonymous with the Kamchatkan peninsula: 'KAMCHATKA. By the Japanese called, OKU JESO, following the newest map of the Russian Empire'.⁸⁰

An even more telling example of the conceptual connection between both topics is provided by a remarkable map penned by Johann Baptist Homann and printed in Nuremberg in 1716, in translation called the *New Geography from the East, most thankfully contained in two most specialist tables, one of which shows the Caspian Sea, the other Kamchatka or the curious land of Ezo*.⁸¹ I would like to argue that the fact that Homann published this map so shortly after Reland's second Map, the *Imperium Japonicum*, came off the press in 1715, is not coincidental. While the *New Geography from the East* did not show much more of Japan than the northern part of Hokkaidō, his follow-up publication *Newest depiction of Asia* a few years later transferred both elements of his 1716 map onto a larger projection of Asia as a whole.⁸² The shape of Japan in this map clearly points to the influence of Reland's *Imperium Japonicum*, although in the legend Homann now only referred to Russian discoveries as his sources. A comparison with an earlier edition of the *Newest depiction of Asia* highlights both the changes which had taken place regarding the Caspian, which in this map was still shown as almost round, and Hokkaidō, which was dramatically oversized and in unclear relation to the unknown boundaries of the Asian mainland.⁸³ For his improved map of the Caspian Homann had obviously really drawn on Russian sources. Through channels yet unclear he seems to have gained early access to the results of the Russian mission to survey the Caspian ordered by tsar Peter II in 1715. Until 1718 this

77 Lazar, 'The Manuscript Maps of Engelbert Kaempfer', pp. 68–69.

78 Cf. Brakensiek, 'Politische Urteilsbildung zwischen Empirie und Tradition. Der Persien-Bericht des Engelbert Kaempfer 1684/85', p. 99.

79 Michel, 'Herausgabe der *History of Japan*', p. 129.

80 Cf. Scheuchzer, *Het koninkryk Japan verdeelt in acht en zestig provintien*.

81 Homann, *Geographica nova ex oriente gratiosissima duabus tabulis specialissimis contenta*.

82 Idem, *Recentissima Asiae delineatio*.

83 Idem, *Asiae Recentissima delineatio*.

mission was led by Aleksandr Bekovič-Čerkasskij (d. 1717), a converted Muslim, and Aleksandr Ivanovič Kožin, and from 1718 until its end in 1720 by Fyodor Ivanovich Soimonov (1692–1780) and Carl van Verden (d. 1731); it resulted in a final map of the Caspian Sea and its surroundings printed in Moscow in 1721.⁸⁴

Homann's physically remarkably accurate depiction of the Caspian differed from everything printed earlier so markedly that we have to assume that he acquired some of the preliminary results of the Russian survey for this part of his map. The second authority in matters of maps of Asia, the French Cartographer Royal Guillaume Delisle in Paris, only altered his method of approximating the Caspian Sea in 1721, when the *Académie des Sciences* was presented with a copy of the final Russian survey map by Tsar Peter in return for his admittance to the *Académie* in 1717.⁸⁵ Delisle's maps before this time showed a Caspian Sea still very closely modelled on that of Adam Olearius (1603–1671),⁸⁶ the most famous example being his *Carte de la Turquie, de l'Arabie et de la Perse* of 1701.⁸⁷ Delisle reworked his maps of Persia between 1720 and 1725, to make them conform to the latest surveys he could access,⁸⁸ and to this end he included the Russian survey results as soon as they were available to him. As these Russian sources for depicting the surroundings of the Caspian did not apply to Hokkaidō, the question remains open of where Homann got his information on Japan, but it seems clear that Reland's map was among the sources on which he drew.

During the end of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries such common European interest in the special geographic features of certain regions of both Persia and Japan was prompted by the economic relations held with both countries by the European trading companies, and above all by the VOC. The company neither directly ordered the production of such maps as Kaempfer drew up as an actual traveller and employee of the VOC, or Reland produced as an armchair geographer and peruser of VOC-assembled resources, nor did it authorize the proliferation of such maps. But by its activities the VOC provided both the stimuli and material necessary to launch these maps on the market. At least in a Dutch context the controversies over the actual shape of these regions continued for much longer than even the reprints of the maps. The discussion about the shape of Hokkaidō, its situation, and a possible connection between Asia and America in the Bering strait region still continued in

84 Alai, *Special Maps of Persia*, p. 117.

85 Ibid.

86 Ortelius, *Persici sive Sophorum regni typus*.

87 Delisle, *Carte de la Turquie, de l'Arabie et de la Perse*.

88 Alai, *General Maps of Persia*, p. 110.

the *Boekzaal der geleerde waerelt* until at least 1782, when a review of the Dutch edition of the *Universal History* explicitly stated that this had been Reland's reason for drawing up his map of Japan.⁸⁹

4 Cultural Misappropriations

I do not want to suggest that Adriaan Reland had drawn up his maps of Persia and Japan because of these entangled open questions about their geographical features. If this had been the case, he would be unlikely to have let ten years elapse between the map of Persia in 1705 and the map of Japan in 1715. Nevertheless, I think that both share a common methodological framework which underlies many, if not all, of Reland's works, and that they are thus conceptually related. What Reland had done in drawing up his two maps of Persia and Japan may be seen as part of a single unified approach: trying to tackle unsolved problems, in this case of a geographical nature, by resorting to source materials from the regions concerned rather than to European tradition. This shows a readiness to accept non-European learning if not on a par with European scholarship at least as comparable and supplemental to it, which was the exception rather than the rule in European academia. Such materials, once acquired, were then to be processed according to the philological standards developed by working with classical Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sources, and the results were to be inserted in the framework of European scholarship. In the case of Persia Reland was able to accomplish this task much better than in that of Japan, because he had a far better command of the sources both in terms of available material and of his competence to deal with it. This at least is the perspective of a modern-day observer on the basis of progress made in cartographical exactitude concerning the physical approximation of the parts of the earth's surface depicted.

To an eighteenth-century European this might not have been so easy. Confronted with several conflicting solutions to both the problem of the shape of the Caspian Sea and that of the situation of Hokkaidō, all of which claimed authority but in different ways, and without the possibility of supplying first-hand observations as a basis for choosing between these solutions, the respective merits of Reland's two maps were difficult to assess. In this situation his

89 Review of 'Algemene historie van het begin der waereld tot den tegenwoordigen tyd toe', p. 656: 'Wat de gemeenschap tusschen *Asie* en *Amerika* belangt, deze is zeer waarschylyk, als men overweegt niet alleen het geene *Reland* wegens dit stuk behandeld heeft, maar ook uit de ontdekkingen, welke van de *Russen* gedaan zyn [...]' [italics as in the original].

claim to have based his results on original documents from the regions concerned was decisive for the success of his maps, because both Japan and Persia were seen as regions of the globe similar enough to Europe to produce knowledge on a sufficiently scholarly basis to be regarded as helpful to European scholarship. To put it simply, the general European cartographic public was obviously convinced that the Persians and Japanese not only knew best what Persia and Japan looked like, but could also be trusted to write this down in a sensible way, so that a capable scholar could introduce these results into European cartographic knowledge.

The problem and, as it were, the tragic element of this remarkably unprejudiced approach taken by Reland was that he was unable to avoid its pitfalls. He implicitly put European, Persian, and Japanese cartography on the same level not only in terms of their results but also of their underlying goals, thus implying that all three were striving equally for a most complete and accurate rendition in terms of the physical approximation of the regions within their reach. That there might be blind spots escaping the attention of the indigenous observers such as the Caspian Sea in the case of Persia, or that his source material might have been created following completely different goals in the case of Japan, was something that either did not occur to him or that—as in the case of Japan—his philological knowledge was insufficient to determine correctly. He can, of course, hardly be reproached with this since hardly anybody else in Europe would have been equipped to do better. Fittingly enough, neither issue was ever raised in the contemporary discussion of his cartographical works.

So while it may well be debated whether the epithet 'geleerdster der landbeschryveren' really suits Reland, his inclusive approach towards non-European scholarship and his extensive curiosity which led to the production of his two maps of Persia and Japan compare favourably with the attitudes of many other contemporary scholars. And that is a sufficient feat to call for closer studies of his cartographical works outside the narrow question of how accurate they were in approximating the actual shape of the earth's physical surface.

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Adriaan Reland, *Galatea*: An Introduction

Dirk Sacré

Nescio quis furtim corda subintrat amor.¹



For Adriaan Reland, writing Latin verse was not a whimsical or an eccentric activity. As a child, he had been encouraged to devote himself to the Latin Muse. He thus developed a passion that stayed with him throughout his life. In those days it was absolutely normal for a talented youngster to be trained in composing Latin hexameters and pentameters from an early age, upon entering the Latin school; nor was it unusual to continue to do so during one's academic years and even later on in life, at least if one was bestowed with literary perceptiveness. In Reland's case the first exhortations to try his hand at Latin poetry would have come from his father, Johannes Reland. Indeed, Johannes, an excellently educated pastor, was a devotee of Latin poetry: barely twelve years of age, he had written a Latin poem that had charmed a then renowned Neo-Latin poet;² later on he abandoned the practice of writing Latin, his son's biographer tells us, but since his enthusiasm for the Muse remained unaltered, he incited his son to foster the Latin Muse whenever there was some spare time to do so.³ After his first training in a Latin school of Amsterdam, young Adriaan, eleven years old, entered the Athenaeum illustre in the same

1 *Adriani Relandi poemata* [...] (henceforth abbreviated as 'Reland, ed. Perrenot'), 'In nuptias [...] Adami Personi, et [...] Christinae Margaritae Nuckiae' (1701), p. 41, l. 40.

2 Joseph Serrurier refers to 'Brunonem celebrem inter nostros Poëtas' in his funeral oration for Adriaan Reland (March 1718), the text of which one can read in *Relandi Galatea*, ed. P. Bosscha (Amsterdam, 1809) (henceforth abbreviated as 'Reland, ed. Bosscha'), p. 10. The poet in question must have been Henricus Bruno (c. 1620–1664), who is best known as the private tutor (1638–1647) to the children of Constantijn Huygens, and later on as a teacher in Hoorn (1649–1660), and whose Latin and Dutch output was gathered after his death in a book entitled *Mengel-moes van verscheyde gedichten* [...] (1666). On Bruno one can consult (on the Internet) Leek, *Maar ingeboren aard gaat alle dwang te boven*.

3 A classical exercise consisted in writing letters in Latin prose and verse to his father and the latter's friends (Serrurier in Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. 10).

city, where, for three years (1687–c. 1690), he was schooled by Petrus Francius (1645–1704), at the time not only a famous Latin poet whose Ovidian style was highly admired, but also a master in rhetorical style and in oratorical delivery.⁴ Thus, the foundations of Adriaan Reland's dedication to the Latin Muse were laid both in his parental home and in Amsterdam. We do not know if his subsequent years as a student at Utrecht and Leiden put him in contact with other aficionados of Neo-Latin poetry, but during this period he must have been working on the elegies that would establish his reputation as a poet. After his appointment as a professor in Harderwijk (1700) and, a year later, at Utrecht University, where he remained until his death, he occasionally produced more Latin poems. Occasionally, for his poetic output in Latin remained limited.⁵ As far as I can see, three of his compositions became widely renowned. The poetic epitaph he had written for himself in six elegiac couplets found its way into the funeral oration, which was delivered and published by his colleague Joseph Serrurier (1663–1742), from where it pops up in a number of articles devoted to Reland's death in the international scholarly press.⁶ It elaborated on the traditional themes of the inevitability of death and the necessity to foster the soul rather than the body, to display Christian morals and to worship God. Reland's enthusiastic lyric poem in praise of Lucretius, then, reached an audience beyond the traditional Latin readership, for it was also included in an early Dutch translation of Rome's major Epicurean poet.⁷

But Reland's fame as a Latin poet is based mainly on a small collection of thirteen love elegies, entitled *Galatea. Lusus poeticus* and first published in Amsterdam in the same year (1701) in which he was appointed professor at Utrecht and his *Ode in poësin Lucretianam* came out. *Galatea* was reissued in Utrecht in 1710. The booklet outlived its author; its lasting success is proved by a fair number of reissues in the course of the eighteenth century: Utrecht,

4 On Francius, see Heesakkers, 'An Lipsio licuit'; Van Miert, *Illuster onderwijs*.

5 Cf. Reland, ed. Perrenot, pp. 39–153 (23 elegies, 9 lyrical poems, 20 epigrams and 3 phrases of Horace). Writing in Dutch was not his cup of tea, he says in a poem (cf. Reland, ed. Perrenot, p. 43 [1702], ll. 5–6: 'Prae patrio Latii teneor sermonis amore, / aspirat genio non satis ille meo'—'The love for the Latin tongue has much more power over me than the love for my native language, which does not inspire my talents as much').

6 Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. 35. From there, it appeared e.g. in 'D'Utrecht', in *L'Europe savante*, pp. 290–295; 'Article xv. Eloge de M. Adrien Reland, nouvellement mort Professeur (...)', in *Histoire critique de la République des Lettres*, vol. 15, pp. 412–446; Burmannus, *Traiectum eruditum, virorum doctrina illustrium*, p. 295; obviously also in Reland, ed. Perrenot, p. 149.

7 It was included in *De werken van T. Lucretius Carus van het heelal* (the Latin text of Lucretius was added). One finds an (above all metrical) analysis of Reland's poem in Bernays, 'Hadrian Relands Lobgedicht auf Lukrez', pp. 5–21. Part of Reland's poem was quoted by Goethe.

1718;⁸ Utrecht, 1724; Franeker, 1735;⁹ Franeker, 1738; Amsterdam, 1739; Franeker, 1747; Utrecht 1748 (in a volume of collected verses of Reland, produced by Abraham Perrenot). The collection was even reedited in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the long-lived vogue of Neo-Latin poetry was on the wane: in Amsterdam in 1809, young Petrus Bosscha (1789–1871) reissued the cycle with a rich apparatus of *loci similes*,¹⁰ and in Germany, the Latin teacher Carl F.G. Siedhof (1803–c. 1866) released a slightly reworked version of Bosscha's edition in the same year in which he emigrated to the United States (Stuttgart, 1845).¹¹ Furthermore, some distinguished Dutch Neo-Latin poets of the second half of the eighteenth century, such as Laurentius Santenius (van Santen, 1746–1798) and Henricus Waardenburg (1760–1812), had read the *Galatea* with such enthusiasm that they engaged in an inquiry into the sources of his verses and into *loci similes* in ancient and modern Latin poetry.¹² Moreover, *Galatea* was translated into Dutch verse (Utrecht, 1837) by Roelof Hendrik Graadt Jonckers (1805–1886), who also authored Latin poems.¹³ As a matter of fact, already a century before, one of the poems of the cycle had been imitated in French verse by an anonymous poet ('J. O ... M.... D.M.'), whose adaptation was published in London in 1738.¹⁴ Some of the elegies must have also appeared in a Dutch translation, made by the Dutch and Neo-Latin poet Ernestus Gulielmus Higtius (Higt, 1723–1762);¹⁵ another Dutch rendering of the entire cycle was prepared by the well-known translator Antoni Hartsen

8 In the catalogue of the Zentralbibliothek of Zürich, mention is made of an edition, Utrecht, 1728 (not seen); this might be a typo for Utrecht, 1718.

9 This edition contains (pp. 29–32) an occasional elegy (*Elegia ad [...] Gulielmum Bentingium [...] peregre proficiscentem*), which corresponds to Reland, ed. Perrenot, pp. 48–53.

10 Later on, the same Bosscha also produced an edition of the works of Janus Secundus (1511–1536) with notes of Petrus Burmannus and of his own, in which he occasionally referred to Reland: see, for instance, *Ioannis Nicolai Secundi Hagani Opera omnia, emendatius et cum notis adhuc ineditis Petri Burmanni Secundi denuo edita*, p. 31 (ad Secundus, *eleg.* 1, 5, 23).

11 Siedhof (ed.), *Hadriani Relandi Galatea cum Petri Bosscha notis selectis*. The preface was completed in Aurich in June 1844. On Siedhof, see Schröder, 'Carl Siedhof, *Elegia in obitum F.J. Muellerei*', pp. 313–343.

12 They handed their annotations over to Bosscha, who incorporated them in his own notes: Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. VIII (in the Preface to the reader).

13 *Relands Galatea. Eene dichterlijke speling* (1837).

14 'Imitation de la XII. Élégie latine d'Adrien Reland, sur la mort de Galatée', in *Pièces libres de M. Ferrand, et poésies de quelques autres auteurs sur divers sujets*, pp. 95–102. The translator meant the 13th, not the 12th elegy.

15 Reland, ed. Bosscha mentions the translations (preface, p. x); the information is confirmed by Annaeus Ypey (1760–1837), who produced a selection of Dutch and Latin poems of Higtius, and in his introduction pointed out that Higt had translated the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 7th, 8th and 10th elegies of Reland (*Gedichten van Ernst Willem Higt*, p. xxix).

(1719–1782), whose versions, however, remained unpublished.¹⁶ Towards the end of the last century, J.P. Guépin translated the tenth elegy into Dutch verse.¹⁷

Among the advocates of modern Latin poetry, Reland was not forgotten. The Neo-Latin poet Gerardus David Jordensius (1731–1803) from Deventer, for instance, listed *Galatea* among the models he followed in his own love poetry.¹⁸ His aforementioned colleague Laurentius Santenius (van Santen, 1746–1798) hoped that his own small booklet of (only five) love elegies for a girl called Ida would stand the test of time, just as Reland's *Galatea* did.¹⁹ Some poets writing cycles of amatory elegies and adding the words 'lusus poeticus' to their titles²⁰ were actually imitators of Reland or were well acquainted with his volume: apart from the aforementioned Jordensius and Santenius, two students must be adduced here, whose works went into print: Johannes Adamus Nodellus (1754–1814) and Dionysius J.G. de la Houssaye (c. 1760–1796): the former had his *Regina. Lusus poeticus* published in Franeker in 1775, the latter his *Amaryllis. Lusus poeticus* in Groningen in 1782; the former structured his volume in thirteen elegies, as Reland had done, and borrowed quite some motifs and expressions from his model;²¹ the latter inserted in his cycle a kind of heroid addressed to the beloved, as Relandus had done, and lamented his mistress'

16 Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. x, has a reference to these renderings, and states that the manuscript was still in the possession of Hartsen's son Cornelis (1751–1817) around 1809. These Dutch versions have survived and are now kept at the Royal Library at The Hague (KA CLXXX (Diligentia Omnia), part IV [mentioned online]); they date from 1769. Hitherto, I have been unable to consult yet another (it seems) Dutch translation of some poems, which is said to have been published in volumes two and three of the Dutch journal *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, c. 1857.

17 Guépin, *Typisch Nederlands. De Latijnse poëzie*, pp. 65–73.

18 Jordensius, *Gellia. Lusus poeticus*, el. 11, p. 45: 'Hic formosa suum sequitur Galatea Relandum'. On Jordensius, see Bedaux, 'Gerhard David Jordens (1734–1803), neulateinischer Dichter aus Deventer', pp. 773–790 (pp. 782–785 on *Gellia*).

19 Cf. Schouten, 'Die Ida von Laurens van Santen: Einleitung—Text—Kommentar', p. 274 (third elegy, lines 29–30: 'Tunc venia, Relande, tua veniaque Secundi / et mea me nomen vate puella petet'). The full title of Santenius' booklet was *Ida, Lusus poeticus* (1773).

20 Cf. Bedaux, 'Gerhard David Jordens', p. 784.

21 There are some liminary poems, in which the link with Reland is established. Thus, to give just one example here, Theodorus Kootenius (van Kooten, 1749–1813) joined Nodell to Janus Secundus and Reland in his *In Reginam [...] ab Johanne Adamo Nodell celebratam* (fol. *4r: 'Sic, ubi discetur teneri Galatea Relandi / Juliaque Hagani maxima fama soli, / has etiam celebrere inter Regina Nodelli, / teque legens laudet serus ametque nepos!'). So did Nodell himself, too, in the first elegy (pp. 4–5): 'Dum Galatea suo nuper cantata Relando / Juliaque, aeternum qua tulit Haga decus, / forsan et has inter juvenis Regina Nodelli / vivet, in Idaliis nomen adepta jugis'. Two years later, Nodell published a sequel to his booklet (*Johannis Adami Nodell Regina, lusus poëticus. Liber alter* (1777) (ten elegies, in which the influence of Reland is observable again).

death by drowning (Amaryllis thus shared the fate of Galatea); here too, the dependence on Reland is obvious. From these students' works, it becomes clear that *Galatea* was effectively proposed to pupils and students as a model to emulate.

The famous critic P.H. Peerlkamp (1786–1865) spoke very favourably of the professor's love elegies; though Peerlkamp was at times a severe judge of Neo-Latin poetry, he remarked on *Galatea* that it was of a divine beauty ('Caeterum Galatea est divini plane decoris').²² The philologist and poet Lucian Müller (1836–1898) ranked the 'zierliche Dichter der *Galatea*' among the best poets of his age.²³ Actually, a double, slightly contradictory topos popped up in assessments of Reland's literary merits: it was repeated, on the one hand, that with respect to popularity, his slim booklet of love poems equalled his many, often bulky, scholarly works, and, on the other, that his love poems made it clear what an accomplished and unique poet Reland would have become if he had persevered in his poetic endeavours.²⁴

Anyhow, as we just saw, Reland's juvenile book of elegies was not a complete farewell to the Latin Muse. Nor did Reland immediately take leave of his *persona* as a passionate lover of the girl he called Galatea in his elegies. Thus, he also referred to the death of Galatea in a wedding poem written around the same time (c. 1701–1702).²⁵ By portraying himself as the author of the booklet, he seemed to indicate that the elegies had had a certain success.

Be that as it may, not only did Reland refer to his alter ego as a lover of Galatea in another poem, he also continued to polish and work on his verses for Galatea after their first publication in 1701. The title and subtitle of the booklet remained unaltered. The subtitle, *Lusus*, has some particular overtones. In antiquity, the noun was particularly used for various types of lighter

22 Peerlkamp, *Liber de vita doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina Latina composuerunt*, pp. 469–472, at p. 471.

23 *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Niederlanden*, p. 212.

24 See, e.g., Peerlkamp, *Liber*, p. 470: 'libello, quo tantam adeptus est gloriam, ut omnia ejus de literis Orientalibus scripta, quamvis summae doctrinae et acutissimi judicii, non magis celebrata sint, quam unicus iste ingenii poëtici lusus'; Serrurier in Reland, ed. Bosscha, pp. 9–10: 'ut poëtices quoque sibi facultatem compararet, in quâ quantum excelluerit, et quam proclive ipsi fuisset in summum Poëtam evadere, si non se altioribus ac severioribus disciplinis totum tradidisset, vel Lusus ejus poëtici [...] luculenter ostendunt'; Kampen, *Beknopte geschiedenis der letteren en wetenschappen in de Nederlanden* (...), vol. 1, p. 426, and vol. 3, pp. 126–127; Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des Lettres*, vol. 1, p. 336.

25 'Nicolao Bidloo medico, lectissimam virginem Nicolaam Clusiam ducenti', in Reland, ed. Perrenot, pp. 41–42 (p. 42: 'Me quoque destituit pallentem virgine Phoebus, / quae spoliolum nostri sola caloris habet. / Nunc secum Galatea meos exstinxit amores').

and shorter poetry, for non-epic poems. By adding '*lusus*'—to my knowledge very few other Neo-Latin cycles of erotic elegies have the same subtitle—,²⁶ the poet also stresses the playfulness of the collection of poems, possibly suggesting that it was above all an exercise-like product of his literary creativity and skills. Finally, the subtitle reminds us of a famous collection of very varied (lyrical, epigrammatical, elegiac, pastoral) poems written by Andreas Naugerius (Navagero, 1483–1529), which contains, among other things, love poems for such girls as Gellia and Hyella, and in which, in spite of its variety, a pastoral element prevails; Galatea, too, whose name often occurs in vernacular and in Neo-Latin poetry, reminds us particularly of the homonymous girl, the mistress of some shepherds in Vergil's pastoral eclogues; furthermore, she also is a Nereid.²⁷ In any case, it is hardly conceivable that Reland would not have read Navagero's immensely popular work as intensely as Virgil's *Bucolics*.

Whereas the title *Galatea. Lusus poeticus* was not changed, many a verse was reworked. Reland manifestly tried to improve some passages and lines until the last years of his life. There is some confusion in later accounts about the first edition (Amsterdam, 1701).²⁸ It is not true that the booklet came out anonymously.²⁹ On the contrary, it mentions the poet's name together with his qualification as a professor at Utrecht, which implies that the volume came out after February 21, 1701. Yet, it is correct that the edition conveys the impression that an editor, whose name is not mentioned, but who was a friend of the poet, had laid hands on the elegies and had these published without Reland being involved in the edition. The preface to the reader states that the author himself would not have issued these not so austere products of his youth, and that it was a friend, who was impressed by the Ovidian elegance of the poems, who had them printed, the more readily so, because there was nothing offensive to be found in these elegies. It is not impossible that this is the real truth; but it is

26 That is, before *Galatea* came out. On four later poets, who had a *lusus poeticus* published after Reland and were familiar with his volume, see *supra*, p. 246.

27 For the humanist genre of the *lusus* and its links with erotic poetry, see Ferroni, *Dulces lusus. Lirica pastorale e libri di poesia nel Cinquecento*. As a Nereid, the name Galatea occurs for instance in the erotic elegies of Propertius (1, 8, 18 [and 3, 2, 7]) and Ovid (*Amores*, 2, 11, 34). In my opinion, there is no irony of Reland in the fact that the latter has his beloved Galatea die at sea.

28 *Adriani Relandi Orientalium Linguarum in Acad: Trajectinâ Professoris Galatea. Lusus poeticus*. No printer is mentioned.

29 This was erroneously asserted in Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. ix ('ipsam principem editionem, quae anno 1701, sine nomine auctoris, prodiit'); Peerlkamp repeated it in his *Liber*, p. 470 ('Galatea primum prodiit A°. 1701, auctore non nominato'). Guépin, *Typisch Nederlands*, p. 65, too, intimated that the poet's name was not mentioned on the title page before the posthumous edition of Franeker, 1735.

equally possible that it was a fiction, made up by the poet himself. Maybe the edition was an exercise in presenting a side-product of his scholarly work. Or perhaps designating the booklet as a product issued without the involvement of its author was a way to make the publication more acceptable: as a university professor, Reland could issue occasional love poems (his teacher Francius had done the same), but was not expected to indulge in composing full cycles of erotic poetry, which was more something for a youngster or a non-academic.³⁰ Therefore, the preface labels the poems as juvenile products ('ineunte aetatis flore')³¹ which the author himself would not have sent to press. Anyhow, the very presence of a preface and especially of a dedicatory poem turns the book into a full and genuine edition. The dedicatory poem is addressed by Reland to his former teacher Petrus Francius and contains a trope in this genre of verse:³² if the elegies have any merits, these are due to the poet's immensely talented teacher; the latter is asked to indicate whatever is poor in the booklet and to have it removed.

Now, confronting the successive editions of *Galatea*, one can ascertain that the poet took a lasting interest in his collection of elegies, for one finds more than seventy variant readings, some of which are minor variants, while other ones are more substantial, including additions or omissions of entire lines or elegiac couplets. Most of the changes were introduced in the second edition (1710). This is not the place to discuss all these variants, let alone present a critical edition of the collection. It may be enough to quote some examples in order to show how, during a decade at least, Reland must have been rereading and refining his poems. Quite often, one witnesses how he was searching for better, more classical, more sophisticated, more effective words or expressions.³³ In elegy 2, 14 he changed the prosaic and logically less fitting word 'portare' into

30 Cf. Van Dam, 'Daniel Heinsius' Erstlingswerk. Prolegomena zu einer Edition der *Monobiblos*', p. 175. This mentality was typical of the Renaissance and the early seventeenth century; I assume it had not changed by 1700.

31 Preface: 'Elegans hoc carmen invidisset suo seculo Poeta, quod plurima carmina ineunte aetatis flore ducta, iis forte qui supercilium non satis ponunt, minus grata fore verebatur: sed dandum est aliquid aetati: hi Lusur suo auctori fere subducti sunt, nec carmina haec [...] ipse Cl. Relandus, unquam ediderat nisi ejus amicus, inscio auctore, illa praelo commisisset'. Compare Serrurier in Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. 10: 'Lusus eius poëtica, quos admodum adolescens conscripsit'.

32 Loyalty and gratitude towards his former preceptors were of paramount importance to Reland, it seems: cf. Serrurier in Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. 21.

33 He also corrected one or two errors from the first edition. Thus the form 'concepta' in *el.* 4, 19–20 ('Spes mea, concepta ne dedignare calores, / et tibi devotae suscipe mentis opus') made no sense and was replaced by 'conceptos' (going with 'calores') from the second one onwards.

the better 'gignere', so that 'Nescitis, miseri, quot mala portet amor' became 'Nescitis, miseri, quot mala gignat amor'; in line 11 of the same poem, the stock expression 'extinguere flammās' was replaced by the more refined 'necare favillas'. In *el.* 4, 23–24, one finds, in the first edition 'Cara puella, puella oculis mihi carior ipsis, / aut oculis si quid carius esse potest' ('Dearest girl, girl dearer to me than my own eyes, or if anything could be dearer to my than my eyes'), a nice couplet with striking repetitions of 'puella', 'oculi' and 'carus', the pentameter of which owed much to Catullus:³⁴ afterwards, the poet decided to stress even more the central idea of 'dearness' ('cara'), introducing an additional polyptoton and giving the eyes of the beloved a more expressive place in the lines: 'Cara puella, puella oculis mihi carior ipsis, / et si quid caris carius est oculis' ('Dearest girl, girl dearer to me than my own eyes and whatever is dearer than my dear eyes'). In *el.* 5, 7, addressed to Galatea, who is said to be unwell, the poetic stock-phrase for a person suffering from fever, 'Flamma tuos artus agitat' (1701) was conveniently changed into the more sophisticated 'Adducti vivent artus' (1710), where 'adductus' hints at the stiffness and the weakening of the ill person's limbs, while 'livere' aptly introduces her pale complexion.³⁵ A few verses later, Reland decided to cut the all too obvious repetition of the Petrarchan opposition between heat (fever) and cold (the icy water that caused the illness), expressed in these lines: 'O rerum fatigue vices! Quis dixerit unquam, / ut calor e gelidis surgere possit aquis? / Attamen heic mediis, quae semina duxit ab undis, / et male, captato frigore, flamma furit' ('O the vicissitude of things and of fate! Who would ever say that heat can arise from icy waters? Yet here, a flame is violently raging, kindled in the midst of water and a cold miserably caught') (1701), and to compress the idea into one couplet: 'Scilicet hîc, gelidis quae semina duxit ab undis, / et male captato frigore, flamma furit'. In *el.* 10, 1, the poet, who had labelled himself anonymously as 'poeta', now somewhat more confidently used his own name, while playing with the ambiguous identity of the *amator* and the person of the poet: 'Pars animae, Galatea, meae, si cura poetae' (1701) became 'Pars animae, Galatea, meae, si cura Relandi'.³⁶

34 Catullus, 82, 2: at aliud, si quid carius est oculis.

35 Moreover, 'Flamma tuos artus agitat' was too erotic, coming after 'torreris ab aestu' (1), 'exuritque [exaratque' in the first edition was a misprint] tuas infelix cura medullas' (3): the impression could arise that Galatea's feverishness was a sign of her being in love—which was too explicit in that context. But cf. also Ovid, *Heroides*, 11, 29.

36 It was typical of the (Neo-)Latin elegy that the poet's real name was kept, while the (real or fictitious) beloved was given an allonym (in the Neo-Latin tradition, most often a clasicising pseudonym). Compare, for instance, Propertius, 3, 10, 15: dein qua primum oculos cepisti veste Properti; Ovid, *Amores*, 2, 13, 25: adiciam titulum 'servata Naso Corinna'.

In the subsequent editions produced during the poet's lifetime and shortly after his death, only a few changes were introduced, possibly on the basis of marginal emendations the poet had added to his printed copy.³⁷ But his lifelong commitment to his elegies can be deduced—be it with some circumspection—from an edition that appeared thirty years after the poet's death (Utrecht, 1748), thanks to the zeal of Abraham Perrenot (1726–1784), a jurist who had just obtained his Master's degree from Utrecht University, for Perrenot brought together Reland's entire verse production, whether it had appeared in print or had remained in manuscript form and had been respectfully kept by the late poet's acquaintances. He had had access to at least two printed copies of *Galatea* containing variants proposed by the poet himself (he was sure about that), one in Leiden University³⁸ and another one containing copies of Reland's marginal notes, made by an unnamed scholar with a great interest in poetry.³⁹ In his edition of *Galatea*, Perrenot thus introduced the new variants at issue (or maybe a selection from what the marginalia offered).⁴⁰ Indeed, in some six places (*el.* 3, 17; 8, 15–16; 8, 18; 11, 34; 11, 35–36; 11, 43), we are confronted with new variants that might have sprung from the mind and pen of Reland; in any case, the new variants furnish a text that is more satisfactory from a linguistic point of view. Thus, in *el.* 11, 34 'provehere ratem' was changed into 'ferre per alta ratem', and in *el.* 8, 15–16, the inelegant expression 'oculis adhibere fidem' was removed in favour of the better 'oculis credere'.⁴¹

The 1748 text was altered yet another time in 1809, by the editor Petrus Bosscha, who silently intervened in two verses. His variants have no real value for the constitution of the text: Bosscha did not see any manuscript; he had not even been able to consult the first edition. Yet, in *el.* 8, 3 he changed 'Flectere millenae quod non potuere puellae' into 'Flectere millenae quem non potuere puellae', thus introducing an unnecessary *lectio facillior* ('quem' referring to

37 *E.g.*, in the third edition (Utrecht, 1718) one finds for the first time 'ne dedignere' instead of 'ne dedignare' (1701, 1710).

38 Which he obtained from the theologian and philologist Iohannes Alberti (1698–1762), professor of theology at Leiden and at the time rector of the University.

39 Reland, ed. Perrenot (in the preface to the reader, no pages). Perrenot had to rely on copies of the manuscripts, he says in the preface, and could not consult autograph manuscripts.

40 He was proud that this had enabled him to produce a better edition of the cycle, as he stated in his dedicatory poem, addressed to the jurist and philologist Petrus Wesselingius (1692–1764) (fol. [*3]r): 'comtior auctoris nunc Galatea manu'.

41 An analogous example of variants introduced after the death of a poet one finds in the poems of Laurentius Santenius (van Santen, 1746–1798), edited by Hoeufft, who claimed to have followed the *voluntas auctoris*: see *Laur. Santenii Poëmata*, p. LXII; contrary to what he declared in his preface, Hoeufft introduced quite an important number of variants (cf. Schouten, 'Die Ida von Laurens van Santen', p. 268).

a friend who is in love), whereas 'quod', repeated from line 1, depended on the noun 'pectus' mentioned in the initial verse. And in *el.* 12, 27 he replaced the logical form 'tacitum' ('Haec ego dum meditor, tacitum mirantur amici') by 'taciti', referring to 'amici', unjustly, it seems to me, since these friends are speaking in the next verse ('dicunt'). So Bosscha's modifications can be easily dismissed. Their endorsement is a bit surprising, for if it is true that in other instances the scholar slightly criticised a word or an expression for being less felicitous and even suggested a better solution, he did so in the notes only, *ergo* without altering the text itself.⁴² Indeed, Bosscha seems not to have agreed completely with Perrenot's encomiastic thesis that the *Galatea* cycle could have been the work of an ancient Roman author ('quem Roma suum poterat dixisse libellum'—a booklet that Rome could have called her own) and that Reland had to be considered a 'poëta magnus etiam inter maximos' ('a great poet, even among the greatest').⁴³ In an admittedly small number of cases, the twenty-year-old scholar, very eager to put his philological knowledge on display, somewhat disapproved of the lexical choices made by Reland or considered that some expressions did not fit the stylistic register that was required in a given context. Thus, he objected to the use of a neologism in *el.* 11, 64,⁴⁴ criticised with some reason the use of 'transpirare' in *el.* 7, 45, and not unjustly noted (*el.* 10, 122) that in the fervent context of the tenth elegy, where the lover begs his absent mistress to write to him, the second half of the pentameter is too passionless: 'Tu, precor, absentis memorem te vivere nostri / scribe, nisi scripto sis prior ipsa tuo' ('You, please write a letter saying that you remember

42 For instance in *el.* 1, 16; *el.* 6, 60 (where, though without having detected an inaccuracy of the poet, Bosscha thinks that he can do better than Reland, yet proposes too rhetorical a couplet); *el.* 10, 122.

43 In the dedication poem (fol. [*2]v) and in the preface to the reader (fol. [*4]r).

44 Where we can read 'nabilis' instead of the classical 'innabilis'; 'nabilis' is not to be found in ancient texts; it occurs from the Middle Ages on and is attested in Neo-Latin poetry, *e.g.*, in the early eighteenth-century epic *Columbus* by Ubertinus Carrara (5, 14 and 5, 117). An occasional and moderate use of neologisms was tolerated in Neo-Latin poetry, it seems to me (Janus Secundus, too, had coined a few neologisms, mostly diminutives and *composita*). A much less elegant neologism (influenced by the vernacular) of Reland is 'transpirare' in *el.* 7, 45 ('nocturnum transpirans dextera rorem'). Finally, a seemingly new word is Reland's 'ameletides' in *el.* 12, 43, which stands for a kind of pad worn by women under the shoulder-blades. This is actually a false reading one will not find in the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, in Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis* or in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, but which was largely accepted during the Renaissance (and until the nineteenth century) in a passage from Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (3, 273), where our modern editions read 'analetrides' or even more often 'analeptrides' (the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* still has 'analeptides'). 'Ameletides', however, is mentioned in Stephanus, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, p. 188.

me in my absence—unless you yourself come earlier than your letter’): there, he says, a pentameter like ‘Rescribe: at scripto sis prior ipsa tuo’ would do better. In a few other instances, he remarks that a word is less appropriate from a classical point of view, but that the word under discussion occurs often in Neo-Latin: thus in *el.* 2, 34, Bosscha perhaps rightly labelled ‘basium’ as a noun eschewed by ancient elegiac poets, but was aware of its frequency in the Neo-Latin elegy. In *el.* 3, 37 he disliked the use of the adverb ‘ergo’ with a shortened second syllable; but it seems to me that it is rather the recurrence of ‘ergone’ (‘ergo’ with the interrogative particle ‘-ne’) that is awkward from an ancient perspective.⁴⁵ Peerlkamp, too, objected to one specific passage as inferior: perhaps correctly, he found that the parenthesis ‘o quanta molestia’ in *el.* 7, 15 was too prosaic and not passionate enough for a lover suffering from insomnia.⁴⁶ These remarks make clear that some nineteenth-century philologists were still extremely sensitive to the formal aspects of humanist and post-humanist poetry; their observations should also be considered from a pedagogical perspective: Bosscha’s edition (most unambiguous is the letter to Bosscha, written by another Neo-Latin poet, Hieronymus Boschius (de Bosch, 1740–1811) and included in the preliminary matters of this edition) reveals that he considered *Galatea* for the larger part as a model youngsters should follow while trying their hand at writing Latin verse, an exercise of paramount educational value.

How was a young poet expected to write amatory poetry in which he himself or an alter ego of his featured as the lover? A large scale of possibilities was at his disposal, and several ancient and Neo-Latin models could be imitated.⁴⁷ Fundamentally, he had to make a choice between lyrical forms (Horatian odes, for instance, or hendecasyllables), hexameter lines (*e.g.*, disguising himself as a shepherd living in a bucolic setting and depicting his love for a girl, who had to have a rural character) or elegiac forms. If he opted for the amatory elegy, his basic ancient models would be Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid, the three classical representatives of the Latin genre; but he would also have an eye for the sixth-century poet Maximianus, whose poems were considered by some at the

45 Reland often used it in *Galatea* (*el.* 3, 37; 5, 1; 9, 3; 13, 25) and in his other poems (*e.g.*, in his *Piae memoriae Augustissimae ac Illustrissimae Britanniarum Reginae Mariae Stuart S.* [Reland, ed. Perrenot, p. 73, line 3]: ‘Ergone, quo me fata trahunt comes ire dolori’). One finds it also in other Neo-Latin poets (see, *e.g.*, Secundus, *Odae*, 10, 1: ‘Ergone vitae quod superest meae’).

46 Furthermore, Peerlkamp was perhaps right in pointing at a logical flaw in *el.* 8, 1–2.

47 For the Neo-Latin love elegy, see, *e.g.*, Parker, ‘Renaissance Latin Elegy’, pp. 476–488; Houghton, ‘Renaissance Latin love elegy’, pp. 290–305; Id., ‘Elegy’, in Moul (ed.), *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, pp. 98–112; Moul, ‘Lyric Poetry’, pp. 41–56.

time to be the work of Cornelius Gallus, commonly believed to have introduced the elegy in Rome.⁴⁸ In the company of the three elegists he would also place Catullus, though a large part of the latter's love poems was written in lyrical verse; but in the Renaissance and later on, Catullus was often edited together with Tibullus and Propertius.⁴⁹ Moreover, nothing could keep him from working with love stories as told in, for instance, the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, in the *Metamorphoses* or in the *Heroids* of Ovid. Obviously, a late-seventeenth or an early eighteenth-century Latin poet could profit from the incredible wealth of Neo-Latin amatory elegies written since the dawn of humanism by poets active all over Europe, not in the least in Holland, some of whom had acquired a long-lasting reputation and were reissued time and again.⁵⁰ He could even peruse anthologies of Neo-Latin love poetry: the *Veneres Blyenburgicae*, for instance, issued in 1600 by Damasus Blyenburgius (1558–1616), proposed a cornucopia of poems, arranged by topic, and comprising some 950 pages.⁵¹ Finally, this Neo-Latin poet would not dispense with some major vernacular love poets, such as Petrarch,⁵² to name the most famous one.

The classical models would offer examples to the modern poet of how to develop the theme of love in poetry and would supply a great quantity of tropes to be used in the amatory elegy; from the Neo-Latin models in particular, the poet would learn how to adapt ancient stories, to rephrase commonplaces or to transform and to enrich them. Moreover, following the ancient practice, the poet had the possibility to either devote an entire book (or a number of books) to a single romance, or to develop the love theme in a limited number of elegies, intertwining them with poems on other subjects. Furthermore, he could give an account of his affair with a single beloved person (in ancient times a

48 Cf., e.g. Consolino, 'Elegia secondo Massimiano', pp. 183–224; D'Amanti, 'Massimiano e la pseudepigrafia di Pomponio Gaurico', pp. 47–64.

49 See, for instance, *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii nova editio*, ed. Scaliger (1577); *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii opera* (1749). Janus Secundus, too, had had no qualms about borrowing a line from Catullus that did not belong to the latter's elegiac poems in his *Julia*, 8, 5: 'quantum nulla fuit, quantum nec amabitur ulla'; cf. Catullus, 8, 5: 'amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla'.

50 An example one can find in Jordensius's erotic cycle *Gellia*, where the final poem explicitly places the love poems for Gellia in the tradition of Ovid, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, and, for the Neo-Latin part, Marcus Antonius Flaminus, Petrus Bembus, Georgius Sabinus, Andreas Naugerius, Franciscus M. Molza, Petrus Lotichius, Janus Secundus, Janus Broukhusius, and ... Reland (see n. 18 above). This catalogue in itself should probably be seen as a remake of a similar list of ancient Roman love poets, drawn up by Propertius, 2, 34, 85–94.

51 *Veneres Blyenburgicae, sive Amorum hortus* (1600).

52 And Petrarch himself influenced many Neo-Latin and vernacular poets: see, for instance, Forster, *The Icy Fire*, and, for Dutch literature, Ypes, *Petrarca in de Nederlandse letterkunde*.

beautiful woman or a man, since the Renaissance usually a young woman), or unfold more than one romance. He did not necessarily have to describe an entire love story, and could confine himself to a few episodes taken from a liaison. Happy loves were not excluded, but they were rare; most of the time, amatory elegies told a story with an unhappy ending.

Reland's *Galatea* conforms to this general practice. It is the story of a love that had never been consummated and had ended with the death of the mistress.⁵³ It starts with the lover's confession of an ardent desire for a girl who shows no particular interest in him; therefore the poet will utter his feelings in his poetry alone (*el.* 1). In *el.* 2, the poet describes the divine beauty of the girl, which explains why he feels such an ardent desire for her and may seem to have lost self-control. In the next elegy, passionate amour is compared to a more moderate and lifelong affection of love; the poet realises that he can only dream of such a relationship, in his poetry. In *el.* 4, the poet declares his intense feelings of love for the beautiful Galatea. In *el.* 5, Galatea is sick; she suffers from a fever; in a similar fashion, the poet suffers from his feverish passion; both need to implore the gods, she for her health, he for the fire that threatens to consume him. *El.* 6 is about a failed meeting between the two. Galatea had asked to see the poet, but stormy weather had prevented the latter from leaving the house. He curses himself for his sluggishness, as this appointment could have been the start of a beautiful romance. In *el.* 7, the poet sings the praises of the beautiful eyes of Galatea, while expressing how bad he feels in his immense passion, and articulating his hopes for the future. In the next poem, the love-affair of a friend is discussed, and the benefits of love are sung; 'Relandus' draws a parallel between his friend and himself. *El.* 9 is about Galatea's absence: the poet is overcome by feelings of jealousy when he imagines her to have a lover. *El.* 10 actually takes the form of a letter addressed to the absent Galatea, in which the lover confesses that his life has been very gloomy since she has left. He would desperately like to know whether she still has any affection for him, or whether she has met another man. Even now, he hopes that she will return home soon, and begs her to write to him. *El.* 11 describes the poet desperately longing for Galatea while walking along the beach from where she has left the country, yet still looking forward to her return. In *el.* 12, the poet has left the country himself, seeking forgetfulness in a long voyage; but even abroad, Galatea fills his mind and heart. In the final elegy, we learn that Galatea has died in a storm. The poet is inconsolable; even after her death,

53 I do not understand on what grounds Guépin, *Typisch Nederlands*, p. 65, designates the cycle as the story of a happy love.

he will remain devoted to Galatea, with whom he feels a perennial bound and to whom he dedicates his *casti lusus* (*el.* 13, 85–86).

The volume boasts an impressive number of stock themes and topics typical of the erotic elegy. Many of these have been identified in the annotated edition of Bosscha, who also listed them in his *index rerum et verborum* (pp. 117–121). A few examples may do here. The opposition between despicable riches and the blessings of love is one of these traditional themes⁵⁴ often exploited by Reland (*el.* 3, 25–28; 8, 29–32; 10, 21–24 and the very elegant couplet of lines 39–40: ‘Omnia nil in amore iuvant. Amor omnia praestat / solus, et innumeras exhibet unus opes’—‘In love, everything else brings no joy, love alone offers everything and by itself supplies limitless riches’).⁵⁵ Another topic develops the idea that lovers can hand over hidden messages to each other by talking with their eyes, touching the foot of the beloved girl, or writing words in wine or other liquids (see, *e.g.*, Tibullus, 1, 2, 21–22; 1, 6, 19–20; Ovid, *Amores*, 1, 4; 2, 5): similarly, ‘Relandus’ is afraid that during her absence, a stranger will act in like manner in order to seduce her (*el.* 9, 7–24). Lovers carve the name of their mistress in the bark of a tree (see, *e.g.*, Propertius, 1, 18, 19–22), and so does ‘Relandus’ (*el.* 10, 63–66). The mistress is quite often said to have musical talent (cf. Propertius, 1, 2, 26–27; Maximianus, 4, 11–12),⁵⁶ and Galatea, too, is a musician (*el.* 9, 11–12). Disappointed lovers make a long trip to overcome their sorrow, and so does ‘Relandus’ (*el.* 12; cf. Propertius, 3, 21), etc.

Though playing with clichés, the poet succeeds in producing elegantly written variations on these traditional themes. Thus, to lovers who are waiting for their beloved, time passes excruciatingly slowly (cf. Propertius, 3, 20, 11–12; Ovid, *Heroides*, 11, 31); Reland intensifies this trope⁵⁷ when he states that the sleepless nights of the lover longing to see his girl seem to last for ages (‘centuries’, he writes: *el.* 7, 15–16: ‘Quodque tot insomnes (o quanta molestia!) noctes, / quas ego iuravi saecula fuisse, traham’—‘and the fact that (how annoying!) I have to spend so many sleepless nights, nights that I could have sworn lasted for centuries’). Love poets often adduce the idea of inevitable death, and oppose the recurrent cycles of day and night or of the seasons to the straightforward span of human life. So too does Reland, when he has been missing Galatea for a year:

54 See, *e.g.*, Tibullus, 1, 1; 3, 3; Propertius, 1, 14.

55 For this couplet, Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. 67 rightly refers to Secundus, *el.*, 1, 2, 79–86; cf. especially l. 83 (‘Omnia nil sine amore iuvant’).

56 And hence also in Neo-Latin love poems: see, *e.g.*, *Veneres Blyenburgicae*, pp. 295–300 (in Iohannes Iovianus Pontanus, Angelus Politianus, Paulus Melissus and others).

57 Just as the Neo-Latin poet Marcus Antonius Muretus (1526–1585) had done in his epigram 21, *Ad Phyllidem*, ll. 1–2: Cum ducenda mihi sine te sunt tempora, Phylli, / longior est anno mensis et hora die (cf. *The Iuvenilia of Marc-Antoine Muret*, ed. Summers, p. 82).

'nature has returned to spring', he says, adding paradoxically: 'but this spring is for me an eternal winter, as she has not come back',⁵⁸ in these refined lines, marked by efficacious repetitions and wordplay, and addressed to the woods in which he and Galatea once took long walks together:

Ver licet acris hiems cultu spoliarit; ademtas
 Reddit et ornatu ver meliore comas.
 At mihi iam toto mea lux non redditur anno,
 Ver rediit vobis, et mihi perstat hiems,
 Iam reduces vestris Zephyri tepuere sub umbris,
 Nostra tamen Zephyri vota referre negant.
el. 10, 89–94

('Though bitter winter has bereft spring of its splendid dress, a new spring brings the stripped foliage back, even with better ornaments. But the light of my life has not been brought back to me for an entire year now. For you, spring has returned; for me, winter goes on; the reappearing zephyrs grew warm in your shady places; but these zephyrs refuse to bring back the object of all my desires.')

Moreover, there are cases where our poet departs from classical topoi. Thus, as a soldier of love on duty for the sake of a girl, the lover would normally assure that he would do anything for his loved one, that he would even face heavy storms for her if necessary: 'ventos patiemur et imbres', Secundus (1, 3, 21) had written after *e.g.* Tibullus, 1, 2, 29–30; Propertius 2, 26, 35–44; Ovid, *Amores*, 2, 16, 19–30; Maximianus, 1, 35–36. 'Relandus', on the contrary, at the very point where he might hope that Galatea has some feelings for him (she has asked to have an appointment with him), is unable to visit her, for a sudden thundershower has frightened him and made it impossible to leave the house: later on, he blames himself for his cowardly behaviour (*el. 6*).⁵⁹ Similarly, the brevity of youth is not used as an argument to enjoy the blessings of love for as long as possible (see, *e.g.*, Catullus, 5; Tibullus, 1, 1, 69–74; Propertius, 2, 15, 23–24; also Secundus, 1, 5), but as a ground for rejecting these transient and unimportant joys of erotic passion (*el. 2*).

58 Perhaps also inspired by a short poem of Iulius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), quoted in *Veneres Blyenburgicae*, p. 390 (line 3: ver aliis mihi tristis hyems).

59 This inversion of the traditional topos was a bit risky, since it might be interpreted as a sign of humour or of undermining the clichés of the erotic elegy. But to me nothing seems to point in that direction.

When we try to assign a place to Reland's cycle in the Latin and Neo-Latin elegiac tradition, it is striking that every elegy is concerned with the beloved Galatea. If we look for an ancient example here, Propertius' first book of elegies, his *Cynthia Monobiblos*, which had been published separately by the poet, comes quite close to Reland, for almost all, but not all, of its more than twenty elegies deal with Cynthia.⁶⁰ Remarkably enough, Propertius' booklet contained an elegy to a friend, who had just fallen under the spell of love (Prop. 1, 10); likewise, Reland has one elegy which deals with the recent love affair of a friend and only partially with Reland's beloved (*el.* 8).

Furthermore, *Galatea* recounts the story of a love affair in a logical and chronological order; it starts with the male lover's infatuation and ends with the death of the beloved. In this case, the model was, albeit in lyrical poetry, Catullus, who had written in a similar way in his poems 2 to 11 about his affair with Lesbia, an affair going from the first infatuation to the final rupture, due to the infidelity of the mistress. But here, some Neo-Latin examples have to be considered as well. The Italian poet Iohannes Antonius Campanus (Campano, 1429–1477), for instance, had written an encompassing and consistent love narrative in verse (about the mistress of another person, in fact).⁶¹ But Campanus' poetry did not enjoy the same popularity as that of Reland's compatriot Janus Secundus (1511–1536),⁶² one of whose extremely influential works, *Julia Monobiblos*, as it is often called, a book of elegies devoted to 'Secundus' love for Julia, comes very close to Reland.⁶³ *Julia*, too, recounts a love affair from the beginning until the end. The cycle starts with an account of how the poet was struck by the arrows of love (1); the lover then narrates an alleged episode from his youth, when the Muse predicted his eminent talents as a love poet (2); he then declares his ardent passion for Julia, whose life-long affection he implores

60 The first book of Ovid's *Amores*, too, mainly deals with one girl, Corinna, but there are additional 'poetological' elegies, and the nature of the love affair is substantially different from that depicted by Reland.

61 On Campanus, see, for instance, Beer, 'Ghostwriting in the Renaissance? Giannantonio Campano's Love Elegies for 'Diana', the mistress of Braccio Baglioni', pp. 41–65.

62 Though some of Campanus' poems can be read in *Veneres Blyenburgicae*, passim. For Secundus' influence in the Low Countries, see Van Dam, 'Second et la poésie néo-latine des Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle', pp. 169–184.

63 Earlier readers of *Galatea* seem to have been aware of the affinity of Secundus' and Reland's elegies, for they would not compare the latter to, say, Janus Dousa, Janus Lernutius, or Daniel Heinsius, famous Neo-Latin love poets from the Low Countries, while they would state that Reland came close to Secundus. Thus, in his *Parnasus latino-belgicus, sive plerique e poetis Belgii Latinis*, a collection of epigrams eulogising the merits of Dutch and Belgian Neo-Latin poets, pp. 205–206 (ll. 5–6), Hoeffft claimed: 'Juliaque Hagano decus est paritura Secundo, / Relando pariet par Galatea decus'.

(3); the next poem (4) describes a happy episode, where the lovers kiss each other; in poem 5, the blessings and the banes of love are dealt with; the former prevail, and in a highly fervid and sensual poem the lover begs his mistress to give in to his passion while both lovers are still young; in poem 6 he declares his inability to capture the divine features of Julia in a sculpture; in the next elegy (7) a rival shows up, coming from another city, and desiring to marry Julia; the poet is jealous and violently curses the elderly rival; in poem 8 (perhaps one of the most powerful Neo-Latin poems ever written) the morning of Julia's wedding day breaks, heralding the end of the affair with the poet; the poet then (9) describes his distress, though he finds little solace in the arms of another girl. In the next elegy (10), the poet seems to reconquer Julia, but what he tells appears to be something he had dreamt of at night. In the final (11) elegy, the poet, aware of what he has achieved as a poet, begs that his sorrows over Julia may soon come to an end.

Reland's book, dealing exclusively with one beloved person, narrating the relationship the poet dreamt of from its start to its end, in a clearly chronological order, and incorporating, at the start and at the end of the volume, 'poetical' elegies in which the status of the reality of the affair is discussed, bears a strong resemblance to *Julia*, Secundus' first book of elegies.⁶⁴ This, however, does not mean that the eleven elegies of *Julia* would be analogous to the thirteen poems of *Galatea* in every detail. Yet the overall structure is similar. Apart from the general concept of the volume, the radical and gloomy ends of both volumes catch the reader's eye: in *Julia*, the beloved has given in to the advances of a lover, who comes from another city⁶⁵ and who will marry her; she thus leaves the city and is physically separated from her former lover. In *Galatea*, the girl might have left her homeland for a similar reason; she is thus inaccessible to 'Relandus'; eventually, she dies abroad. In both cases, the male lovers are left in deep sorrow. If they are deprived of their loved ones forever,⁶⁶ the volumes of verse they have devoted to them will remain.

In his booklet Reland also created a number of elegies around motifs not found in Secundus, but taken elsewhere, from the ancient poets, it seems, or

64 For these aspects of book composition in Secundus, see Murgatroyd, *The amatory elegies*, pp. 10–14 and *passim* (in the excellent essays devoted to each elegy). Reland did not work with a central axis (which would be constituted by the seventh elegy), since this would mean some 288 lines for the first half, and some 414 for the second one. But there is a more positive (first) part of the elegies (*el.* 1–8, 370 lines), counterbalanced by a more plaintive one (*el.* 9–13, 414 lines).

65 Cf. Secundus, *elegiae*, 1, 7, 9; 1, 8, 7; 1, 9, 29. Secundus repeatedly uses the word 'peregrinus' for the rival.

66 For both, the girl is the first great love of their life (cf. also Propertius, 1, 1, 1).

perhaps from some Neo-Latin imitators of the latter. The illness of Galatea in Reland, *el.* 5, might have its origin in Tibullus, 1, 5, 9–18 (sickness of Delia); 3, 10 (illness of Sulpicia); Propertius, 2, 28 (Cynthia is sick). Reland, however, turns the poem into a brilliant piece of ambiguous writing. Thus, the illness is styled as a state of heat, in such a way that it can also be applied to a state of amatory fervidness; the poet subsequently declares his own feverish ardour for Galatea, hoping that he might find relief. The message is clear: the poet hopes that Galatea will reciprocate his feelings, and that indulging in love will bring appeasement to the fevered condition of both.

When our Dutch poet writes that Galatea leaves the country by boat, this reminds us of Propertius 1, 8, where Cynthia is said to have the intention to sail away, or of Ovid, whose Corinna also travels over sea (*Amores*, 2, 11). And when Galatea dies at sea during a tempest, this is reminiscent of Propertius, 2, 26, where the Roman poet recounts a dream in which Cynthia is shipwrecked; and indeed, some singular elements in Reland's *el.* 13 are echoes of that dream of Propertius: Cynthia, while already floundering in the sea, calls out Propertius' name, and attention is paid to her hands coming out of the waves. Likewise, in Reland's *el.* 13, Galatea's hair gets loosened by the water, which also dirties her bosom; and she might have called 'Relandus' name (l. 31: 'et gemitu extremo mea nomina suspirabas'—'and with your dying breath you whispered my name longingly').⁶⁷

'Relandus' has Galatea summon him to come to a meeting-point on a given hour and day (*el.* 6): the poet must have had Propertius, 3, 16 in the back of his mind, where the latter narrates that he has received a letter urging him to go to Cynthia's house at midnight; the resemblance goes further, since Propertius meditates about the dangers of nocturnal Rome and therefore hesitates a while to leave his home—and 'Relandus' eventually is frightened by a thunderstorm and therefore does not have the courage to go outdoors.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the letter 'Relandus' addresses to Galatea in her absence might be a general echo of Ovid's *Tristia* or *Heroides*, but could also have been inspired by an elegy in the form of a heroid one finds in Propertius' elegies (4, 3, on married love, written by a Roman woman to her husband). Finally, the choice to let Galatea die might have been inspired by Propertius 4, 7 (where Cynthia is dead and buried,

67 In Neo-Latin poetry, the death of the mistress is a theme sung already before Reland, *e.g.*, by Johannes Vulteius (Visagier, Voulté, c. 1505–1542): see, for instance the poems entitled *Nuntium de morte suae Cliniae*; *Clinia mortua, optat mori*; *Se nullam, Clinia mortua, amare velle* (quoted in *Veneres Blyenburgicae*, pp. 382–384; 384–385; 474–475).

68 One also thinks of Ovid, *Amores* 1, 11 (where a letter written by Ovid to invite Corinna, and handed over to Corinna's servant, who should give it to her mistress, is at stake) and 1, 12 (Corinna has written a letter to Ovid, declaring that she is unable to come).

and appears to her former lover in a dream)—but a Neo-Latin source, such as Vulteius, whom we just mentioned, cannot be excluded. The central idea of Reland, *el.* 11, where the poet is standing in front of the sea, unfortunately unable to cross it so as to come closer to his loved one, seems to refer to Ovid, several of whose *heroids* centre around this theme. Yet there is an even more striking parallel in Ovid's *Amores* (3, 6), where the lover stands on the banks of a swollen river, incapable of reaching his mistress; the similarity with this elegy is remarkable indeed, since Ovid, just like Reland, has the lover express his desire to fly in the air and to cross the waters separating him from his girl.⁶⁹

In a few cases it is a Neo-Latin model, rather than a classical one, that might have inspired the ideas and design of a poem of Reland, or might have functioned as an additional source of inspiration. Contrary to Bosscha, I do not think that the elegy on Galatea's eyes (*el.* 7) is indebted to a poem written by Janus Broukhusius (van Broekhuizen, 1649–1707) on the eyes of Delia,⁷⁰ for there are no verbal echoes of it in Reland. Cycles on the eyes of a loved one were popular during the Renaissance: one thinks of the cycle of *Ocelli* (42 poems!) written by Janus Lernutius (1545–1619) and published in Leiden in 1614.⁷¹ But Reland's elegy about a friend who is in love (*el.* 8)⁷² seems to owe something to another product of Broukhusius, an elegy written on exactly the same theme, *Ad Cupidinem de amore Petri Francii*.⁷³ It should not come as a surprise that Reland liked to insert an echo of this in his own work, since Broukhusius' poem concerned Petrus Francius, Reland's teacher, and the dedicatee of *Galatea*. The opening of the poem in particular shows a certain similarity with Broukhusius' elegy: in both compositions, the friends are described as a new 'praeda' of Amor and Venus (Broukhusius, l. 2; Reland, l. 4); both are said to have withstood the powers of Love for a long time, but now to have fallen under the spell of an overwhelming girl, and in both cases, 'uritur' is used repeatedly.⁷⁴ Both poems stress the identity of the friends' feelings, reject intensive studies, and extoll the overwhelming joys of physical love. But there are also marked differences: Broukhusius owes much to Propertius, 1, 9 (also addressed to a friend who is in

69 Cf. Reland, *el.* 11, 41–44; Ovid, *Amores*, 3, 6, 13–14.

70 *Jani Broukhusii Carmina*, pp. 56–57: *Ad Deliam de ejus oculis*. The power of a girls' eyes is also sung by the elegists, e.g., Propertius, 1, 15, 33–42; Secundus, *eleg.*, 2, 3.

71 *Jani Lernutii Initia, Basia, Ocelli & alia poemata* (1614).

72 Cf. Reland, ed. Bosscha, *ad locum*.

73 *Jani Broukhusii Carmina*, pp. 53–55.

74 Cf. Broukhusius, ll. 5–8 ('Ille ferox, et adhuc nullis penetrabilis armis, / uritur; ac toto pectore vulnus alit. / Ille ferox, puerique timor cum matre volucris, / uritur. O Superi, non ego solus amo') with Reland, *el.* 8, 3–5 ('Flectere millenae quem non potuere puellae, / uritur, et Paphiae fit nova praeda Deae. / Uritur, ac blandos intra se concipit ignes').

love),⁷⁵ whereas Reland stays closer to the famous image of the triumph developed in Ovid's *Amores*, 1, 2, 23–52.

Another *Galatea* poem bears a noticeable resemblance to some verses in Daniel Heinsius' (1580–1655) *Monobiblos*, a collection of thirteen (!) love elegies for a girl named Rossa, issued for the first time in 1603 and reworked more than once by the Leiden professor.⁷⁶

Especially the delicate ninth elegy of the original collection⁷⁷ resembles Reland's *el.* 6. In both cases, the girl proposes a rendezvous to the lover in a natural setting the next day; in both, the lover complains at length that the night before seems to last forever. Compare, for instance, Heinsius, 9, 1–2 ('Improba redde diem croceis Aurora capillis: / improba quin properas pergere? Redde diem') with Reland, *el.* 9, 13 and 17–18 ('longamque traho per taedia noctem; [...] Quae non cunctanti feci convicia Phoebos? Ingemui quoties "Invide, redde diem!"'—'I spent a long night in utter distress. What aspersions did I not cast on Apollo's dawdling? How often did I lament: "You envious god, bring daylight back!"; and Heinsius' line 19 ('inter amoena vireta') with Reland's line 11 ('Nona suburbanis me cras dabit hora viretis'—'Tomorrow at nine I will wait for you at the greensward outside the city'). The second parts of the poems, however, diverge: in Heinsius, we witness the two lovers together in the greensward, caressing one another, whereas 'Relandus' is struck by a storm⁷⁸ and misses the rendezvous.

But let us return to the considerable influence Janus Secundus seems to have exerted upon Reland's volume. There are some other common features that deserve to be noticed here. First of all, similarities in vocabulary, images and *iuncturae verborum* were obviously an important means for Reland to voice his admiration for Secundus. These reminiscences are definitely present, albeit not profusely. Yet, no reader of Reland who came across a description of kisses would forget how powerfully and delicately Secundus had dwelt on them in his *Basia* and in his elegies. If that same reader came across such an extremely rare word as 'columbinus', he would immediately think of the even more rare word 'columbatim' used by Secundus (Secundus, 1, 5, 23: 'labra columbatim

75 Furthermore, the introduction of a friend in the cycle might owe something to Secundus' elegy 1, 9 (where the poet's friend Petrus Clericus comes in). In Reland's booklet, the circle of friends of the poet-lover is mentioned a few times.

76 Cf. Van Dam, 'Daniel Heinsius' Erstlingswerk'.

77 Heinsius removed this elegy from his *Monobiblos* after 1606 (cf. Van Dam, 'Daniel Heinsius' Erstlingswerk', p. 194); it was, however, present in the 1603 and 1606 editions.

78 This storm might be a remote echo of the tempest in Secundus 1, 8, 11–20, or in Propertius, 1, 17.

committe corallina labris'; Reland, *el.* 3, 20: 'blanda columbinis nexibus ora ligat');⁷⁹ so too would he think of Secundus upon seeing these kisses presented as dewdrops of the soul (Secundus, *Basia*, 4, 1–2: 'Non dat basia, dat Neaera nectar, / dat rores animae suaveolentes'; Reland, *el.* 3, 25: 'Fallor, et haec animi rores, non basia, dico'—'No, I am wrong: these I should not call kisses, but dewdrops of the soul'), and he would consider Reland's words on Galatea, 'sola mihi fletus, solaque risus erit' ('she alone will cause me to weep, she alone to laugh', *el.* 4, 16) as an extremely happy echo of Secundus' 'unaque mi risus, unaque fletus erit' (*Julia*, 5, 2); he would also link the admittedly classical image of the enlacing of ivy and vine (*el.* 3, 21–22: 'Non secus ac stringi solet ambitiosa corymbis / pampinus'—'Exactly as the embracing shoot of a vine usually binds itself tightly around clusters of ivy-berries') to some Secundan passages (such as *Julia*, 4, 21–22: 'Tunc ego lascivae potero contendere viti, / quae se vicinis implicat arboribus'; *Basia*, 2, 1–3).

Furthermore, the erotic elegy is given a modern touch by both poets: their elegies are not situated in Rome or on the shores of the Mediterranean, but in the poets' native countries. Quite a few references to contemporary reality can be found in Secundus, who, to give some examples, mentions Brussels and his native Mechelen (1, 9), and introduces a local custom from the Low Countries (1, 4) for which there is no parallel in antiquity. Reland, too, introduces the modern world into his poems. Instead of the Mediterranean, (a northern part of) the North Sea ('mare Caledonium')⁸⁰ is mentioned in his elegies (*el.* 11, 43);⁸¹ and his homeland, the 'rura Batava' (*el.* 11, 56; cf. *el.* 12, 7; 12, 14; 12, 57; 13, 41; 13, 46; 13, 57; cf. *el.* 4, 40),⁸² is touched on repeatedly. More conspicuously, our poet has a man and a woman drinking ... tea (*el.* 9, 19–20)!⁸³ Admittedly, not only Secundus, but many Neo-Latin poets used to bring the ancient genre

79 Secundus, too, had used 'columbinis' (*eleg.*, 2, 8, 10: 'labra columbinis roscida basiolis').

80 The denomination is rare in antiquity (Flaccus, *Argonautica*, 1, 8–9); one usually finds 'Britannicum mare', 'Oceanus Britannicus' and similar terms.

81 This concerns the place where Galatea was sailing to. Reland seems to have used 'Caledonium mare' meaning North Sea in general—thus not referring to Northern England—, as is clear from his poem 'Ad Nobilissimum atque suis Virtutibus & Natalium splendore Illustrem Gulielmum Bentingium' [...], in Reland, ed. Perrenot, pp. 48–53 (p. 48); see also his poem on the death of Fridericus Spanhemius [1701] (*ibid.*, pp. 79–81, line 8).

82 The broad sandy beach ('immensae spectantur arenae') and immense surface of the sea of *el.* 11, 3, too, accord with a Dutch landscape.

83 For tea (and coffee) in Neo-Latin poetry, see, e.g., Yasmin A. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees. Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 299–302 and *passim*.

to their own times: they did not want to give the impression that they were writing timeless, insensitive exercises, formal imitations of ancient models.

Similarly, modern manners and morals have entered Secundus' and Reland's poetry cycles. After all, ancient lovers, as depicted in the erotic elegy, had no qualms about airing their homo-erotic love feelings (see, for instance, Tibullus' elegies for Marathus); they could admit to loving two girls at the same time (see, for instance, Ovid, *Amores*, 2, 10),⁸⁴ or confess that they cheated on their mistresses while having affairs with the latter's servants;⁸⁵ nor were they deterred by the fact that their loved one was a married woman. Sexual morals, too, were depicted differently. Intercourse could occur in the darkness of public space; a lover would boast of his physical strength and tell how he had 'satisfied' his mistress, say, five times consecutively (Prop. 2, 22; Ovid, *Amores*, 3, 7), or would go into some detail while recalling a night in the bed of the beloved (Prop. 2, 15), but he could also admit to being temporarily impotent (Ovid, *Amores*, 3, 7; Maximianus, 5), and would depict himself now and again as a drunk (Propertius, 1, 3; 2, 29). In the Neo-Latin elegies of Secundus and Reland,⁸⁶ one notices how themes like the aforementioned are less prominently present, are at the most hinted at, or are even completely absent. Though these modern poets take over a great deal of themes and topics from their ancient examples, depict the passion of love in fervid poems, and defend the licentiousness of their poetry by referring implicitly or explicitly to the ancient genre they are necessarily imitating, one witnesses in their poems a restraint that is more in line with the behaviour and the morality of the Modern Era. It may be enough to observe that in Secundus' booklet, the affair of Julia with her poet-lover comes to an irreversible end when the girl marries another man, whereas the presence of a husband would not be an obstacle for a love affair in classical poetry (*e.g.*, Tibullus' Delia had a husband [see, for instance, 1, 2 and 1,6]).⁸⁷ In Reland's work, the poet's yearning for an

84 Also in humanist Neo-Latin poetry; see, for instance, an elegy, entitled *De varietate amorum*, written by Ludovius Ariosteus (Ariosto, 1474–1533): Ariosto, *Poesie latine*, pp. 56–63; or Hercules Strozzi's (Strozzi, 1471–1508) poem *Quod duas pariter amet*, quoted in *Veneres Blyenburgicae*, p. 504.

85 In Propertius, 4, 8, 'Propertius' was having sex with two women when he was caught by Cynthia. In Ovid, *Amores*, 2, 8, the poet had an affair with her servant Cypassis, which was discovered by Corinna.

86 As in those of his contemporaries and of his preceptors, but not in, for instance, those of Neo-Latin poets of early Italian humanism.

87 Reland seems to move in that direction as well. Following the elegiac tradition, he desires a lasting, lifelong relationship with Galatea (*e.g.*, el. 3, 31–32). But does he not allude to the bond of marriage (which is absent from ancient amatory elegy), not only when he describes Galatea as the person with whom all his former ardours and the unrest of his

affair of the heart with Galatea breaks off with the death of the beloved. Our poet at times supposes that he might have a rival and imagines Galatea with another man, but nothing in the girl's behaviour indicates that she is really seeing another man (she dies as a virgin: 'Et non libata virginitate cadis', *el.* 13, 20); and even while he supposes for a moment that she has a lover now, he cannot heap reproaches on her, which is contrary to the ancient elegists, but in accordance with Secundus.⁸⁸ The lover and poet himself, once he is burning with desire for Galatea, does not indulge in other liaisons,⁸⁹ with one exception: when he is desperate about Galatea, who has been absent for a year, he tries to find solace in a journey abroad (a classical motif in the erotic elegy),⁹⁰ where he is captivated, for a short while, by a girl who bears a remarkable physical resemblance to Galatea (*el.* 12, 33–56)—this motif of trying to find a kind of alter ego of the beloved, who still fills the heart of the disillusioned lover, might have been taken from an elegy of Petrus Lotichius (2, 9), as Bosscha (*ad loc.*) suggested. In comparison with Secundus, then, Reland displays even greater self-restraint, and exhibits behaviour at which the respectable bourgeois could hardly take any offence. Galatea has nothing in common with the capricious or lascivious, frivolous, hetaera-like figures of the ancient erotic elegy; and in comparison with Secundus' Julia, she comes across as a well-behaved girl whose beauty has not at all gone to her head; she would not indulge in such frivolous play as Julia in Secundus 1, 4; she would not try to seduce by promising kisses and 'what comes after those kisses'; she would not ask to be sculpted as Julia did in Secundus, 1, 6; she is chaste and virtuous; there is no allusion to her having made love to any man. The lover, too, is well aware of the dangers of passionate affairs, and explicitly condemns these, as we saw (*el.* 1; 2; 3). He stresses the brevity of beauty and youth, which does not incite him to savour the joys of life and love while it is still possible (as the ancient elegists did), but makes him say no to lustful love. When he describes the physical attractiveness of Galatea, he focuses on her hair, eyes, forehead, arms, cheeks, gait ... He does not praise more intimate bodily parts of the beloved; only once does he

blood have come to an end (*el.* 4, 14–15: 'Galatea favillis / imposuit frenum sola modumque meis'), but also when he mentions that his readers would say 'Carmine quae toties cecinit, sensisse merebat / gaudia, *legitimi deliciasque tori*' (*el.* 3, 43–44, my italics)? In this context one should perhaps not forget that (contrary to Secundus), 'Relandus' makes no opening towards a new affair (*el.* 13). Desiring a lawful marriage is a theme occurring in Neo-Latin love poetry: see, *e.g.*, the poem *Imaginarium Rosinae coniugium*, written by Paulus Melissus Schedius (1539–1602) and quoted in *Veneres Blyenburghicae*, pp. 436–438.

88 Cf. Murgatroyd, *The amatory elegies*, p. 122.

89 Nor did he indulge to these in the past, as his 'bona mens' always took control over of things (*e.g.*, *el.* 1, 7–10; 2, 13–22)—this distinguishes him from, *e.g.*, Propertius, 2, 22.

90 See, *e.g.*, Propertius, 3, 21.

mention the bosom and bra of his mistress.⁹¹ When he imagines how he would like to rest in Galatea's arms, he makes use of innocent and decorous expressions, and offers a so to speak 'softer' version of what Propertius and Secundus had committed to paper: 'Relandus' would kiss the eyes of his beloved, while she feels sleepy; when she would push him off, he would kiss her hand, lay it on his chest, and then kiss her again: the intimacy of love-play would not go beyond that first stage (*el.* 7, 31–48).⁹² Similarly, there is much more moderation in Reland than there was in Secundus when it comes to execrating a possible love rival. In Secundus (1, 7) the jealous narrator hopes that the rival will die in an accident, that the wheels of a carriage will crush him, that his body will be torn apart by birds, or else, that his relation with Julia will be disastrously unhappy, that Julia will become utterly disgusted by the rival's ugly face, and that he will be too exhausted to make love with her, etc.⁹³ In Reland (in the charming *el.* 9), on the contrary, nothing of the sort is found; the young poet limits himself to a rather innocent tirade against the rival: 'Do not touch my sweetheart, for you will rush to perdition, and the gods will take revenge; you villain, stop trying to seduce Galatea!' (*el.* 9, 39–42). For the rest, the poet, while dwelling on the techniques this other man might use to impress the girl, takes many an idea from the ancient love poets (Tibullus and Ovid in particular)—thus, this other man will go out for a walk with Galatea, will make hidden signs with his fingers when he hands her a cup, or will give her messages with his looks and eyebrows when they are seated at the table; here too, we witness a seventeenth-century gentleman-like behaviour on the part of the man: he will offer Galatea a cup of tea, and will invite the girl to accompany him to the roof of the house, so as to look at the star-spangled sky; on the stairs, when the girl threatens to stumble, he will give her a hand, allowing him to touch her etc. (*el.* 9, 14–15, 19–24, 31–39; cf. *e.g.*, Tibullus, 1, 6, 25–26).

Both in the classical and in the Neo-Latin erotic elegy, the lover's poems devoted to his love-affair play an important role. These poems might help to conquer her (cf., *e.g.*, Tibullus, 2, 4, 19; Ovid, *Amores*, 2, 1, 33–34); they also immortalise the relationship as well as confer a lasting fame on both the

91 Actually not of Galatea, but of Rhodope (in *el.* 12, 44). And even then, Reland toned down his verse: in the first edition, we read 'Et strophio turget vincta papilla pari'; from the second edition on, this has become 'Et premitur strophio vincta papilla pari'. A bra was also mentioned by Secundus (1, 5, 71). In Reland's couplet, the bra and a kind of shoulder band are mentioned together: this is a reminiscence of Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, 3, 273–274. Confront this with, *e.g.* Maximianus, 5, 33–36.

92 Therefore, no bites given in the neck of the loved one, or marks of the nails, as in Maximianus, 3, 69, or in Tibullus 1, 8, 37–38.

93 In Secundus' ninth elegy (l. 49) he is even called a barbarian ('barbarus').

poet-lover and the beloved (cf., e.g., Propertius, 3, 1, 35; 3, 2). In like manner, Reland says about Galatea 'aeternumque meis vivet celebrata Camenis' ('and she will live forever, celebrated by my muses', *el.* 4, 17) and 'Per te fama meis constabit sola Camenis' ('Fame will only come to my muses' products by your grace, Galatea', *el.* 8, 31).

The fact, then, that the divine beauty of the beloved is being praised time and again in both Secundus and Reland is not relevant: these are books of love poems, and in the traditional erotic elegy references to the attractiveness of the adored are ubiquitous.⁹⁴ Nor does the mix of elements coming from different ancient (and Neo-Latin) models, linking Secundus to Reland, offer proof of Reland's dependence on his older compatriot: he has this in common with almost all Neo-Latin love poets. As in Secundus, we find passages and poems in Reland that remind us more of the passionate style of Propertius, other ones that call to mind the softer melancholy of Tibullus, and still other ones where the rhetorical lightness of Ovid is at work; the ludicrous or comic side of Ovid, however, is absent: a poem on the death of the girl's parrot (Ovid, *Amores*, 2, 6) is unthinkable in *Galatea*; and Ovid's licence of content, as we said, is almost completely absent from Reland, who primarily imitates the Roman poet's elegant, smooth, light verse and his rhetorical creativity. To give a few examples: as far as the setting of the poems is concerned, it seems to me that Tibullus⁹⁵ is very present in *Galatea*, though the latter's *loci amoeni* also figure in Secundus' *Basia* and *Elegiae*. Reland's elegies are almost exclusively situated in nature, not in a city.⁹⁶ Quite often do we read about the seashore, but even more often about parks and woods located, it seems, on the outskirts of a city (but the environment is a natural one, not, as in Tibullus, a rustic one: no farms, no domestic animals appear in Reland). This is the Tibullan setting of a life of simple happiness; likewise, the bond of affection 'Relandus' dreams of comes close to what Tibullus often depicts: e.g. walking with his mistress in an entirely natural landscape, holding her hand, kissing her, lying down with her on the fresh grass (cf., for instance, Tibullus, 1, 2, 73–74), in short, spending simple, but harmonious days with her for the rest of his life.⁹⁷ Ovid's rhetorical cleverness

94 Cf. Murgatroyd, *The amatory elegies*, p. 10.

95 Some other features also recall Tibullus. Thus, Tibullus 2, 5, 109 ('iaceo cum saucius annum') declares that he has been unhappy in his love for a year, which is echoed in 'Relandus' complaints about Galatea, who has been absent for a year (*el.* 10, 91: 'At mihi iam toto mea lux non redditur anno').

96 Tibullus' setting is quite constantly natural, whereas in Propertius rustic environments and urban settings alternate; Ovid rather depicts life in the city.

97 It is possible that Reland was influenced here by the long-established success of such works as Constantijn Huygens' *Hofwijck* (1653). In his funeral oration, Serrurier stresses

and elegant way of expressing things appear time and again in Reland's verse. When the lover has missed a rendezvous with his friend and feels guilty for this, he conjures her to forgive him; he admits not to deserve her forgiveness; but she will pardon him, for her lenient nature forces her to do so and her clemency is as intense as her beauty (*el.* 6, 63–68: 'Da veniam, Galatea, meae, mitissima, culpae, / nec rigido fultum cor adamante gere. / Munera, si crimen spectes, indebita posco. / Conveniunt formae sed tamen illa tuae. / Ex oculis invita tuis clementia spirat, / quam nisi tu dederis, se dabit ipsa mihi'. 'Gentle Galatea, please forgive my error, do not display a heart bolstered by inflexible steel. If you consider my crime, I do not the deserve the favours I am asking for, but they are nevertheless in harmony with your beauty. Willy-nilly, your eyes exhale a clemency which, if not shown by you yourself, will offer itself it me'). Playing with an Ovidian example (*Amores*, 1, 2), the love-struck poet confesses that he has lost his 'bona mens', his 'sapientia', but then proceeds to a typically Ovidian paradox, employing the typical iterations and variations of the Roman poet: in point of fact, 'Mens bona' has not left 'Relandus', it is the mind itself which forces him to love her, for it would be stupid not to fall in love with such a beauty (*el.* 2, 9–11 and 23–30): 'Mens bona, praecipites animi compescere motus / docta, repentino tacta stupore silet. / Non silet haec; fallor; quae sola necare favillas / ante meas potuit, suscitatur ipsa meas. / [...] Nunc bona mens mirata tuam, pulcherrima, formam; / ipsa mihi dicit; quam sapienter amas! / Legitimo, qui te cepit, da frena calori. / Cedo, nec indignor, legibus ipsa meis. / Te quoties monui, ne quo capereris amore. / Haec animum teneat, non nego, forma tuum. / Qui videt hanc, nulloque animum depascitur igne, / ille bonae mentis nil habet, ille stupet'.—My good discernment, trained to repress the rash passions of my heart, is suddenly stupefied and dumbstruck. No, not dumbstruck, I am mistaken: that discernment, which at one time could only suppress the seeds of my passion, is now invigorating them. Now my good discernment itself, while admiring your beauty, o fairest Galatea, tells me: 'How wise are you in love! Give free rein to the right passion that has taken control of you. Without indignation do I here yield to my own rules. How often have I warned you not to let yourself be carried away by just any love! But this beauty may possess your heart: I do not object! Whoever's heart is not devoured by the fire of love upon seeing this girl, is utterly bereft of good discernment, and is utterly insensible!').⁹⁸

the fact that Reland was fond of nature, but this idea might have been taken from the elegies themselves, since Serrurier's expressions recall some of Reland's verses (Serrurier in Reland, ed. Bosscha, p. 18).

98 The idea behind this is in itself a topos of love poetry.

Mythological examples and parallels abound, and recall both Propertius and Ovid. Reland's plain style, which is never obscure, and the natural sequence of thoughts, images and ideas, which does not manifest the at times abrupt and puzzling transitions characterising Propertius, can be labelled as Ovidian. Though many of Reland's ideas and themes can be linked to Propertius, as we noticed here and there,⁹⁹ his elegies are markedly distinct from the *furor* of the Umbrian poet.

Finally, some substantial differences between Secundus and Reland appear, it seems to me, if one considers the general concepts of their amatory booklets.

Obviously, the situation of Reland is different from that of Secundus. Towards the end of Secundus' *Julia Monobiblos*, one feels that the poet—like many of his predecessors in the genre of erotic elegy—is trying to cope with the loss of Julia, is gradually coming to terms with his sorrow, and is in a fit mental state to experience new affairs.¹⁰⁰ For Reland, there will come no new affairs, there will come no new love poems. Thus he can consistently depict Galatea as the unique love of his life, and declare that he will worship and love her for the rest of his life (*el.* 13, 85–88). His love dreams have resulted in both a lifelong veneration for, and intimate solidarity with, the beloved, and ... a volume of *casti lusus* (*el.* 13, 85–86).

This brings us to the 'status' of the girl Galatea. As far as ancient erotic elegies are concerned, it is hard to say whether or not a real person stood behind Gallus' beloved Lycoris, Propertius' Cynthia, Tibullus' Delia or Ovid's Corinna; it is particularly difficult to assume that Ovid's mistress was a real person; and it is far from easy to put together all the facts and pieces of information Propertius provides about Cynthia into a single and consistent biography of the poet's mistress. Anyway, before the Romantic movement came into being, the possible gap between *Dichtung* and *Wahrheit* was a minor issue; readers were aware of the fact that the ancient genre presupposed that through the development of a number of stereotyped commonplaces, varied with literary inventiveness and craftsmanship, a romance was described, whether it had existed or not; even if it had existed, it had to be adapted to the template of

99 Another point of resemblance, perhaps explicitly sought after by Reland, is the fact that 'Relandus' presents himself as a person who had been able to avoid the temptations of love before he had met Galatea, whereas another elegy says (*el.* 4, 9–12) that he has been in love before, even more than once. Similarly, Propertius presented Cynthia as his first love (1,1,1), yet in 3, 15, 3–8 speaks about a certain Lycinna with whom he had been in love in his youth. In both cases, the inconsistency can be explained by the fact that these early affairs were nothing compared to the great loves (Cynthia, Galatea) of their lives (Propertius, 3, 15, 9–10; Reland, *el.* 4, 11–16).

100 Cf. Murgatroyd, *The Amatory Elegies*, p. 138.

the love elegy.¹⁰¹ This holds true for Neo-Latin love poetry as well. Often poets would remain ambiguous about the reality of the romance they had sung. Janus Secundus (1511–1536), for instance, equivocated on the reality of his love affair with Julia, so passionately sung in his homonymous first book of elegies.¹⁰² In Latin and Neo-Latin love elegy the ambiguity at issue would to some extent arise from the fact that the poets liked to endow their own *persona* as a lover with some particulars tying in with their own biographies. Reland, too, as we saw, continued to present himself as the former lover of Galatea in an isolated poem that was not part of his *Galatea* cycle and that was written at the time or somewhat later.

In a way, Reland was building on Ovid, the fictitious character of whose Corinna emerges from the first elegies on: there, it is said that the poet was a love poet before he loved; that he was in love before he had a person to love; Cupid had hit him, but he still lacked a beloved girl (*Amores*, 1, 1; 1, 2): in the eyes of the reader such a course of action adds a lot of doubts about the reality of Corinna. Reland, then, takes this a step further and makes the love-affair even more problematical. He presents Galatea as a girl he actually knew, but with whom he had never lived through a passionate affair. He was on friendly terms with her, but had never given her any sign of his desire. The booklet starts from the idea—which looks modern to me—that if the poet were to confess his feelings of amorousness for her, he might even destroy the existing friendship, a risk he does not want to take. For Galatea, too, whose relationship with ‘Relandus’ is strictly platonic, is a person who feels revulsion at passionate affairs, who would laugh at his confession (*el.* 1, 33–34), and perhaps would not even allow him to see her if he declared his love:

At tibi si prodam; quid enim nisi prodere sperem?
 Dicar amicitiae ius violasse tuae.
 Quae Venerem, quae tela Dei narrata cachinno
 Excipis, ardores num paterere meos?
 Laesa novo dices convicia mille calori.
 Forsan et a facie cogar abesse tua.

el. 1, 31–36

(‘But suppose that I disclose my feelings to you (is there indeed anything I would rather do?): you will say that I have broken the laws of our friendship. When Venus is mentioned, when I speak to you about Cupid’s arrows, you burst

101 For the Roman amatory elegy, see, e.g., Holzberg, *Die römische Liebeselegie*.

102 Cf. Gelderblom, *Secundus’ versies*, p. 52.

into laughter; therefore, you would not tolerate the heat of my passion, would you? Offended, you will execrate with dozens of curses that strange, new heat of passion; and, perhaps, you will even forbid me to see you.’)

Hence, the poet decides to utter his feelings of love in his private poems only, in which he would describe the fire that devours him. These poems would not be read by the girl—in this case, contrary to what normally happens in erotic elegy, poetry is not a means to conquer a girl. There is no *coup de foudre* here, as there is in Propertius or in Secundus, but a passion that arose from a relation of friendship. The beloved remains unaware of this passion.¹⁰³ The poet describes a romance that is a fiction in the real world. He is constrained to express his eternal longing for Galatea, with whom he has never had an intimate relationship.¹⁰⁴ He can only desire the girl or imagine what an affair with her would be like. Thus he inevitably is, as he says in the first elegy (*el.* 1, 53–54), a figure like Tantalus, who stands in the water, yet cannot drink from it.¹⁰⁵ The fire of his internal passion is a secret.¹⁰⁶ When Galatea dies, she dies a virgin; love has not been consummated (*el.* 13, 20 and 85–86). ‘Relandus’ concealed passion is not even known to his friends.¹⁰⁷ The latter do notice that ‘Relandus’ has changed, but ignore what is going on. When they discover a booklet with the title ‘Galatea’ they realise he is in love, and would like to know who the beloved is (this alludes to a topos in erotic poetry, compare, *e.g.*, Catullus, 6), but they cannot guess who is hiding behind the pseudonym, nor are they informed about her identity.

At first thought, the poet’s decision to explicitly admit that the depicted romance never occurred in real life might threaten to enfeeble the reader’s interest in the story.¹⁰⁸ It looks like an unusual and ambiguous *renuntiatio*

103 To some extent, this is comparable to the secret love for Candida the poet Maximianus describes in his fourth elegy.

104 Cf. *el.* 3, 33–36 (‘Hei mihi! Quod grata fingantur imagine forsan / non eventuri, gaudia vana, dies! / Forsitan haec cupidae tantum vaga somnia mentis / materiem numeris Di voluere meis.’). See also Reland, ed. Bosscha, *ad locum*, where a parallel to an elegy of Sannazarius is suggested (*Jacobi Sannazarii Opera omnia, Elegiae*, I, 1, p. 87: ‘Sed quid ego, hei misero, ventosus inania fingo / somnia, quae forsan non feret ulla dies?’).

105 Obviously this situation reminds us of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere*, the more so because Galatea lays down her life, just as Petrarch’s Laura.

106 Cf. *el.* 1, 31–35, 55–56; 5, 31–32; 12, 11–14 (the poet has left his country to find relief for his sorrow, and says: ‘Et tandem peregrina sinu me terra recepit, / quam patriae possem prae-
posuisse meae, / una nisi arcano sibi me iunxisset amore, / et faceret Batavum dulcius esse solum’).

107 Cf. *el.* 10, 53–56 (l. 56: ‘O soli tantum flamma scienda mihi!’).

108 In his circle (friends, family, educators, colleagues), the young author may have desired to benefit from the open declaration that this was a mere product of literary fiction, a mere *lusus*, and not the literary transformation of a real passionate affair with a girl.

amoris or refusal of love. Yet, it seems to me that this presentation has no major disadvantages. The classical components of a love story can be worked out in this situation as well, insofar as the author assumes the role of a secret lover, who gives a voice to his aspirations, dreams and fears: thus he can make use of all the topoi of erotic elegy. Moreover, presenting Galatea as an actual friend of the poet involves yet another level of ambiguity and literary play, introducing another dimension. Indeed, at times the reader asks himself if an episode only applies to Galatea as an imaginary mistress, or also to Galatea as ‘Relandus’ girl-friend, as she is presented by the poet. When (in elegy 5) we read that Galatea is ill and that both she and ‘Relandus’ have tried a variety of remedies, the presence of the young man at Galatea’s sickbed is understandable insofar as the secret lover already is a friend of the girl. When (in *el.* 6) Galatea informs ‘Relandus’ that she wants to see him, but does not say why, one wonders if she is acting as a friend in some kind of trouble or if she is acting as the longed-for mistress, and whether the poet is hoping that she, too, has begun to have more than only friendly feelings for her comrade. This is an important aspect as well: as a comrade of Galatea, ‘Relandus’ can hope that, in time, and even though he does not declare how much he is in love with her, the girl, too, will start to have more intimate feelings for him. Hence a spark of hope is present in the first part of the elegies, as at the end of *el.* 5 and at the start of *el.* 6; but it gradually fades away afterwards,¹⁰⁹ after Galatea’s departure.¹¹⁰ Fundamentally, the love story is presented as a fiction or as a desire; it is based upon an allegedly true bond of friendship, which might be a fiction as well.

The second difference is closely connected to the first: Secundus presents himself as a person made for love from his early childhood (1, 2), whereas ‘Relandus’ is a person who, though attracted to girls (*el.* 4, 9–10), has always objected to the passions of love, as we said before, and has hitherto managed to turn a blind eye to the temptations of love and to avoid gazing at girls whose beauty strikes (or might strike) him. Yet on the other hand, Reland does not display that same intense confidence in his own talents and in his abilities as an elegiac poet as Secundus had expressed in 1, 2 and 1, 11. Admittedly, there are some stock references to the value of his poems (*el.* 4, 17–18: ‘aeternumque meis vivet [Galatea] celebrata Camenis, / si faveant numeris fata benigna meis’—‘and she will live forever, celebrated by my muses, if at least fate propitiously favours my verses’; 8, 33–34: ‘Per te [o Galatea] fama meis constabit

109 Though it never dies completely in elegies 1–12; cf. *el.* 10, 1–4; 69; 107–122; 11, 69; 12, 61: ‘Fallor? An hinc vires animus capit?’).

110 Cf. *supra*, note 64. The cycle’s evolution from (moderately) positive (i.e. hopeful) to negative (i.e. despairing) is often present in the (ancient and Neo-Latin) amatory elegy, as is the case in Secundus’ *Julia*.

sola Camenis, / solus et a vestro nomine surget honos'—'Fame will only come to my muses by your grace, o Galatea, and only the product of my muses will grant me respect'), but he does not go so far as to write that a god has predicted his talents as a lover and a love poet when he was a boy (Secundus, *Julia*, 1, 2).

In this introduction to *Galatea* it is not possible to present a detailed discussion of the *dispositio* or structure of Reland's volume. Since the elegies follow the logical and chronological order of a fictitious affair from its start until its ending, no artifice was needed to secure the unity of the volume. As in Ovid and in Janus Secundus, the first three elegies contain material that can be called prefatory, as Reland's dreamt-of affair has not started yet.¹¹¹ The final elegy contains some references to the first one. From the fourth elegy on, we encounter a number of situations the lover is confronted with; they follow a natural order, though one would have expected the seventh elegy (on the beautiful eyes of Galatea) to have come earlier. The poet secured the unity of the volume by repeating a fair number of themes, ideas and images in different poems; he also had an eye for smooth transitions: thus *el.* 6 (on the failed rendezvous) ends with a reference to the eyes of Galatea (l. 67, 'oculis'), while the next poem deals with the eyes (l. 1, 'oculi') of the loved one. The ambiguity of *el.* 6 (on the illness of Galatea, and the feverishness of 'Relandus') is well prepared in *el.* 3, 15–16: 'Reliquis herbae medeantur, amantis / cura tamen medicam respuit una manum'—'let other men be healed by herbs; only the cure of a lover rejects a doctor's helping hand'; cf. 6, 15: 'Auxilium medicina negat; tentavimus artem'—'Medicine refuses help; we have tried that art'). Particularly from *el.* 9 on, the poems constitute a strong unity: in *el.* 9, the poet laments Galatea's absence; in *el.* 10, we are told that she has actually sailed away over the sea; in *el.* 11, the poet dreams about following Galatea abroad and leaving his country, which does not mean anything to him when Galatea is not there; in *el.* 12, the lover has sailed off, but longs for his homeland, where so many things remind him of Galatea; in *el.* 13, it appears that Galatea has died in a storm at sea. In *el.* 10, 95–96, the possibility of such an end was already hinted at ('Deseruit patrios temeraria nympha Penates, / ausa procelloso credere vela noto'—'Audaciously, the girl has left her country's gods when she dared to entrust her sails to the stormy south wind'; 'procellosus' and 'Notus' are repeated in 13, 41–42: 'Hei mihi, cur Batavo deducta est littore puppis, / illa procellis praeda futura Notis'—'Ah me! Why was that ship launched from Holland's shores, bound to fall prey to the stormy south winds?').¹¹² Similar

111 Cf. Murgatroyd, *The Amatory Elegies*, p. 104. In Ovid, Secundus and Reland, the amorousness is already declared in these prefatory elegies. Contrary to Ovid and Secundus, Reland already mentions the name of the girl (and his love for her) in the first elegy.

112 Cf. also *el.* 11, 65–68; and 13, 25–36.

repetitions could also provide smooth transitions from one poem to another. Finally, some 'auto-referential' sections enhance the coherence of the booklet. Thus, in *el.* 13, 39–40, when talking about the woods and greens where Galatea used to walk, Reland writes: 'Vos ego, dum vestris Galatea errabat in umbris, / dixi Thessalicis anteferenda iugis' ('As long as Galatea was walking in your shady greens, I said that you deserved to be placed before Thessaly's high lands'), referring to 10, 105 ('Vobis Pausilypus cedent, et Thessala Tempe'— 'Posilipo and Thessaly's Tempe valley must give way to you'). Similarly, the story of Leander, who crossed the Hellespont every night to meet his beloved Hero, comes up twice: *el.* 11, 61–62 (Nuper [...] canebam / Leandri querulis tristia fata modis'—'A while ago in plaintive tones I sang of Leander's sad fate'), referring to 6, 41–42.¹¹³

Adriaan Reland displays remarkable skill in creating a coherent love affair, which is a story of continuous yearning and of unfulfilled desires. His volume demonstrates an admirable linguistic and metrical command of Latin; his literacy and erudition allow him to successfully tread the beaten paths of erotic elegy. He produces poems written in a uniform and refined style, which owes much to the smooth sophistication of Ovid, and succeeds in proposing some lines that can measure up to the models he imitates. Though he does not move the reader with pungent images the way Janus Secundus had done, and his elegies are perhaps enervated by a degree of monotony, he has his merits as a late representative of an old genre: even for a reader of today, poring over *Galatea* is a pleasurable experience.¹¹⁴

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113 Yet, the reference is not entirely correct. Relandus says in *el.* 11 that he has deplored the sad fate of Leander earlier on, but that he should have praised Leander's happiness, as Leander was able to swim to his beloved. In *el.* 6, however, it is not Leander's ill-fated end that is dealt with, but his promptness and audacity to swim over the Hellespont.

114 I want to thank my colleague Nicholas De Sutter, who corrected my English.

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Adriaan Reland: A Life in Fragments

Anna Pytlowany

1 Introduction

In the spring of 1711, the young German bibliophile Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734), accompanied by his brother Johann Friedrich, travelled through the Dutch Republic visiting famous collectors and libraries.¹ On the morning of April 2nd, they went to visit Professor Adriaan Reland at his home in Domsteeg in Utrecht. ‘The professor, not much more than thirty years old’, Uffenbach noted in his diaries, was ‘polite and well-disposed, but he did not restrain himself once he opened his mouth’.² Reland apparently made no attempt to dazzle the brothers with his scholarly expertise since they remarked that ‘he belongs to those who are not terribly concerned about being pedantic’. ‘Mr. Reland spoke of all sorts of learned things’, including the valuation of certain Hebrew manuscripts from the collection of his recently deceased colleague, the Danish scholar and polyhistor Marcus Meiboom (1626–1711), whose widow the brothers went to see the same afternoon, and some lighter issues like the worrisome marriage of the latter’s daughter.³ When Uffenbach asked if there were other connoisseurs among the university professors who owned libraries or cabinets, Reland denied it and added in a strange fashion: ‘what is the advantage of having a large number of books?’ He must have been

1 I would like to thank Bart Jaski, Henk van Rinsum, and Christian Lange for their valuable comments on the first draft of this paper, Áine Sheehan for inspiring historical discussions, and Fearghal Duffy who helped me immensely with my English.

2 Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen* (1754), pp. 704–705.

3 In the same year, Reland edited Meiboom’s translation of Epictetus (*Epicteti Manuale et Sententiae*): ‘The Publick is very much indebted to M. Reland for this New Edition of *Epictetus*, which perhaps would have been laid aside after the Death of M. Meibomius, had not that Learned Professor taken care to go on with it, and to put in order the Notes of M. Meibomius, that were dispersed in the Margins of several Books, and in many loose Papers’. (*Memoirs of Literature*, pp. 12–13). In line with his general approach, Reland also purged the text from inserted Christian elements: ‘[M. Reland] has extracted many various Readings out of a MS of *Epictetus*, which has been interpolated in several Places to make it agree with the Christian Doctrine. The word *God* does frequently appear in that Manuscript instead of *gods* in the Plural Number; and sometimes *Paul* (the Apostle of that name) instead of Socrates. Such a pious Fraud is more excusable than several others’; *ibid.*, p. 13.

a bit uneasy about the visit, as he declared that he never showed his library to anyone because ‘there were papers lying around’. However, he offered to show them some fine Oriental manuscripts which he wanted to bequeath to the university. Indeed, he returned with six items, one of which was a precious clean and neatly drafted ‘Persian Genealogy’.⁴ He also mentioned a beautiful unpublished Arabic Lexicon of Thomas Erpenius,⁵ but did not show it to them, and since he behaved with such poise and detachment, the brothers did not like to ask for it. Little did Reland know that in a few years’ time, Uffenbach would become famous as the owner of the largest book collection on the continent, and Reland’s own ‘papers and manuscripts’ would end up scattered between libraries and archives across Europe.⁶

Uffenbach’s account offers one of the rare glimpses into Adriaan Reland’s private life and personality. The Utrecht scholar died suddenly seven years later, leaving a wealth of published scholarly material—but not many personal notes or letters. The majority of his library was auctioned in November 1718, yet the manuscript collection was not passed on to the University, as he had wished, but stayed in the family until the death of Reland’s son Jan Hubertus in 1761. The auction catalogue from that year⁷ contains an index of manuscripts, mostly of a linguistic nature, which allow us to see what ‘exotic’ languages Reland had access to, and who provided him with material for his comparative linguistic work. The catalogue answers some questions about his linguistic lineage, since several Oriental manuscripts came from Golius, Erpenius, and other Orientalists, and about provenance too, because some titles mention Reland’s informants overseas. Besides the manuscripts, the catalogue lists other sundry items: ancient inscriptions; antique and Oriental coins; shells and other *naturalia*; and even an inventory of scientific instruments and gadgets. Since some of them are possible to date, they offer a chance to revisit Reland’s wide range of interests and sometimes unexpected sources of inspiration. Whatever else we can reconstruct of Reland’s life, his contacts

4 Arnoud Vrolijk suspects it was ‘TAARICH sive Genealogia ab Adamo usque ad Sultan Morad ... ex Persico in Turcicum sermonem translata ... ex Biblioth. Golii’ mentioned in Reland’s catalogue from 1761; see Appendix 2, A qua 17, in this volume.

5 This is now Leiden, University Library, Or. 1649; see Appendix 2, A fol 6, in this volume.

6 The task to establish where these manuscripts are today and how they got there is still ongoing (see the chapters of Bart Jaski and Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume), as is the question of if and how Reland actually used them in his work. An exploratory overview entitled ‘Tracing origin and reuse of lexical material in the works of Adriaan Reland (1676–1718)’ was presented by Anna Pytlowany and Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez at the 10th International Conference on Historical Lexicography and Lexicology (1CHLL-10), Leeuwarden, 14 June 2019.

7 *Naam-lyst van een zeer keurige verzameling [...] boeken. [...] [&] Catalogus codicum manusccriptorum Arabicorum* (1761). See Appendix 2 in this volume.

and his friendships, is mostly based on letters and other archival fragments mainly found in the libraries in The Netherlands, Germany, and England. The remaining tangible pieces of Reland's less formal legacy take the form of book dedications (to him and by him), inscriptions in *alba amicorum*, as well as commemorative poems he wrote for his colleagues' works—and vice-versa.⁸ I will present these miscellanea in the context of the cultural and intellectual climate of Utrecht around 1700, as I attempt to track and sketch Reland's social and scholarly network.

2 Reland the Scientist

Reland's fascination with scientific experiments was already clearly visible in his Leiden years.⁹ It was a time when earlier humanistic and medieval scholastic ideas of natural philosophy were a thing of the past, and 'a (neo-) Aristotelian world view that was gradually crumbling'.¹⁰ In the spirit of Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Robert Boyle (1627–1691), young Reland joined the classes of *proefondervindelijke wijsbegeerte* (experimental natural philosophy) with one of its founders in Leiden, Wolfert Senguerd (1646–1724). True to the British Royal Society's motto *Nullius in verba*, 'take nobody's word for it', he sought to use his own senses there to 'discover fundamental facts about nature'.¹¹ In 1694 Reland's defended his thesis *Exercitationis physico mathematicæ De umbra pars prior* ('Of shadow'). P. Marcus, a student of philosophy, wrote a dedicatory poem for his friend:¹²

8 See also Appendix 5 with the commemorative poem in Arabic by Heinrich Sike from 1696 on the occasion of Reland's disputation about the similarities between Islam and Judaism.

9 See Henk van Rinsum's chapter in this volume.

10 Ibid.

11 Berkowitz, 'Pumped Up' [web blog].

12 Interestingly, both dissertations were written under professor Jan Luyts (1655–1721), a rather conservative and anti-Cartesian Dutch physicist, mathematician, and astronomer, also known for his extensive book on world geography *Introductio ad geographiam novam et veterem* (published by Halma in 1692) that included the Old and the New World, and he added material on the East Indies and America to Herman Moll's *A System of Geography; or, A New and Accurate Description of the Earth in All its Empires, Kingdoms and States. Illustrated with History and Topography, and Maps of Every Country* (1701). At the time, 'Dutch volumes of geography were the standard setting, sought after sources for the exotic world' (Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, p. 28). Did Reland's initial interest in cartography come from Luyts, and later get enriched by his studies of Asian languages? On Reland's methodology of combining maps with further research on the topic using indigenous sources, see Tobias Winnerling's chapter in this volume.

[...] Here a clever brain enlightened by education finds
 The reason of, and can just explain the cause:
 The shadow teaches the height, and depth of mountain and valley,
 Of tops of towers, the course of the sun, and of moonlight
 And shows how the Earth is not square, but like a ball
 Hangs in the middle, as shown by solar eclipse.

This and other use the shadow teaching gives us:
 Why it is necessary, to understand the cases,
 Already a disputed examination, what truth or falsehood gives,
 So that one may strike the target of true wisdom.
 This gave proper material for Reland's clever orations
 That were disputed to everyone's full delight
 Thoughts and mind's differences of one:
 There's no doubt he will carry fame away once again.¹³

Reland's scientific adventure lasted a couple of years, during which he got acquainted with the most recent scientific instruments. After all, Leiden was the first university in Europe to establish in 1674 a *theatrum physicum*, and the inventory from 1705 shows that the Leiden Cabinet of Physics contained 64 instruments for experiments with magnetism, mechanics, and optics.¹⁴ At the time, the air pump or vacuum chamber was much in vogue. It was used to demonstrate the properties of air including its pressure, or 'spring of the air'. In 1696 Reland's friend and colleague Gijsbert van Leeuwen defended a thesis on Toricelli's experiment with a mercury-filled tube which demonstrated the existence of a vacuum and linked it with the atmospheric pressure.¹⁵ Reland wrote an introductory poem *De vacuo* ('On vacuum') for inclusion in van

13 Transcription and translation from Dutch by Kees Huyser (the original italicisation omitted in English):[...] Hier vint een *schrander* breyn door onderwijs verlicht /De reden van, en kan ons *d'oorzaak* net verklaaren:/ De *Schaduw'* leert de *hoogt*, en *diept* van berg en dal./ Van *Toorens* top, der *Sonnen-koers*, en *Maneschijnen*, /En toont hoe *d'Aard* niet vierkant is, maar als een *bal*/ Hangt in het *middelpunt*, by *Son-Eclips* verschijnen.

Dees en meer ander nut de *Schaduw-leer* ons geeft/ Waarom wel noodigh is, tot *saaken* wel beseffen,/ *Reed'-twistight-ondersoek*, wat waar of valsheit geeft,/ Op dat men 't *doelwit* moogt van waare *wijsheit* treffen./ Dit gaf een regte stof voor *Reelands* schrand're *Reen*/ Die onlangs heeft *betwist* tot ieders vol *behaagen*/ Gedachten en gemoeds *verschilligheid* van een:/ Geen twijffel of *Hy* sal de *Roem* ook nu wegdraagen.'

14 De Clercq, *At the Sign of the Oriental Lamp*, p. 139.

15 Leeuwen and Luyts, *Exercitatio physica de vacuo* (1696). The transcription below is based on Reland's manuscript of the poem from The Hague, Royal Library, 121 E 5.

Leeuwen's thesis. In his enthusiasm for his friend's subject, Reland could not help demonstrating his own mastery of Latin:

de vacuo
 egregiter disputante
 Primo vere tumentia
 Laeti conspiciamus germina, divitis
 quae nos spe segetis fovent,
 venturi quoniam temporis exitum
 rerum exordia praemonent.
 Mentis nobilitas, ingenium et vigor
 primiis in studiis micant.
 Hinc spes non dubio (dum specimen paras,
 annis in juvenilibus
 naturae penetrans, qua licet, abdita)
 pascit nos ea gaudio
 te, qui conspicuo Palladis in foro
 motis litibus imperas,
 tandem ad sollicitae commoda patriae
 tollendum fore celsius,
 ut docto ferias nubila vertice
 vulgares super orbitas.
 Ergo te stabiles laudis adorea,
 te stipata perennibus
 laurorum cumulis lustra, beent diu!

ADR. RELAND¹⁶

The more abstract approach and his poetic style distinguish it from the somewhat pedestrian verses produced by his peers. Apparently, Reland's scientific mind neither hindered nor overshadowed his poetic sensibilities.

16 Transcription and the English translation by Josef Eskhult: 'In the early spring we gladly see the swelling buds that favour us with a hope of a rich harvest/ since the beginning of events foretell the outcome of the future time./ The nobility, talent and strength of your mind are brightening in your first studies./ Hence, without a doubt hope nourishes us (when you in young years provide proofs that penetrate into the secret places of nature, as far as it is possible). It nourishes us with the joy/ that you, who in the conspicuous public place of wisdom rules the emerged controversies, finally will be raised higher to the benefit of the troubled fatherland, so that you attain with the clouds the learned top above the common orbits./ Accordingly, may the stable glories of praise and periods filled with continuous heaps of laurels make you happy for a long time!'

Nevertheless, the reputation of Leiden as ‘a centre from which the new development emanated to the other universities’ helped to fast-track its former students to appointments to chairs of philosophy in the other three important Dutch universities.¹⁷ That was probably how Reland’s first academic appointment as Professor of Physics and Metaphysics at *Academia Gelro-Zutphanica* in Harderwijk came about.

Considering Reland’s early scientific proclivities, it is quite thrilling to see that Jan Hubertus’ auction catalogue (1761) contains a list of technical instruments (*‘Instrumenten Tot de Natuur- Gezicht- en Tuigwerk-kunde, en andere Wetenschappen behoorende’*), serving to demonstrate natural, optical, and mechanical phenomena: various microscopes, telescopes, and even an air pump.¹⁸ However, the production dates on some of the instruments preclude that Reland was the owner, since they were manufactured after his death: five items come from Jacob Huysen (1739–1792), an instrument maker in Utrecht; one *extra fraije Telescoop, door van de Bilt*, a reflecting telescope, was made by Johannes van der Bildt Jansz (1736–1780), a well-known Frisian telescope maker. A *Zonnemicroscop*, solar microscope, a type of projector using sunlight to illuminate the microscopic preparations and casting them strongly magnified onto a wall, is also from the mid-eighteenth century. A *draaibank* (a lathe), was used for experiments with electricity, and suggests that its owner was performing experiments in this field.

But why would Jan Hubertus, a magistrate and counsellor of the small city of Zierikzee, invest in a pile of scientific instruments? According to Zuidervaart, the reasons lie in the zeitgeist. After the 1714 reprint of Newton’s *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* in Amsterdam with an additional essay, *Scholium generale* (English: *General Scholium*), in which Newton professed his belief in God as the governing force behind the laws of nature, ‘a wave of popularisation of ‘Newtonian’ philosophy went through the Dutch Republic’:

Where previously collectors have focused on bringing together natural history specimens and *artificialia*,¹⁹ now a new form of collecting emerged: the ‘cabinet of experimental philosophy’. Wealthy merchants,

17 De Clercq, *At the Sign of the Oriental Lamp*, p. 135.

18 Since Reland’s children were still minors at the time of his death a probate inventory should have been made. After all, a similar situation occurred when Anthony van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) died, leaving his entire instrument collection to his daughter Maria in the will that was not probated until twenty years later, after her death (Anderson, D., *Lens on Leeuwenhoek* [website]).

19 Bergvelt et al. (eds.), *Kabinetten, galerijen en musea*, pp. 15–68, 101–128. See also Roemer, ‘Neat Nature’, pp. 47–84.

bankers and other enthusiasts, especially in the urbanized part of the country, started to build such an instrument collection, often as an extension of their library.²⁰

Such collections were a signifier of social status, as well as provided entertainment.²¹ Anyhow, the line between enthusiast and academic scientist was vague at the time, with many individuals of privileged backgrounds engaging in scientific research and discovery outside of academia. Having said that, since Reland's first academic appointment was as Professor of Physics and Metaphysics, and since a professor of natural philosophy was expected to provide the scientific instruments he needed for his courses, it is not unreasonable to assume that some of the instruments originally did belong to him, and not to his son. The question is whether Reland, who had only been in the post for eight months, would have had enough time (and earnings) to acquire any of them.²² For instance, de Clercq estimates that there were only one or two air pumps made per year,²³ and the prices for the best models reached 500–600 guilders, 'half a year's salary for a university professor!'²⁴ The air pump in the catalogue came from the famous Van Musschenbroek workshop, which supplied the Dutch universities as well as selling abroad to Germany, Russia, and Italy, and seems to date to the turn of the eighteenth century. Although these instruments were made up to the death of Jan van Musschenbroek (1687–1748), this cheaper horizontal (*leggende*) model was rather outdated by the time the catalogue was compiled in 1761, and sold for 40 guilders.²⁵ The only other instrument on the list that seems to date from around 1700 (or even earlier) is the small, one foot long²⁶ *Blikke verrekyker*, an iron-plated telescope.²⁷ Since the catalogue also mentions *Zes kopere Bekkentjes om glaasen in te slijpen* ('six copper bowls to cut glass'), it is possible that Reland ground his own lenses when fixing or replacing broken ones in the telescope.

But there is also a dateless, playful side to the collection: a number of gadgets such as the Tantalus cup (also known as the Pythagorean 'greedy cup',

20 Zuidervaart, 'Cabinets for Experimental Philosophy in the Netherlands', pp. 5–6.

21 Ibid. p. 6.

22 By 1700, the University of Harderwijk already had its own air pump, even though 'that university did apparently not see proper physics demonstration before 1735' (De Clercq, *At the Sign of the Oriental Lamp*, p. 135).

23 Ibid. pp. 175–179.

24 Ibid. p. 107.

25 I owe this observation to Rienk Vermij.

26 1 foot = 30.48 cm.

27 For an in-depth overview of seventeenth-century Dutch and European telescopes, see Zuidervaart, 'The "Invisible Technician" Made Visible'.

a normal-looking cup that empties itself through a siphoning effect when it is filled beyond a certain level); a pressure-driven hydraulic machine called Heron's fountain; seven 'Cartesian devils' (*Carthesiaanse Duyveltjes*), small devil-shaped figurines floating and sinking in a bottle of water with a membrane on top, used to demonstrate Archimedes' principle of buoyancy; two *camerae obscurae*; a magic lantern with 59 objects, seven of which move. Last but not least, there is a serinette, a small barrel organ used to teach canaries to sing. Whether it was the father or the son who enjoyed them, it is heartwarming to note that the passion for the sciences was passed on from Reland to his son. Both auction catalogues (1718 and 1764) contain volumes of works on the natural sciences. Yet, while Reland was studying heavyweight works like Boyle's *Opera*, Galileo's *De systemate Mundi* and *Mechanica*, Jacques Rohault's *Physica* and *De arte mechanica tractatus*, de Mey's *Commentaria physica*; Luyts' *Astronomica institutio*; Senguerdius' *Inquisitiones experimentales* and *Philosophia naturalis*; Sturm's *Physica electiva*; Huygens' *Systema Saturnium*; Salignac's *Arithmeticae et algebrae*, etc., his son relied on school books such as Herman Boerhave's *Elementa chemiae* (1732) or Jacob Ode's *Principia philosophiae naturalis* (1727). It is clear that though Reland and his son were not full-time scientists, they did their best to stay up to date with contemporary scientific thought and practice.

Reland's Harderwijk episode did not last for even a year. According to the anonymous author of the note in the *Journal Littéraire*,²⁸

Above all, he loved peace and tranquillity, and that is the main reason why he gladly quit the professorship of Philosophy, in which, if one wants to think and speak freely, one instantly exposes oneself to quibbling and the hatred of *raisonneurs* by profession.²⁹

But 'the wonderous study of Nature never ceased to be one of his favourite occupations; to perfect it, he attached himself to the new method that allows

28 The article on Reland's death in the *Journal Littéraire* (vol. 10, part 2, 1720, p. 216) is very similar to Reland's funeral oration by Serrurier, which suggests that it may have been written by Serrurier as well. Both this article and the *Oratio funebris* were quoted again by Chauffepié in his *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique*, vol. 4, p. 93.

29 'Aussi aimoit-il sur toutes choses la paix et la tranquillité, & c'est une de plus fortes raisons qui le portèrent à quitter avec plaisir le Professorat de la Philosophie, dans lequel si l'on veut penser & parler librement, on s'expose à coup sur aux ergoteries, & à la haine des Raisonneurs de profession', Chauffepié, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique*, vol. 4, p. 93.

only physical reality which is discovered by experiments;³⁰ concluded the anonymous author. Collecting evidence—be it specimens of unknown writing systems, ancient inscriptions, or ‘exotic’ coins—became henceforth the driving force of Reland’s research methodology.

3 Reland the Expert

3.1 *Numismatics*

Long before Reland’s love for antiquities and a keen knowledge of ‘exotic’ languages gained him recognition and popularity in learned circles at home and abroad, his career choices were probably inspired by some consequential adolescent encounters. One of Reland’s life-long interests was numismatics, and his fascination with coins can be traced back to his youth, when he was acquainted with the famous Amsterdammer Jacob de Wilde (1645–1721). Besides holding a high-ranking function in the Admiralty of Amsterdam, De Wilde was one of the most renowned coin experts in the Dutch Republic. His collection, which included medals as well as ancient statues and scientific instruments, was housed in the *Museum Wildeanum* built behind his property on Keizersgracht 333 in Amsterdam, where in 1697 he received a famous visit from Czar Peter the Great (who may have acquired the collection after De Wilde’s death in 1721). In 1694, when Reland was barely 18, De Wilde presented him with his book *Selecta numismata antiqua* dedicating it ‘to the excellent student Adriaan Reland, as a token of friendship’ [Fig. 10.1].³¹

It is unclear how the friendship between Reland and De Wilde started. Was Reland just a visitor to the *Museum* before he became De Wilde’s protégé? In any case, in 1700 Reland wrote a Latin accolade for De Wilde’s daughter Maria, to be included in the catalogue *Signa antiqua e museo Jacobi de Wilde* [Ancient statues from the museum of Jacob the Wilde], for which Maria had produced the engravings.³² It is clear that Reland was close enough to the De Wilde family to write quite intimately about Maria’s work. Below is one fragment, in which Reland concludes that ‘the marbles soften under the touch of the beautiful girl’, and ‘happy is the one who her right hand embraces; she gives life to

30 ‘L’étude admirable de la Nature ne laissoit pas d’être toujours une de ses occupations chéries; pour s’y perfectionner il s’attachoit à la nouvelle méthode, qui n’admet que de vérités Physiques, qu’on découvre par les Expériences’, *ibid.* p. 93.

31 ‘Praestantissimo studioso HRelandio in tesseram amicitiae D.D. [Dono Dedit]....’

32 The poem is on pp. B 8–9. On Maria and other liminary poems for her, see Jan Just Witkam’s chapter in this volume.

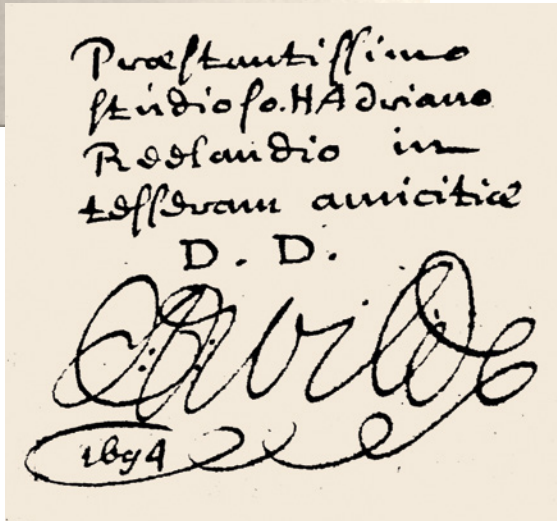
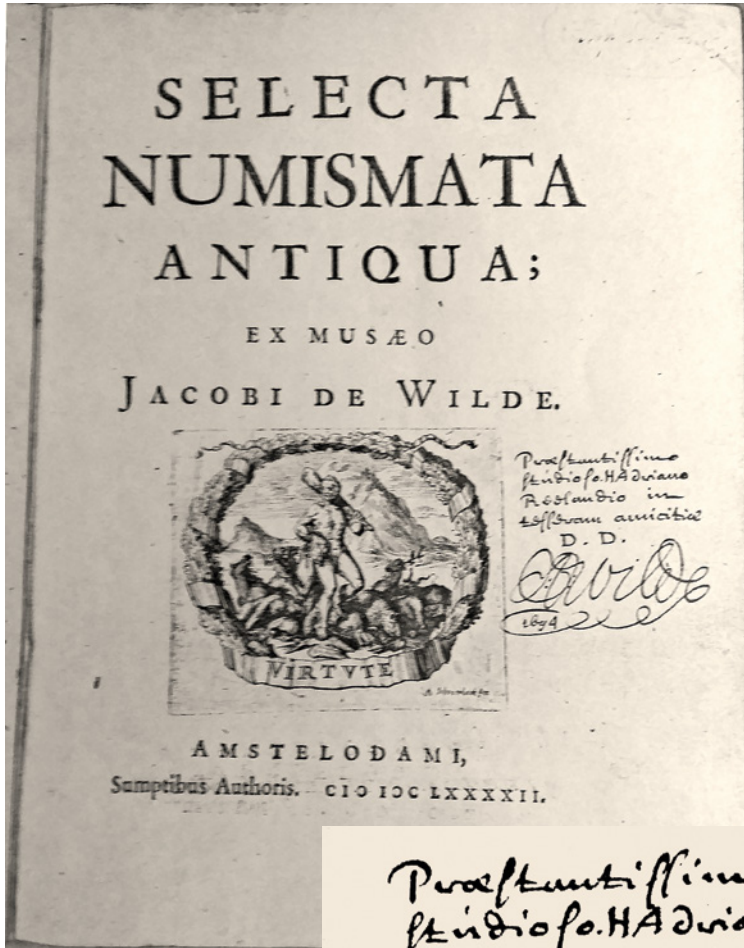


FIGURE 10.1 Dedication to Reland by De Wilde, in *Selecta numismata antiqua*, 1694
IMAGES COURTESY OF HUIB ZUIDERVAART

marble sculptures', and they in turn 'give her life'—presumably the eternal life of fame:

Credibile est, ea dum tangis, Pulcherrima virgo,
 Marmora contactu mollia facta Tuo.
 Felicem, talis quem dextera complectetur:
 Candida, perpetuâ dextra colenda fide.
 Evolat, & coelo Tibi fama acclamat aperto:
 Marmoribus vitam Tu dabis, illa Tibi.

Soon, he became a recognised expert in antiquities and ancient languages in his own right. In 1702 and 1704, Reland published two parts of his book on Samaritan (i.e. Hebrew) coin inscriptions and dedicated both to De Wilde.³³ Like De Wilde, he was consulted about pieces of exotic or ancient origin. One of them was a gold coin found on the lands of Count Kniphuisen near Utrecht.³⁴ In the *Lettre à son excellence monseigneur le comte de Kniphuisen ... sur une pièce d'or trouvée dans ses terres* (1713)—a rare case of a letter written in French—Reland contested the previous expertise by Martin Schookius who classified the coin as probably being Gothic (the characters resembled Danish), and presents arguments for its mediaeval Merovingian origin. On pages 8–10 of his letter, in a display of understanding of local geography, Reland argues that the place where the coins were minted (*TRIECTO FIT*; or *TRIECTO VICO*), was Utrecht (near where it was found) rather than the generally accepted Maastricht.³⁵

Reland not only studied other people's coins but also liked to collect them himself, and his interest knew no geographical bounds, probably thanks to his VOC network.³⁶ Jan Hubertus' auction catalogue contains two lists: a collection

33 Reland, *Dissertatio De inscriptione nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum*, vol. 1 (1702), and *Dissertatio altera De inscriptione nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum, ad spectatissimum virum, Jacobum de Wilde* (1704).

34 Kniphuisen was a diplomat and a plenipotentiary at the Peace of Utrecht negotiations in 1713, in which Spain gave Britain the slave trade contact known as the Asiento, and ceded the port of Gibraltar to them.

35 The argument is based on the fact that Reland had seen another coin made by a mint master by the same name, *MADELINVS*, and minted in Dorestat. Until the twelfth century Utrecht was called *Vicus subtus Dorestatum* (or 'the Village by Dorestat', near today's Wijk bij Duurstede, as opposed to Maastricht, which was called *Urbs*, a city, long before). The village across the river from Maastricht was called Wyck (now a part of Maastricht), which, according to Reland, led some people (i.e. 'Messieurs de Valois & Mabillon') to the erroneous conclusion that *Trajectus Vicus* must be Maastricht.

36 However, Reland's interpretations were not always quite accurate, as can be seen in the case of seal No. 6 discussed in this volume by Witkam (§ 9. On the seals of private persons,

of twenty four 'Oriental Coins' (*Numii Orientales*), and ten ancient Roman coins (*Numii antiqui Romani*). Among the Oriental ones, we find a Tang, or Aracans rupee;³⁷ two silver rupees (*duae rupiae argenteae nec non dimidia*); three Persian coins called Abbassi;³⁸ two coins from Ceylon called Laryns;³⁹ silver coins from Isfahan; 'a small gold Egyptian coin called Parra(s)'; a gold coin from the Island (sic) of Coromandel *dictus fanem de Tritsenapilla*; similar coins from Tutocorin; gold Punic coins (probably from North Africa); two coins from the area of 'Tipora en Ansem'; a golden coin from the Kingdom of Bantam called Pitty;⁴⁰ two coins of the same kind from the Island of Java but with 'Chinese letters'. The next five items are jointly marked as *ex aere* ('from bronze'). The note specifies that at least three of them were described by the *clarissimi defuncti* in his works *De nummis Samaritanis*, for which exact page references are provided.⁴¹ The second list describes ten ancient silver and gold Roman coins. Last but not least, various commemorative brass medals from Holland are mentioned. Some of these coins depicted in the auction catalogue were probably drawings made by Reland himself [Fig. 10.2 and 10.3].

and on the seal of the Turkish emperor'). According to Mitresh Singh, an Indian scholar and numismatist, the correct reading is 'Narso Pandit 1077 Ibn Kesho Pandit'. The date falls within the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. Reland's association of the two names with names of rivers is incorrect, and the translation of the inscription is 'Narso Pandit (son of) Kesho Pandit'. The seal is simply a private seal of a learned man with a certain social status (Mitresh Singh, personal communication).

- 37 The historical kingdom of Arakan, near the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal (roughly corresponding to Rakhine State in Myanmar today). Wouter Schouten (1638–1704), who spent four months there in 1660, says that 'the smallest silver pieces used on Arracan are a Tang, or Moorish Rupee, which is 25 stuyvers in Dutch money'; see Schouten, *Oost-Indische voyagie* (1676), p. 156.
- 38 The 'Abbāsi is a silver coin first issued by the Safavid ruler of Iran Shāh 'Abbās I (reigned AH 995–1038 / CE 1587–1629), 'which dominated Iranian coinage until the middle of the twelfth/eighteenth century', see Floor, 'Abbāsi', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* [website]. For silver coins, until the end of the Safavid period, the 'abbāsi equaled to 200 dinars; see Mathee, *Persia in Crisis*, p. 77.
- 39 'The most current Coin here are the Silver Laryns, each whereof is worth about 10d'; see Baldaeus, *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East-India Coasts*, p. 822.
- 40 According to Glanius, Bantam currency 'which in the *Malayan* (sic) language is called Cus, in the *Bantam Tongue Pitty*' was made in the Chinese town of Chincoa, brought to Bantam with the China fleet, and was 'current not only at Bantam, and all the Isle of *Java*, but through all the Neighbouring Islands. 'Tis a little thin Plate made of Lead, and the scum of Brass, so brittle that letting fall a string of *Caxaes* [coins], you shall break at least ten or twelve'; see Glanius, *A New Voyage to the East-Indies*, p. 71.
- 41 They are collected in *De Nummis veterum Hebraeorum ... Dissertationes quinque* (1709), dedicated to De Wilde.

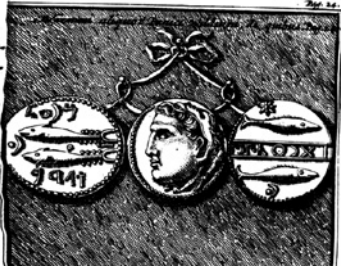


FIGURE 10.2
The Roman coin featuring a head wearing a lion's scalp, and two fish (drawing by Adriaan Reland, *Dissertatio De inscriptione nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum*, 1702: 24)



FIGURE 10.3 The likely original: a 2nd-century BC coin from Cádiz, Spain, with head of Herakles wearing a lion's skin (obverse), two tunny fish and Punic script (reverse).

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3.2 *Networking*

Reland's interest in ancient coins and their inscriptions brought him into contact with Gisbert Cuper (1644–1716), the antiquarian, philologist, burgomaster of Deventer, and once professor of history and eloquence at the Deventer Athenaeum. Like De Wilde, he was significantly older than Reland, and he had been very successful, to use Chen's words, at 'connect[ing] knowledge and power'.⁴² Cuper used his political positions to acquire 'objects and information' from multiple sources to help satisfy his quest for knowledge. Because of his double position as scholar and politician Cuper 'could lend an aspiring scholar power and knowledge, or even better, reward his protégé with entry into his network of trans-European scholars'.⁴³ And indeed, if we compare the epistolary networks of Cuper and Reland, we find many of the same names.

⁴² Chen, 'Digging for Antiquities', p. 3. See also Peters, 'Nicolaes Witsen and Gijbert Cuper'.

⁴³ Chen, 'Digging for Antiquities', p. 4.

Besides, the letters to and from Cuper form the largest part of Reland's preserved correspondence.

Cuper may have been instrumental in instigating at least some of these contacts; we do know that he initially served as a go-between between Reland and Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), the longstanding burgomaster of Amsterdam and one of the seventeen directors of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). For example, in 1704, Witsen received a very special gift from a Russian friend: a round metal mirror found in a grave in Siberia, inscribed with 'seemingly ancient yet inscrutable characters'.⁴⁴ He discussed it at length in his correspondence with Cuper, as they wanted to crack the code of the mysterious, ostensibly Chinese, inscription. Although the mirror itself got shattered as a result of Witsen's accidentally dropping it, an engraving had already been made and published in a revised edition of his book *Noord en Oost Tartarye* [North and East Tartary] by Halma in Amsterdam in 1705. Additionally, copies of the image were sent to several learned men of Europe, VOC officials in touch with Chinese communities in Batavia, as well as missionaries in China and India. Alongside such eminent European scholars as the German polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), the French statesman and member of the *Académie française* Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743), and the French historian and Orientalist Mathurin Veyssière La Croze (1661–1739), Reland also received a copy via Cuper. He in turn consulted a Frenchman, a certain Mr. Masson,⁴⁵ who was helping him with translating Chinese and Japanese manuscripts from his collection.⁴⁶

Allegedly Reland had even more direct encounters with foreign informants. According to the second-hand account from 1711,⁴⁷ Reland was at the time collaborating directly with a certain Hottentot brought to Holland, presumably as a slave. With his help, the professor was hoping to produce a grammar

44 Van Noord and Weststeijn, 'The Global Trajectory of Nicolaes Witsen's Chinese Mirror', p. 325.

45 Philippe Masson (life dates unknown) was a minister at the Walloon Church (Kuiper, 'The Earliest Monument of Dutch Sinological Studies', p. 114). Reland to Cuper, 11 February 1712, The Hague, Royal Library, 72 H 11. '[Masson] demeure proche d'Utrecht, et il s'entend ou Chinois: car Mr. Réland me mande, que nous aurons une Dissertation de sa façon sur cette Langue'. Cuper to de la Croze, 19 October 1712; Cuper, op. cit. (note 72), no. 33, pp. 108, 113 (as quoted in van Noord and Weststeijn, *ibid.*, p. 361 n. 142).

46 The expertise of the latter was subsequently undermined by other scholars, and needless to say, the mystery of the Siberian mirror was not solved in Utrecht, but by a Chinese scholar in Batavia.

47 Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, p. 277.

of the Hottentot language,⁴⁸ and already translated the whole of the Lord's Prayer with the exception of one word: 'hallowed', as the Hottentot could not find a word to express it. The word 'God' too had to be translated using the Dutch word 'Governor' (*Gouverneur*), because when Reland asked the man if the Hottentots worshipped anything, maybe the Sun, the latter answered that 'they didn't think that far'.⁴⁹ This method of acquiring linguistic information comes as no surprise, for in 1697 Witsen, on the occasion of sending a similar Khoekhoe material, to Leibniz admitted:

Comme je vois, que vous desirez d'avoir le *Pater Noster* en des Langues de Pais éloignez, je prens la liberté de vous envoyer un Ecrit en Langue *Hotentote* avec le *Credo & Decem Præcepta*, de même que le *Pater Noster* en Langue *Mogale*, le quel j'ay tiré avec beaucoup de peine d'un Mogal Esclave, qui est avec l'Ambassade de Moscovie. S'il y a d'autres Nations Etrangères parmi eux, je tâcheray d'apprendre aussi leur *Pater Noster*. [...] ⁵⁰

As I see that you wish to collect the Lord's Prayer in the languages of remote lands, I am taking the liberty to send you one written in the Hottentot language, with the Creed and the Ten Commandments, as well as the Pater Noster in the Mongolian language, *which I drew with much difficulty from a Mongolian slave*, who is with the Moscow embassy. If there are any other foreign nations among them, I will also try to learn their Pater Noster. [emphasis added]

The question remains why Reland would try to produce another Khoikhoi version of the same prayer fourteen years later. Maybe it was just a relatively easy starting point for his more ambitious project of writing a grammar, or more likely, he simply did not know about the documents sent to Leibniz, which were not published until 1717.

48 Hottentot is the former name for Khoikhoi language spoken in southern Africa, and now largely extinct. In fact, 'the use of the term 'Khoikhoi' meaning 'men of men' or 'people' actually came to prominence in opposition to the offensive label of 'Hottentot' applied to herding communities by white colonialists'; see Mitchell, 'Khoisan Identity'.

49 'Er habe das ganze Vater unser in dieser Sprache zusammen gebracht, nur habe ihm der Hottentot kein Wort sagen können, mit dem er das Wort: geheiligt, wohl exprimiren können. Er habe auch Gott nicht anders als mit dem Hollandschen Namen *Gouverneur* zu benennen gewust. Als ihn Herr Reland gefragt: ob sie dar gar nichts, und vielleicht die Sonne anbeteten? habe er geantwortet: sie dächten niecht so weit'; Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, p. 277.

50 Leibniz, *Collectanea etymologica*, p. 361.

Reland and Witsen shared another big interest: cartography, and both were directly involved in making maps. In 1705, Reland dedicated his map of Persia⁵¹ to

the most magnificent Nicolaes Witsen, renowned for his great merits both in scholarship and, no less, for his honourable commissions to the City Council of Amsterdam and other topmost offices. [...] Whom rare diligence has raised to the highest honours; great man, with an utmost love for the public duty to the City of the Amstel: receive those lands, depicted in the small image, which the sacred water of the Tigris and Indus delineate; the work, approved by your great judgment, will fearlessly face the criticism of many men.⁵²

In the corner with the dedication Witsen's family crest is placed at the bottom of a small obelisk. A profile portrait of Witsen is held by an angel with a trumpet and supported—together with a laurel wreath—by a bare-breasted *Stedemaagd*, the patroness City Virgin, holding the coat of arms of Amsterdam. At her sandaled feet lies an open book and a map scroll with the name *Tartarya* written across it—a reference to Witsen's *opus magnum*, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (1692, 1705). However, the only known letters from Reland to Witsen survived as handwritten copies accompanying Witsen's letters to Cuper.⁵³ While the correspondence with Cuper is quite extensive and will require a separate study,⁵⁴ the letters to Witsen shed some light on Reland's means of acquiring information from overseas. Both letters were written in 1714. Interestingly, when mentioning Cuper, Reland seems obliged to explain that 'for years I have had, and still have, a particular acquaintance' with him, which indicates that his relationship with Witsen was not a very close one. Both letters are similar in the topics dealt with: Reland expresses his learned opinion on some objects Witsen had shown him and shares his linguistic expertise.

These epistolary exchanges reveal just how adept Reland was at both sharing and acquiring knowledge and gaining favours through his letter-writing. For example, in his letter to Witsen dated September 16th, 1714, Reland gave his expert opinion on some Arabic and Turkish coins from Witsen's collection. He was more interested, however, in Witsen's Indian manuscripts containing

51 Cf. the map in Tobias Winnerling's chapter in this volume.

52 Translation by Ulrich Groetsch.

53 I thank Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez and Toon Van Hal for pointing me to these letters.

54 Chen estimates the number of letters exchanged at close to 144 (Chen, 'Digging for Antiquities', p. 18).

unknown scripts which he had heard about, and about whose provenance he wanted to enquire. He informed the burgomaster that he owned some Javan, Malay, Japanese, Chinese, and other manuscripts himself, and wondered about other scripts still unknown 'to us [Europeans]'. Speaking about the way he acquired the material from Asia, he revealed that the last ships from the East Indies had brought him fourteen printed volumes of Confucius, and that 'Mr Richard Manniks brought for him other Arabic manuscripts on the ship *Oetjeskerken*'.⁵⁵ Four manuscripts, however, had been held in the Company's rooms in Amsterdam and he asked Witsen to put a word in to get them back. Two months later, Reland sent another letter to Witsen. This time he was extremely pleased with the unusual book written on tree bark that Witsen had sent to him.⁵⁶ Although he did not recognise the script, from the illustrations he judged that it must originate in one of the Indian islands, maybe Borneo, since little was known about that island. The binding between two wood planks too reminded him of books from Java and Malabar. Reland also complained about his correspondents in Batavia whom he had requested to send back any unknown alphabets and writings, but so far to no avail. He hoped that Witsen might be able to ask the same thing of any competent Company's employees living in Batavia, Ambon or any other place in the interests of science. In the same letter Reland commented on some artefacts that were sent to him. An Arabic celestial globe with a Kufic inscription, 'called so after the city of Kufa on the Euphratus',⁵⁷ showed no major differences compared to the European globes; according to Reland, the names of the stars were the same 'as we [the Europeans] call them' since the Arabs, 'just like us', took their astronomy from the Greek writers. Yet he remarked that the Europeans added the extra work in the form of *mathesis*, telescopes, etc.

3.3 *Book Exchange and Production*

The exchange of books with publishers and librarians was one of the main topics of Reland's letters. He corresponded with the librarians of several major

55 Richard Munniks, 'procurator' in Batavia from 1711 to 1713, returned to the Netherlands aboard the ship *Hoedekenskerke*. His brother Johan Louis came from Utrecht; see Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 2, p. 372; vol. 3, p. 161; vol. 4, p. 389; *Suid-Afrikaanse argiefstukke: Kaap*, vol. 4, p. 372. I thank Bart Jaski for this information.

56 'In langhen tyd is my niet aengenaemer voorgekoomen, als het boek op bast van bomen geschreeven, dat uw WelEd my heeft gesonden'. Letter Reland to Witsen, 18 November 1714 (Amsterdam, University Library, Ms Bf 82b). Perhaps a palm leaf manuscript, see Appendix 2, A fol 38–40, for three examples in his auction catalogue, from Malabar and Java.

57 *Ibid.*

European collections including Louis XIV, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and Cardinal Imperiali, for whom Reland was organising a shipment of books from the Rotterdam publisher and bookseller Reinier Leers (1654–1714).⁵⁸ He also exchanged books with Petrus van der Vorm, or Peter Vorm (1664–1731), a *predikant* ‘minister’ in Batavia.⁵⁹

It is only regrettable that no correspondence has survived from Reland’s contacts with Willem Broedelet who published his major works, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (1714) and *De religione Mohammedica* (1717). However, there is one extant letter to another influential Dutch printer and bookseller François Halma (1653–1722).⁶⁰ They may have become acquainted with each other when Halma was the university printer in Utrecht, where he is renowned for having printed seven hundred doctoral theses in thirteen years—including Reland’s—averaging one per week.⁶¹ In the letter written from The Hague on 15th May 1700, Reland complained about the tedious task of editing the work of ‘our Johannes Andreas’,⁶² and revealed his intention to publish his own notes on the Mohammedan Religion ‘under the title *Miscella Mohammedica* or such like’ because he ‘cannot be cursed to let the written Arabic and Persian histories which I own stay in my possession without any use for the common good’. The work took a few years, but eventually Reland published his *De religione Mohammedica* in 1705. Reland also expressed the hope that Halma would decide to publish an edition of *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* by Gruterus (1560–1627) with some notes intended ‘to improve and elucidate’ made by Mr. van Dalen in Haarlem. This work would serve ‘to immortalize Halma’s name, if that had not already been done by the *Thesaurus Graevii* and other pieces’, Reland stated somewhat hyperbolically: ‘If you would judge that his work could have some place as an adornment of your work, I have no doubt that I could persuade his lordship [van Dalen] that

58 Letter Reland to R. Leers, 28 March 1706, Leiden, University Library, BPL 426 (as quoted in Lankhorst, *Reinier Leers (1654–1714)*, p. 126.).

59 On van der Vorm, see Bart Jaski’s chapter in this volume. Serrurier enumerates some other famous correspondents of Reland (Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 93). For a full analysis of Reland’s correspondents, see Winnerling, ‘A Ghost Network’, and also Appendix 3.

60 The other letter mentioned in the Leiden University Library catalogue is missing.

61 Forrer, ‘Dutch Academic Theses and Printed Matter’, p. 57.

62 Juan Andrés, Latinized Joannes Andreas (ca 1450–after 1515), is the Christian name taken by the Spanish Muslim jurist and scholar, originally known as Ibn ‘Abdallāh, after he converted to Catholicism and became a missionary. He is the author of a well-known polemical work against Islam, *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) (Zuwiyya, ‘Juan Andrés’). He was an important source for Voetius’ *Disputatio De Mohammedanismo* (cf. Christian Lange’s chapter in this volume). It is striking to note that Andrés is at least partly what triggered Reland’s work on *De religione Mohammedica*.

in due course you would obtain it and publish it'. Indeed, *Iani Gruteri Corpus Inscriptionum* was published by Halma in 1707.⁶³ Their collaboration must have extended beyond Halma's years in Utrecht, as it is hard to think that the grammar of Sinhala, *Grammatica of Singalëse taal-kunst, zijnde een korte methode om de voornaamste fondamenten van de Singalese spraak te leren*, written by Joannes Ruëll in 1699, could have been prepared for the press without any help from an accomplished linguist. It was printed by Halma in 1708, when he had already moved his business to Amsterdam, and featured the first Sinhalese letters printed in Europe. Reland announced the 'imminent publishing' of this book in his *Dissertationum miscellaneorum*,⁶⁴ and also got a copy of it for his own library. Since the publication was ordered by Witsen as an internal VOC item, and since it eventually reached the Dutch Seminary in Sri Lanka for which it was intended, it is easy to see how close the author-scholar-patron-publisher network really was in The Dutch Republic.

4 Reland the Colleague and Friend

4.1 *Let the World Come to Utrecht*

Although Reland himself admitted that he did not like travelling 'further than necessary'⁶⁵ (even though in his *De religione Mohammedica* he revealed that he would have loved to visit Constantinople), he eagerly befriended people who did. Among his 'good friends' he counted the 'famous traveller' and artist Cornelis de Bruijn⁶⁶ (1652–1727), nicknamed Adonis in the Dutch artistic circles in Rome⁶⁷—and his flamboyant portrait testifies to why [Fig. 10.4].

63 One of Reland's colleagues, the eminent classicist Peter Burmann (1668–1741) was accused by the famous biblical scholar Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) of persuading Halma to embellish this edition with the images of the Greek god of fertility, gardens, and male genitals Priapius, with his attribute being a giant phallus. Burmann denied the allegations yet he ridiculed Le Clerc's prudishness saying that even if he had, he would not be ashamed since the book was not destined for ladies or young people, but for older scholars who are used to seeing nude paintings and statues (Burmann, *Le gazetier menteur, ou Mr. Le Clerc convaincu de mensonge de et calomnie* (1710), pp. 56–57). Burmann was a probable target (and possibly the culprit) as he was known for the new edition of the controversial *Satyricon* by Petronius, whom Le Clerc described as 'the most obscene author from classical antiquity' (cf. Groetsch, 'The Scholar as Whoremonger', p. 566).

64 Reland, *Dissertationum miscellaneorum pars tertia et ultima*, pp. 81–82.

65 'Pour moi, qui ne prens aucun plaisir à faire de si long voyages sans nécessité [...] in *Lettre à son excellence monseigneur le comte de Kniphuisen*, p. 3.

66 Letter to Witsen, 1714, Amsterdam, University Library, MS Bf 82b.

67 For over two years of his stay in Rome, de Bruijn was a member of the Dutch and Flemish society of painters called *Bentvueghels*, 'Birds of a Feather', better known for their

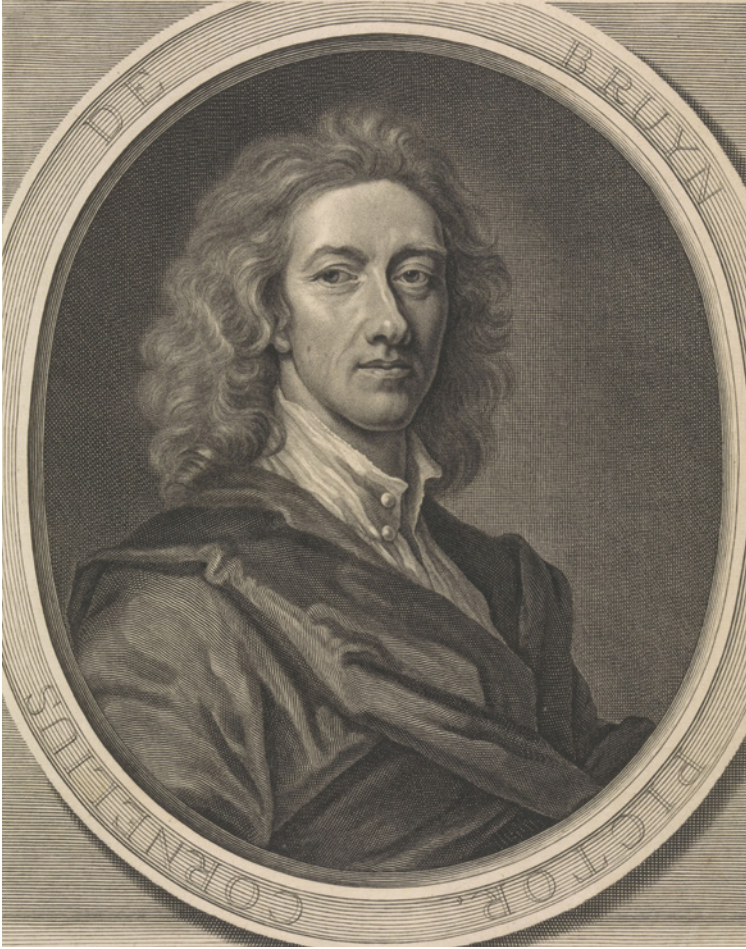


FIGURE 10.4 Cornelis de Bruijn by Gerard Valck (after Gottfried Kneller, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1906-2511)

De Bruijn travelled the world ‘from Rome to Jerusalem and from Moscow to Batavia,’⁶⁸ and became famous for his travelogues and illustrations, including the most detailed drawings of Persepolis (where he vandalised a stone on the Gate of All Nations, carving his name on it), Jerusalem, and the first ever drawings of the interior of the great pyramid in Giza (where he climbed to the top and also left his signature there). In his *Reizen door Klein Asia* from 1698,

exuberant initiation rituals, libations, and drinking bouts than for their artistic pursuits.

68 Jurriaans-Helle, *Cornelis de Bruijn. Voyages from Rome to Jerusalem and from Moscow to Batavia*.

De Bruijn—in a likely collaboration with Valk and Schenk—experimented with colour print using a pioneering technique developed by Johannes Teyler.⁶⁹ Very early on his works attracted the attention of Witsen and Cuper, who became his benefactors. De Bruijn's first-hand experiences of the Middle East and Asia must have been an invaluable source of information for Reland—and not only that: at the end of Reland's Manuscript Catalogue, there is also a list called *Fragmenta Antiqua Inscriptiones* with three archaeological fragments *ex ruderis Persepolitans* (from the rubble of Persepolis).⁷⁰ Who else but De Bruijn could have procured them for Reland? Perhaps it was a gift, or maybe the professor bought it from De Bruijn when the latter, financially strained by self-financing his books, stayed for some time with friends in Utrecht or Haarlem, and started selling his rarities out of necessity, as Uffenbach suspected?⁷¹ In any case, when Uffenbach visited De Bruijn in his house in Amsterdam in March 1711, he marvelled at 'many beautiful drawings and antiquities':⁷²

The most extraordinary are the rubble of Persepolis, various figures and inscriptions which, as he assured us, he removed and brought back with him, but mostly sold to the Duke of Wolfenbüttel, Mayor Witsen and other lovers [of antiquity]. He only had a few inscriptions left, which he showed us. One cannot be surprised enough at the great effort this man put into [copying] the inscriptions, which consist of very strange characters, and which neither the current inhabitants of the country nor anyone else understands. Mr. Reland and other lovers of languages and antiquities in Holland have tried very hard to decipher something, and Mr. Cuperus has also sent many sketches to foreign scholars, but to no avail. He assured him that at first it would be an unbelievable effort to copy the inscriptions because he knew no letter or character at all.⁷³

69 Gnrirrep, 'Een experimentele kleurendruk', pp. 60–61.

70 The other items mentioned in it are 'some minerals', two Florentine *dendrides* [?], and a clay frustum with an Etruscan inscription. The stone fragments are mentioned on the title page of the auction catalogue as having been brought by 'de Bruinio ex Persia'.

71 Bruyn, *Reizen over Moskovie*, pp. 100–101.

72 'Es sind darunter sehr viele schoene Gegenden, und andere curioese Dinge. Das merkwuerdigste aber sind de Rudera von Persepolis, davon er so gar, wie er versicherte, verschiedene Figuren und Inscriptionen ausgehauen und mitgebracht, so er aber meistentheils an den Herzog von Wolfenbuettel, Burgermeister Witsen und andere liebhaber verkaufft [...]; Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, p. 676.

73 In fact, the decipherment of the cuneiform script only occurred in 1836 as a result of the work of the French scholar Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852) and the Norwegian-born Orientalist from the University of Bonn, Christian Lassen (1800–1876).

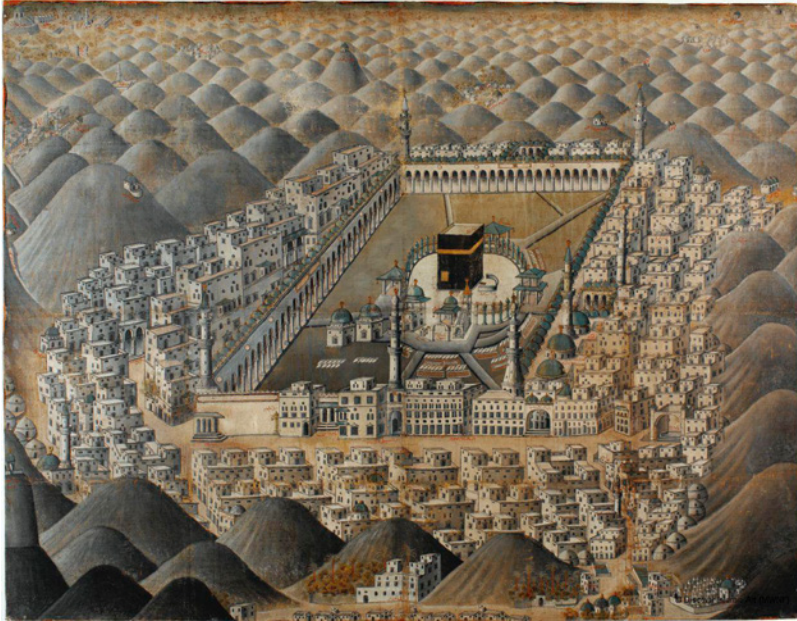


FIGURE 10.5 Mecca with Ka'ba, oil painting, early 18th century, Uppsala University Library (UU 2372)

Another traveller whom Reland met at home was the Swedish professor Michael Eneman (1676–1714), who stopped in Utrecht on his way from the Middle East back to Uppsala in 1714. Eneman showed Reland the painting of Mecca he acquired during his travels [Fig. 10.5],⁷⁴ of which Reland made a copy and published in the second edition of his *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* from 1717. As it happened, it was the first printed depiction of Mecca with its holiest shrine the Kaaba [Fig. 10.6].

In the same book Reland reminded his readers that a man does not need to leave his birth place in order to know geography: refuting the thesis that Muhammad did not know where Mecca was, even though he composed his Surah there, and mistakenly thought it was in the Ammonite land (modern day Jordan instead of Saudi Arabia). Reland stated that it would be as unlikely

74 It was actually Michael Edeman's companion Johan Silfwerkrantz, who had bought the painting in Cairo in March 1712, according to his own unpublished diary discovered by Johan Held from Uppsala University. When Silfwerkrantz died during the return journey, Eneman kept the painting, which was donated to the University Library in 1717 after his premature death in the same year (Johan Held, personal communication).

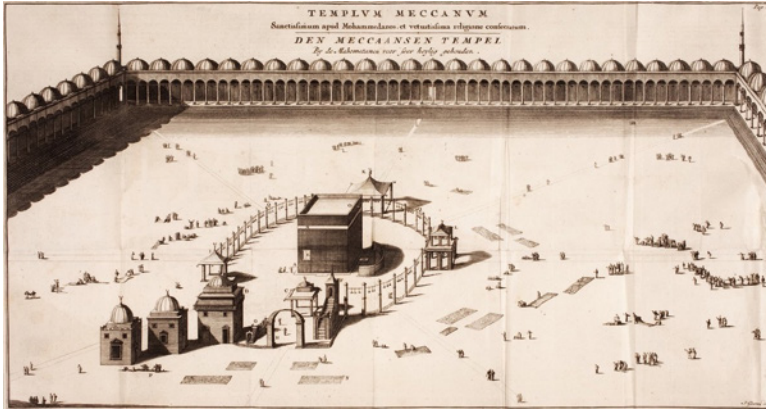


FIGURE 10.6 Templum Meccanum in Reland's *De Religione* (1717)

as if he himself, writing these words in Utrecht, claimed that Utrecht was in Switzerland.⁷⁵

4.2 *Gifts and Dedications to Friends*

The physical copies of books which Reland received as gifts, as well as his dedications, offer a further insight into his social network.⁷⁶ Close to home, Reland was involved in contemporary debates on his native language. He was one of the recipients of open letters from the Amsterdam Mennonite *mercator sapiens*, amateur mathematician and grammarian Adriaen Verwer (ca. 1655–1717), who wrote them in defence of his linguistic views expressed in his Latin grammar of Dutch, *Linguae Belgicae idea grammatica, poetica, rhetorica*, from 1707.⁷⁷ He also sent Reland a copy of Lambert ten Kate's *Gemeenschap tussen de Gottische spraeke en de Nederduytsche* ('The Relationship between the Gothic and Dutch languages', 1710), a book inspired by Verwer and his *gothica-genetrix* theory of Gothic as the source of all Germanic languages, which the professor acknowledged in a letter from 1710.⁷⁸

75 Reland, *De religione* (1717), p. 171: 'Idem hoc est, ac si nos Trajectum ad Rhenum, ubi haec, scribimus, in Helvetia sitam esse affirmassemus.'

76 Reland's books and manuscripts are also discussed by the contributions of Bart Jaski and Anoud Vrolijk in this volume; see also Appendix 2.

77 Verwer, *Brief aen den Heere Adriaen Reland*.

78 Noordegraaf, 'From "Radical Enlightenment" to Comparative Historical Linguistics', pp. 155–168; see also Reland's letter to Verwer of 15 May 1710, Utrecht, University Library, MS 6 F 29, no. 16, edited in Ten Kate, *Gemeenschap tussen de Gottische spraeke en de Nederduytsche*, pp. 13 and 22–23.

Probably the most spectacular gift he received was the eleven-volume Latin edition of *Atlas Maior* by the Dutch cartographer Joan Blaeu (1596–1673) and ‘excellently coloured with gold, ultramarine, etc.’ by Dirk Janz. van Santen.⁷⁹ The note from Gerard Meerman (1722–1771), who bought the book at auction in 1761, says that the atlas was presented to Reland by Utrecht University on the occasion of the birth of his son,⁸⁰ whose name is not mentioned and only a blank space left for where it was to be written.⁸¹ The atlas came with a custom-made ‘quaint French ebony chest with two glass doors’ to keep it in.

Among other valuable gifts we find two Malay manuscripts presented to Reland by François Valentijn (1666–1727), a somewhat controversial Dutch naturalist and minister in service of the Dutch East India Company.⁸² One of them is the *Historia Prophetarum Mosis sermone Malaico*,⁸³ and the other is *Hikayat Ismayatim* [Fig. 10.7].

In the collections of the Royal Library in The Hague one can find a small book bound in ornamented leather [Fig. 10.8]. It contains two works, an *abcedarium* to teach children to read, and a *Chasovnik*—a Russian prayer book, printed in Moscow in the year 7145 of the Byzantine calendar (i.e. 1637 AD).⁸⁴ The dedication of the front page reads ‘*Relando suo Sikius*’.

An identical dedication is mentioned in a couple of other books from Reland’s catalogue,⁸⁵ including Meletij Smotrickij’s Slavonic grammar⁸⁶ and

79 It appears not to have found a buyer at the auction in 1718, since it was still the *pièce de résistance* of his son’s auction catalogue 46 years later, when it was bought for the collection of the current Museum Meermanno in The Hague.

80 Jan Hubertus Reland was baptised as ‘Iohan Hubartus’ on August 19th, 1716, eighteen months before Reland’s death.

81 I owe this information to Erik Geleijns, Curator of Early Collections of the Museum Meermanno.

82 On Reland’s contacts in the Orient, esp. Valentijn, Petrus van der Vorm, and Cornelis Mutter, see the contributions by Bart Jaski and Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume.

83 Utrecht University Library, MS 1482.

84 To read more about this book, see Marieke van Delft’s book history blog post ‘Over de knie in Rusland’ (2012) available at <https://www.kb.nl/blogs/boekgeschiedenis/over-de-knie-in-rusland>.

85 See Appendix 2 in this volume, A qua 16, oct 13, 29, 35, 37, C 7, D 6.

86 Cambridge University Library, K. 247. Reland’s interest in Slavic languages requires further study. From his catalogue we know he owned a few books in various Slavic languages. Also, at the end of the *Dissertationum miscellanearum, pars tertia et ultima*, 1708, pp. 81–82, there is a list of translations of Our Father into thirteen ‘dialects of Slavonic languages’: *Cyrillice, Bulgarice, Dalmatice, Croatiae, Sclavonice, Bohemice, Polonice, Vandalice, Lusaticae, Moscovitice, Carniolice, Novazemblice, and Walachice*.

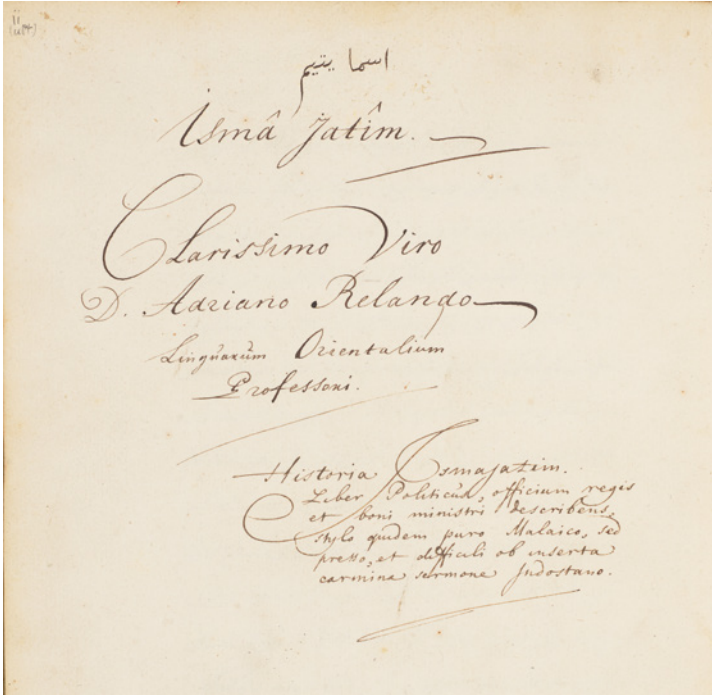


FIGURE 10.7 A dedication from Valentijn to Reland on *Hikayat Ismayatim* (The University of Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Malay MS 3)

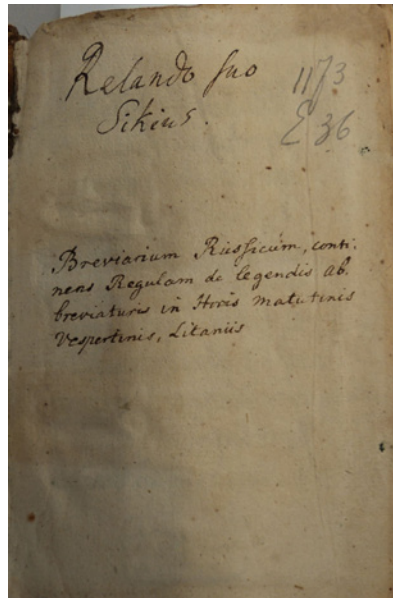


FIGURE 10.8 The Russian *abecedarium* and a prayer book with dedication from Sike to Reland (KB inv. no. 1173 E 36)



FIGURE 10.9 A dedication from Sike to Reland in the Russian Orthodox Calendar of Saints (Leiden University Libraries, Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde LTK 965)

another Russian book ‘pertaining to astrology and chiromancy’ according to the *Catalogus der Bibliothek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden* (1864), p. 33.⁸⁷ The latter is actually a manuscript of a Russian Orthodox Calendar of Saints from c. 1593, rediscovered by Arnoud Vrolijk in the Special Collections of Leiden University Libraries [Fig. 10.9].⁸⁸

The ‘Sikius’ mentioned in the dedications was Heinrich Sike (1669–1712), an outstanding Oriental scholar from Bremen, who taught Arabic to Reland in Utrecht and developed a friendship with him. Sike gained fame for translating the Syriac Infancy Gospel, an apocryphal text of the New Testament describing the infancy of Jesus and publishing it as a bilingual Arabic-Latin edition.⁸⁹ He also produced a Latin translation of the Qurʾān, now lost. Sike, who started

87 This reflects the entry in the auction catalogue of 1761, see also Appendix 2, A oct 29.

88 See Arnoud Vrolijk’s chapter in this volume.

89 Sike, *Evangelium infantiae, vel Liber apocryphus de infantia Servatoris* (1697).

his career as a soldier in Levant, was notorious for his uncouth style and for smoking tobacco.⁹⁰ However, his competence in Arabic and Hebrew was unparalleled, yet he lacked any formal qualifications, and when he was considered for the position of Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge, his colleagues from the circle of learned men in Utrecht—including Reland—decided to help by conferring on him a degree *modo extraordinario* of *Liberalium artium Magister et philosophiae doctor* (M.A. and a doctorate).⁹¹ Once in Cambridge, Sike became friends with Richard Bentley and others, including Isaac Newton. Tragically, on May 20th, 1712 he committed suicide. In his letter to Bentley from July 23rd 1712, Reland laments the death of his friend:

At quam me turbavit nuncius horribilis! In hunc usque diem fidem habere non potui rumoribus de Sikio nostro circumlatis. Nunc coram se testem fuisse infandi spectaculi affirmat Crownfieldius. O infelix fatum! et damnum quod literae nostrae patiuntur vix reparabile!⁹²

But how disturbed am I by the horrendous news! Up to this point, I could not believe the reports circulating about our Sike. Crownfield confirms now that he witnessed this shocking spectacle. Oh, tragic fate! And what loss to our Letters, barely repairable!

Cambridge University Library holds a remarkable gift Sike received in 1703 from Engelbert van Engelen (ca. 1650–1723), city doctor of Utrecht, when Sike was embarking on an extended journey with the Earl of Huntingdon ‘into remote foreign lands’. An Arabic manuscript entitled ‘El breve compendio de nuestra santa ley alçunna’⁹³ is a compendium of Islamic law written in *Aljamiado*, i.e. Spanish transcribed in Arabic characters.⁹⁴ According to the *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, van Engelen was born in Arnhem and studied medicine at Leiden before settling in Utrecht. Like Reland, he was a keen

90 Sike shared this vice with another Utrecht professor, Peter Burmann, who not only authored a Macaronic panegyric on pipe-smoking, but was also infamous for an alleged rape of a house maid, of which he was eventually acquitted (cf. Groetch, ‘The Scholar as Whoremonger’, p. 563). Reland, who in a letter called Burmann his ‘collega conjunctissimus’ [closest colleague], was aware of the affair since, according to the court case transcripts, the matter was discussed at a professors’ dinner which Reland hosted at his house on December 20th and 21st, 1708 (*Proces, geventileert voor den Ed. Gerechte van Utrecht*, pp. 35, 54).

91 Forster, ‘Henry Sike of Bremen (1669–1712)’.

92 *The Correspondence of Richard Bentley*, pp. 433–434.

93 Cambridge University Library, Ms Dd.9.49.

94 Cf. Anson, ‘From Andalusia to Cambridge’ [web blog].

historian of numismatics, as is attested by an official dedication to his name (next to De Wilde et al.) on the front page of *Medalische historie der Republyk van Holland* from 1690. Not surprisingly, Reland had a good relationship with the much older Dr van Engelen, who once presented him with a precious antique object. Reland's gushing thank you letter to van Engelen is preserved in Leiden University Libraries:⁹⁵

Sir,

Although I am perfectly aware that the Egyptian Isis is a gift far above the one I sent you, and therefore it should be with a great difficulty that I accept it, first, do not let me deny the pleasure and kindness you have bestowed on me, and on the other hand, the love and regard that I have for the remains of Antiquity. I cordially thank you for it, and I can assure you that it could not have been given to anyone with more esteem [for it], and more sincerely asserted.

Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant

A. Reland⁹⁶

4.3 *Alba Amicorum, or Facebook CE 1700*⁹⁷

In 1713, Reland wrote an inscription in Van Engelen's *album amicorum* [Fig. 10.10], dedicating it to *Viro Doctissimo, Medicinae Doctori, Antiquitatum patriarum aliarum que amatori singulari* with a sentence in Greek from the *Enchiridion* of the Greek Stoic philosopher Epictetus: 'It is much more necessary to cure the soul than the body; for death is better than a bad life'.⁹⁸

95 Reland to E. van Engelen, Leiden University Libraries, PAP 15.

96 'Omme de Heere van Engelen, Stads Doctor. Myn Heer, Schoon ik my genoegsaem bewust ben dat de Egiptische Isis een present is verre te bovengaendt het gene van my aen UEd. gesonden is, en daerom difficulteit soude kunnen gemaektt werden om deselve teaccepteren, laet my eensdeels UEd. genegentheyt en beleeftheyt, anderdeils de liefhebbery en agting die ik voor de overblyfsenel der outheyt heb, niet toe het selve te weygeren. 'K seg er UEd. dan hertelik dank voor en kan UEd. versekeren, 't kon aen niemant gegeven zyn die het meerder agt, en sig ongeveysnder betuygt te zyn Mijn Hr UEd. Genegen Vriend en D.A. Reland'.

97 I borrowed this analogy from The Guardian article 'Alba amicorum: the original Facebook for Renaissance teens?', 5 Dec 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/dec/05/british-library-alba-amicorum-rennaissance-facebook>, (accessed 18 January 2020).

98 'Ψυχὴν σώματος ἀναγκαιότερον ἰᾶσθαι· τοῦ γὰρ κακῶς ζῆν τὸ τεθνᾶναι κρείσσον'. (Epictetus, *The Discourses as Reported by Arrian, the Manual and Fragments*, fr. 32). With thanks to Gert M. Knepper who transcribed and identified the fragment. Reland edited Meiboom's translation of Epictetus (see also n. 3 above).

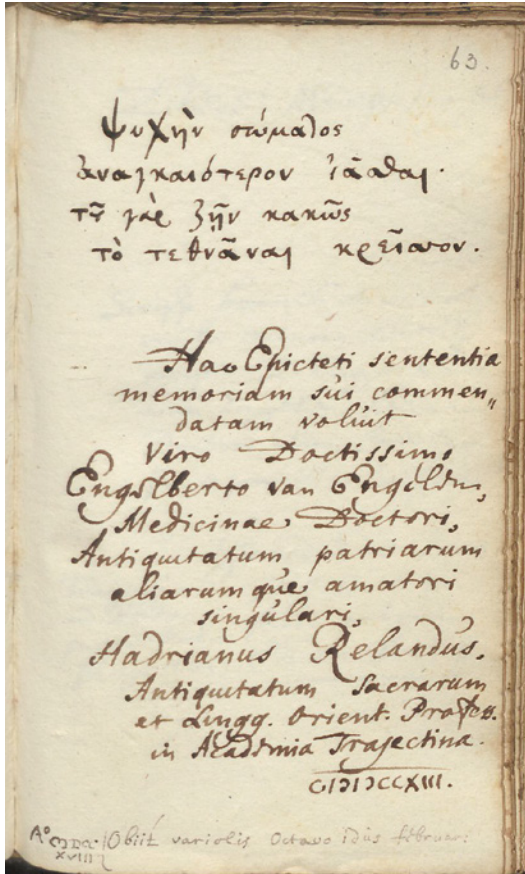


FIGURE 10.10
Reland's *album amicorum*
inscription for Engelbert van
Engelen (Leiden University
Libraries, MS PAP 21 f.63)

Reland's signature includes his freshly acquired title of *Antiquitatum Sacrum Professor* (professor of Hebrew Antiquities). Judging from the number of preserved multilingual and multi-scriptural entries, always neatly written, in various *alba amicorum*, Reland must have been an affable colleague to an international crowd of Holland-based scholars and travelling students. In 1701, the juristconsul Arnold Kerseboom received a neatly written Arabic quotation from *Theologiae Mohammedicae Interpretatione* with the Latin explanation. In 1709, Clasenius received a verse from Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*: 'Eripe te populis et habenti nubila terrae' ('raise me above the nations and the cloud-wrapped earth'), signed simply *Lingg. Orient. Prof.* (Professor of Oriental Languages). In 1706, the Ulster-Scottish Presbyterian theologian Samuel Haliday (1685–1739), then a student in Leiden and 'an excellent young man', received a maxim in Arabic 'man ya'mur yalqa fi nafsihī mā yatamannāhu li-a'dāyih' ('Whoever gets



FIGURE 10.11 Reland's inscription for Samuel Haliday (Leiden University Libraries, MS AHM 8)

old encounters in himself what he wishes upon his enemies')⁹⁹ with the Latin translation: 'Qui diu vivit, talia invenit in se ipso quae nollet optare possimis inimicis suis' [Fig. 10.11].

In the same year, the German cartographer and engraver Pieter Schenk the Elder (1660–1711), '*cosmographus et artifex incomparabilis*', ('incomparable cosmographer and artist') was given a line from the Roman epic poet Lucan: *Non sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo* ('To believe that he was born to serve the whole world and not himself') [Fig. 10.12].¹⁰⁰

Schenk, who completed an apprenticeship with the Amsterdam engraver and map publisher Gerard Valck (and later married his sister Agatha), initially specialised in portraits, among others of mayors of Amsterdam, including Witsen, and topographical landscapes. From ca. 1680 he started operating with his brother-in-law as 'Valk and Schenk', publishing various maps and atlases, and from 1701 on specialised in making the best globes in the Netherlands. In 1703, Schenk made a mezzotint portrait of Reland which we can see in the visitors' book cum *album amicorum* of Nicolas Chevalier (1661–1720) [Fig. 10.13]. He collaborated with Reland on his map of Persia (1705). Chevalier, the French Huguenot book trader and antiquarian, fled to Amsterdam from Sedan after

99 Transcription and translation with thanks to Christian Lange.

100 Lucan [Marcus Annaeus Lucanus], *The civil war*, book 2, line 383.

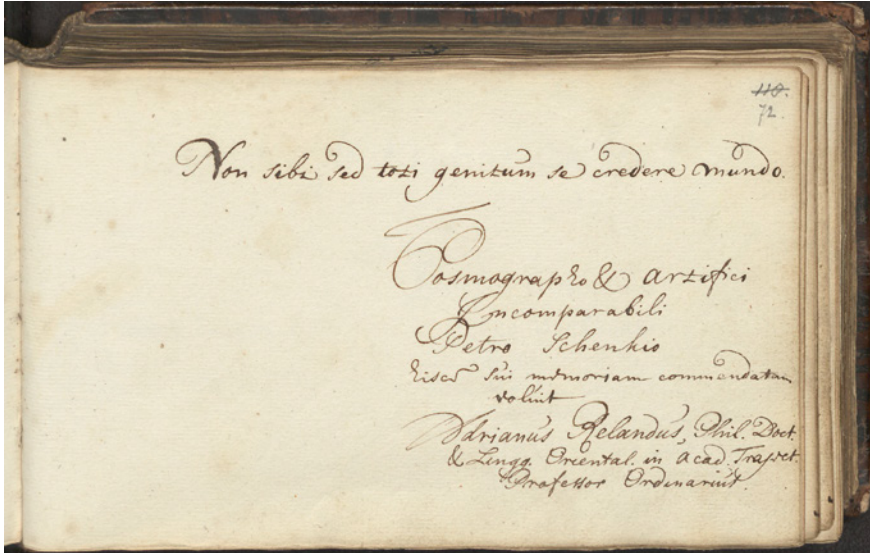


FIGURE 10.12 Reland's inscription for the cartographer Peter Schenk (Leiden University Libraries, MS 903 f. 72r)

the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The book contains 260 entries from the most famous people of his time, from Witsen, Cuper, J.G. Graevius, Peter Burmann, to—and the most curious of all—Matthias Buchinger (1674–1739), a Bavarian dwarf from Neurenberg, born without hands and feet, who became a calligrapher specialising in intricate micro-graphics. Reland's inscription from 1703 is written on the verso of page 120 with his mezzotint portrait by Pieter Schenk on the recto. The dedication to *Viri Erudissimi et antiquitatum Scrutatori indefesso* ('the tireless investigator/searcher of antiquities ...') follows a couplet in Persian from the second chapter of Saadi's *Bustan* ('The Orchard'): 'Though God, in his wisdom, closed one door/ another in his mercy, did he open' [Fig. 10.13].¹⁰¹

Enough is known about Chevalier's activity to allow a speculation on what Reland meant by this quotation. The exhibition of the 'chambre des raretez', or the cabinet of curiosities, which this guest book accompanied, had been open in Amsterdam since 1690. In 1703 Chevalier moved with it to Utrecht. Reland apparently visited the cabinet at its new location, and probably knew the reasons that pushed Chevalier out of Amsterdam. Fortunately, the latter soon established himself in Utrecht as a licensed medallion maker.

The ultimate expression of friendship and respect that Reland earned among his peers can be found at the end of his *Oratio funebris*. In a tribute to

¹⁰¹ I owe this information to Gijs Kruijtzter who identified the passage.

his passion for languages eleven of his colleagues wrote poems and eulogies in five languages and in five different scripts. His former teacher, the theologian Melchior Leydecker (1642–1721) wrote an opening poem in Hebrew; Latin eulogies followed by the Deventer professor of philosophy Dionysius Andreas Röell (1689–1734); the pastor Henricus Brink; the professor of theology and rector of the University of Copenhagen Johannes Wandalinus; the jurist Eduard van Zurk, the author of *Codex Batavus*; the poet and linguist David van Hoogstraten (1658–1724); and Johann Hildebrand Withof (1694–1769), who studied in Utrecht at the time. In the part entitled *Pietatis Officia Manibus*, the professor of theology Hieronymus S. van Alphen (1655–1742) dedicated to Reland a few verses in Hebrew; Reland's young student of theology and Oriental literature Emo Lucius Vriemoet (1699–1760) left some Arabic verses; Petrus van der Hagen (1697–1762), later minister in Utrecht, wrote in Greek; finally, the theologian Franz Smit from Bremen (1695–1746) left an inscription in Old Slavonic. 'Sometimes we lose friends for whose loss our regret is greater than our grief, and others for whom our grief is greater than our regret' observed La Rochefoucauld.¹⁰² Reland's premature death seemed to have evoked equally the regret of losing a brilliant scholar and the grief of saying farewell to an affable and highly regarded companion.

5 Conclusions

Behind the impressive intellectual legacy left by Reland hides an obscure and somehow forgotten man of flesh and blood, known only from a couple of portraits. The last mental picture of Reland was recorded probably by Serrurier:

He was a man of great hopes had he lived longer, honest and modest. He was taller than average, well built, with a handsome and happy face; one could see the marks of this gentleness and goodness he really possessed in his character shining through. [...] He lived harmoniously with his colleagues, who did not find it hard to grant him their respect and friendship; he never spoke or wrote with acrimony [...] and it was hard to become an enemy of an opponent so honest and polite.¹⁰³

¹⁰² 'On perd quelquefois des personnes qu'on regrette plus qu'on n'en est affligé; et d'autres dont on est affligé, et qu'on ne regrette guère', F. La Rochefoucauld, *Maximes et réflexions morales*, no. 355.

¹⁰³ Translation mine. Quoted after the French interpretation in the *Journal littéraire de l'année M.DCC.XVII*: 'C'étoit un homme d'une grande espérance, s'il avoit vécu plus longtemps, honnête & modeste. Il étoit d'une taille au-dessus de la médiocre, bien fait, beau de visage, & d'une physionomie heureuse; on y voyait briller les marques de cette bonté & de

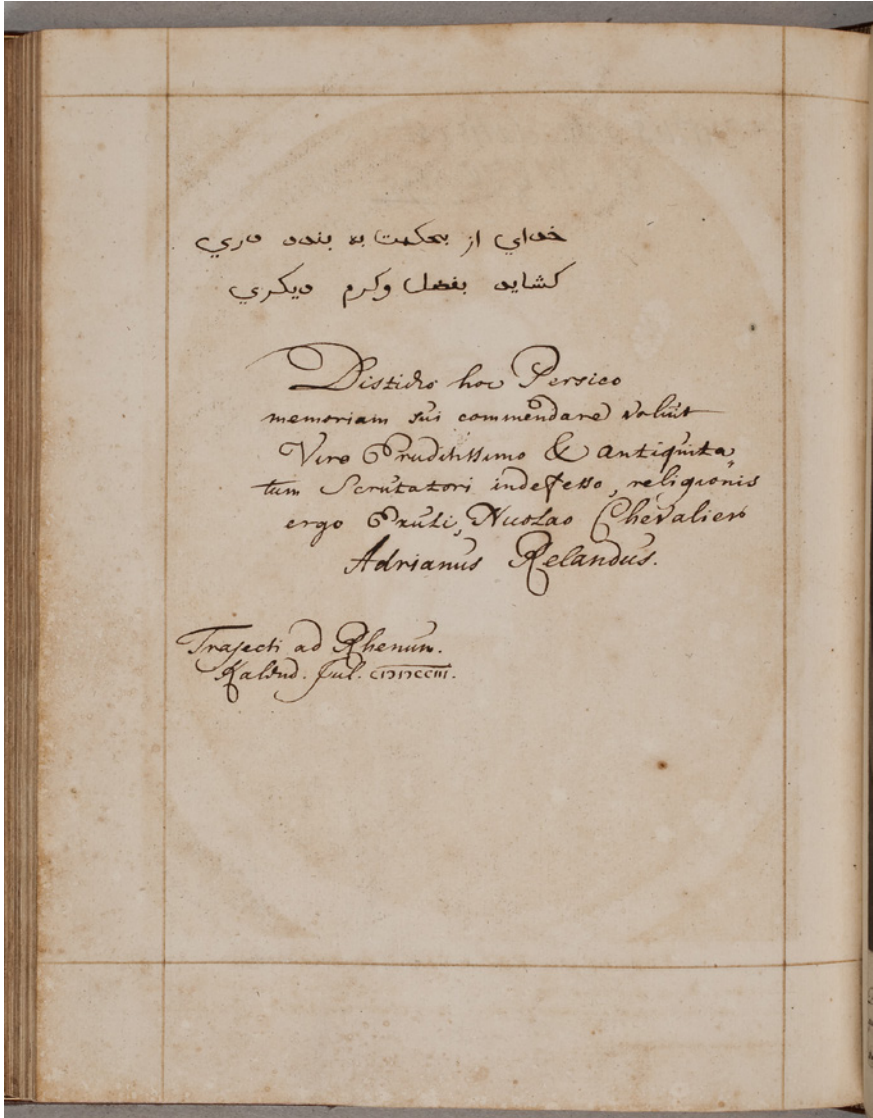


FIGURE 10.13 Reland's inscription for Nicolas Chevalier (Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: 69 B 8, f. 120v) and the portrait by Pieter Schenk (f. 120 r)



160

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160

ADRIANUS RELANDUS, Amstelodamensis

Philosophiae Doctor, ejusdemque Facultatis nuper in Academia Ducatus Geltriaci (sem Zulphehanis) quae Harderwicci sit, nunc Incuriarum Orientalium in Academia Trajectina Professor ordinarius.

Phil. Schenk abstrinam fec. Angledam. can. 1746. 1752

Rare accounts, like the one from Uffenbach's visit, provide us with a glimpse of the kind of person Reland was, and how he interacted with other people. Even though it is inherently difficult to extract intimate details from dusty archival material, the scattered fragments that usually get ignored in historical research, like the books he owned, objects he collected, letters he sent or received, interests he shared, and private notes he made, when pieced together, start to bring into focus aspects of Reland's personal life that have hitherto remained concealed from view. They reveal an avid experimental scientist who wrote poems about physics and played with Cartesian devils; a protégé of famous collectors who owned, amongst other things, a piece of ancient rubble of Persepolis and coins from the whole of East Asia; an armchair traveller who drew maps of Palestine, Japan and Persia; a son of a Reformed minister who defended Islam and happily dined with reputedly lewd and uncouth friends; a university professor and rector who interviewed an African slave to write a grammar of his language. For one man, who never left his home country, Reland seems to have possessed the gravitational pull that attracted a whole universe of exotic objects, undeciphered manuscripts, ground-breaking ideas, and inspiring people.

Further research is still required on topics like Reland's influence on his students;¹⁰⁴ his correspondence with Cupper and other important cultural figures of the time requires a proper edition; his contacts with the Dutch East India officials and clergy, among others François Valentijn, may shed some light on Reland's attitude to the Orient. But the greater hope is that more letters, more archival fragments will emerge, that will complete the puzzle of Reland the man.

Yet the principles that guided Reland's life are best summarised in the epitaph he wrote for himself:¹⁰⁵

cette douceur, qui se trouvoient réellement dans son caractère, avec toute la prudence & le sens rassis, qui peuvent préserver un honnête homme de brouilleries & des querelles, qu'il est si difficile d'éviter dans le Commerce de la Vie Civile, & surtout dans la République des Lettres. Il a toujours vécu paisiblement avec ses Collègues, qui lui ont accordé sans peine leur estime & leur amitié. Jamais il n'a parlé ni écrit avec aigreur, contre ceux dont il combattoit les sentiments, & sans se rendre coupable de la dernière férocité, on ne pouvoit pas devenir l'ennemi d'un Antagoniste si poli & si honnête'; see *Journal littéraire de l'année M.DCC.XVII*, pp. 215–216.

104 For an exploratory survey of his student Schultens' teaching of Hebrew antiquities, with remarks on its relation to Reland's *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum* and on the latter's use of August Pfeiffer's classification of Hebrew antiquities as a structuring model see Eskhult, *Albert Schultens as Teacher and Innovator of Comparative Hebrew Language Studies*, (forthcoming). Also, cf. Ulrich Groetsch's chapter in this volume.

105 Serrurier, *Oratio funebris*, p. 46.

Terra tegi cineres, quae cunas praebuit olim.
 Principium cursus, metaque facta mei.
 Quisquis es, incertae stadium decurtere vitae
 Dum licet, ante oculos meta sit usque tuos.
 Conficitur spatium dispar, verum exitus omnes
 Unus, & hac hora te quoque forte manet.
 Ergo vive Deo, praeponere aeterna caducis,
 Atque animi potior sit tibi cura tui.
 Quidquid agis, paterisque tuis Christi exprime mores.
 Non alis fas est, scandere ad astra via.¹⁰⁶

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106 The earth covers the ashes of the deceased; once upon a time, it supplied the cradle, the beginning of my journey; and now the destination has been reached.

Whoever you are as you move ahead on the uncertain course of life, you should always keep the (final) destination in your eyes.

An uncertain course is completed, but the end is one and the same for everybody, and this hour remains firm for you as well.

Thus, lead a life for God, choose the eternal rather than the fleeting, and make the care for your soul a priority.

Whatever you do or whatever you attain, model the conduct of Christ to your own; nothing but divine law is the road that leads to heaven [to the stars]: (Translation Ulrich Groetsch).

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PART 3

Collections, Manuscripts, and Seals



The Manuscript Collection of Adriaan Reland in the University Library of Utrecht and Beyond

Bart Jaski

When on 4 November 1700 Adriaan Reland (1676–1718) was appointed as professor of Oriental languages at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Utrecht, this was something of a break with the past. In effect, he succeeded Johannes Leusden, who had taught the sacred languages at the Faculty of Theology from 1650 until his death in 1699, and had published widely on Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac in relation to biblical texts. Leusden had been a faithful pupil of the strict Calvinist theologian Gijsbert Voet (Voetius), who from the foundation of the university in 1636 until his death in 1676 had dominated the Faculty of Theology, and indeed the university itself.

Reland had studied in Utrecht, among others Hebrew under Leusden, but had a different outlook on the relationship between theology and philosophy than his teacher, as his dissertation of 1694 already shows.¹ He had acquired an interest in the Arabic language, stimulated by his fellow student Heinrich Sike (Sikius), who had come from Bremen to study in Leiden and later worked in Utrecht.² In subsequent disputations and in his oration of 1701 Reland would argue for the use of the knowledge of Oriental languages—in particular Arabic and Persian—for the study of Christian theology and its defence against Islam.³ He names those who had already reaped the fruits of this study, including Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), who had all lectured in Leiden, and Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), who died before he could do so.⁴

1 Reland, *Disputatio philosophica inauguralis, De libertate philosophandi* (1694); see further Van Amersfoort, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?*, pp. 19–28; Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians'.

2 Hamilton, *ibid.*, pp. 100–103; Forster, 'Henry Sike of Bremen (1669–1712)', pp. 253, 258–259. Sikius went to Cambridge in 1704.

3 Reland, *Exercitatio philologico-theologica De symbolo Mohammedico (non est Deus nisi Unus) adversus quod S. S. Trinitas defenditur* (1696); *idem, Exercitatio philologico-theologica De consensu Mohammedanismi et Judaismi* (1696); *idem, Oratio Pro lingua Persica et cognatis litteris Orientalibus* (1701). See also de Bruijn, 'Iranian Studies in the Netherlands', pp. 170–171.

4 Reland, *Oratio Pro lingua Persica*, p. 6; cf. Reland, *De symbolo Mohammedico*, p. 5.

Reland wanted to continue this approach in Utrecht, but found the university library ill-equipped to satisfy his own needs and those of his students. When the University of Utrecht was founded in 1636, the existing city library also became the university library. The city library had been founded in 1584 by the new Protestant city council, who decided that the libraries of the Utrecht monasteries and chapters had to be confiscated and brought to Saint John's Church. The newly founded city library thus consisted mainly of medieval manuscripts and early printed books about theology. This changed when two large libraries were donated to the city library, those of the former canon Huybert van Buchell (d. 1599) and the jurist Evert van de Poll (d. 1602), but their collections contained little that related to Oriental studies.

The city council was loath to open its purse for the acquisition of books, and this did not change when the city library also became the university library, for the city council still controlled its budget. This situation is reflected in the collection. When the university library printed its catalogue in 1718, in the same year that Reland died, the section on Hebrew and Oriental books numbered 66 titles, most of them printed in the sixteenth century.⁵

It thus appears that Reland's tenure as professor of Oriental languages, to which Hebrew antiquities were added in 1713, did not have any bearing on the collection of the library; there is no notable increase in books, let alone manuscripts, on these topics. Whatever Reland needed for his studies and students, he bought himself. At his unexpected death by smallpox in 1718, his will of 1703 was invoked, which stated that all his worldly goods (including books) were to be inherited by his wife, Johanna Catharina Teelinck (d. 1744).⁶ She was the daughter of the former mayor of Zierikzee in Zeeland, whom Reland had married in 1702. The couple had two surviving children, Catharina Elisabeth,

5 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Trajectino-Batavae* (1718), second part, pp. 142–145 (wrongly numbered 445). At an unnumbered page at the end (missing in certain copies) there is a list of twelve Oriental manuscripts the itinerant German scholar Christian Ravis (Ravius) had donated to the library of the young University of Utrecht, where he had briefly lectured in 1643. Nine of these are listed in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ultrajectinae* of 1670. Three remained in the library of the Senate of Utrecht, and were transferred to the university library in 1718 (see Grosheide, Monna and Pesch, *Vier eeuwen Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht*, p. 98). The complete list is also in the *Auctarium Catalogi Bibliothecae Trajectino-Batavae* of 1754, pp. 33–34 (with the ancient shelfmarks 278.a–n). They correspond with MSS 1430, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1444, 1448, 1449, 1450 (via Gerbrandus Ansloo), 1466, 1469, 1474, 1475 and 1477. Ravius also donated Mss. 352, 1009 and 1374, and v oct 852 rar, a compendium of Christian doctrine printed in Japan, which Reland studied, as he added its title in Latin.

6 Her name is also spelled 'Teeling'. The will is now: Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Toegang 34–4 (Notarissen in de stad Utrecht, 1560–1905), nr. U138a002, aktenummer 60 (5-1-1703), H. van der Mark, notary. I owe this reference to Dr Tobias Winnerling.

who was born in 1703, and Jan Hubertus, who was but one year old when his father died.

1 The Two Auction Catalogues

All the printed books in Reland's collection, over 2,500 titles in all, were auctioned in Utrecht on 7 November 1718.⁷ As far as I have been able to establish, the University of Utrecht did not buy a single book of this collection at the time.⁸ And this notwithstanding the fact that only sixteen days after his death, Reland was succeeded as professor of Oriental languages by David Mill (Millius), who was 25 years old at the time. The city council was not wont to seize opportunities such as these, especially not in times of crisis in which, then as now, the budgets were immediately tightened.⁹

It has to be noted that Reland's library had been filled with books about theology, history and other subjects. Books directly relevant to the study of Hebrew number about fifty, and there are only a few works about Oriental languages or Islam.¹⁰ Reland's collection of manuscripts was not auctioned, but came into the possession of his son, Jan Hubertus, who became a member of the city council of Zierikzee. After his death in 1760, the manuscript collection was auctioned on 6 April in Utrecht the following year, together with Jan Hubertus' collection of printed books, plays, seashells, ancient coins and other items. The section on manuscripts contains 168 lots, and most of them concern Arabic and Persian manuscripts, but there are also Malay, Turkish, Chinese and Japanese manuscripts, as well as a few in other languages such as Slavonic and Greek. Hebrew manuscripts are almost absent. Some rare printed books are included as well.¹¹

7 Cat. Reland 1718.

8 Two annotated books on the list were acquired by the University Library at a later stage, as is discussed below.

9 Grosheide, *Vier eeuwen*, pp. 99–101.

10 Cat. Reland 1718, pp. 146–150, lists about thirty books in Hebrew, the rest is spread out over the other rubrics.

11 Cat. Reland 1761, second part (*Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum*), pp. 1–16. The lots are divided into four groups, the first three according to size: 46 in folio, 66 in quarto, 41 in octavo, and 15 in the rubric Chinese and Japanese manuscripts. In some cases one lot consists of two or more manuscripts or a collection of documents. For Reland's acquisition of some Chinese manuscripts, see the contribution of Ton van Hal in this volume, pp. 152–153. See Appendix 2 in this volume for a complete overview of all the known manuscripts from his collection (excluding letters, for which see Appendix 3).

The two auction catalogues give the impression that Reland relied mainly on printed works for his Hebrew studies, but that for his Oriental studies he was more dependent on manuscripts. This is no doubt a reflection of the fact that many Hebrew texts had already been published in print, whereas this was not the case with Oriental texts. This is fully borne out in Reland's *De religione Mohammedica*, first published in 1705, of which an expanded and revised second edition appeared in 1717. At the end of his book Reland gives an 'Index' of thirty manuscripts which he has used and which are cited in his work.¹² Of these, he consulted two in the City Library of Amsterdam,¹³ and four in the library of his friend Sikius. The rest he had acquired himself. The auction catalogues of 1761 and 1718 give us additional information about the provenance of his manuscripts and annotated books. Several manuscripts also contain marks of previous ownership.

Reland notes in his 'Index' that he obtained many manuscripts at the auction of Golius' library in 1696.¹⁴ As far as can be ascertained, this applies to 31 manuscripts.¹⁵ Golius had obtained quite a number of codices himself in the Orient. From his friend Sikius, Reland obtained at least seven manuscripts and books.¹⁶ He also acquired other manuscripts from academic colleagues and friends.¹⁷ Yet Reland acquired most of his manuscripts through his contacts with men who were or had been in the Orient themselves.

12 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Editio altera auctior* (1717), pp. [277]–[286]; see Appendix 2, rubric B. The 'Index' is also printed in the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Quorum prior exhibit Compendium theologiae Mohammedicae* (1705), pp. [193]–[199], but with only 24 items.

13 He made a copy of these, see Appendix 2, A qua 31.

14 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (1717), pp. [281–282], no. 16. Cat. Golius 1696 is virtually the same as Cat. Golius 1668, but the latter misses the addenda on pp. [29–30]. The auction in 1668 never actually took place; only Golius' printed books were sold that year, see Witkam, *Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) en zijn handschriften*, pp. 65–71.

15 Appendix 2, A fol 10, 11, 16, 17, 18 (two copies, the second uncertain and not counted), 25, 29, 41, 45, qua 1a–c (one set containing three manuscripts and two 'originals', counted as five in total), 5, 9, 17, 20 (from Franciscus Raphelengius, 1539–1597), 33, 34, 42, 44, oct 2, 4, 5, 8 (from Erpenius), 11, 12, C 2, D 1, 2. Reland also acquired A qua 16 from Golius' library via Sikius. Additionally, Reland acquired other manuscripts that had belonged to Erpenius (A fol 6) and Raphelengius (A fol 7).

16 Appendix 2, A qua 16 (from Golius), oct 13, 29, 35, 36, C 7 (see below), D 6. Sikius also copied excerpts of manuscripts in Reland's possession, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 408; see Nicholl, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Orientalium Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars secunda Arabicos complectens*, p. 391, no. 393.

17 His student Johannes Croonenburgh (Appendix 2, A fol 42), the French Orientalist Antoine Galland(us) (A qua 13 and oct 23, see the contribution by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume, pp. 365–367), the jurist Jacobus Meyer (author of *Dissertatio juridica inaugurata de matrimonio*, 1694) (A qua 48), Jacob Rhenferd, professor of Oriental languages in

2 **Contacts in the East: Van der Vorm and Mutter**

In his 'Index' Reland states at no. 21, the *Compendium theologiae Mohammedicae*, that it was sent to him from Batavia (modern Jakarta) in the Dutch Indies by the Reverend Petrus van der Vorm, 'owing to whose liberality I possess many Oriental manuscripts'.¹⁸ Peter van der Vorm (1664–1731) became a preacher in the Moluccas in 1689, and in Batavia from 1698 until his death.¹⁹ We can relate three manuscripts in Reland's collection directly to Van der Vorm.²⁰ The above-mentioned *Compendium*, written in Arabic with its interlinear Javanese translation, was probably typical of other manuscripts Reland acquired through Van der Vorm.²¹ A Malay translation of Exodus contains Reland's note *Hic liber ad mei missus est ex Batavia Indiae Orientalis* ('This book was sent to me from Batavia in India in the Orient'), and a grammatical tract *ex insula Java ad me missa* ('sent to me from the island of Java'), and these were probably sent to him by Van der Vorm.²² One may suspect that this also applies to many other Malay manuscripts, even if Van der Vorm is not mentioned, but this can only be established by further investigation.²³ We know that Reland obtained printed

Franeker from 1654 until his death in 1712 (A qua 53), Theodorus Ryckius (see at n. 23 below), and Petrus Texelius (see at p. 348 below).

- 18 *De religione Mohammedica* (1717), p. [282] no. 21 (Appendix 2, A qua 46): 'cujus liberalitate plurima possideo MSSa orientalia'.
- 19 Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers voetspoor*, vol. 1, p. 14.
- 20 Appendix 2, A fol 3, qua 27, 46. For A qua 27 (a Persian treatise on Arabic grammar, with a partially Malay interlinear translation) from Van der Vorm, see the description of Leiden, University Library, Or. 1666, in Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental manuscripts in Leiden University Library*, vol. 2, pp. 212–213.
- 21 Compare another manuscript by Van der Vorm, with the note 'Genesis Arabice cum interlineari versione Malaica', now München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 233; see Wieringa, 'Arabisch-Malajische Genesis'. It was transferred from the Court library of Count Palatine Carl Theodore (reigned 1742–1799) in Mannheim to Munich in 1803/4. Compare Appendix 2, A qua 24, which, however, appears to be a different manuscript.
- 22 Appendix 2, A qua 25, A fol 19, and see also A fol 27 (part f), Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ind. 23, for which see Swellengrebel, 'Verkorte weergave', p. 366 (copy of *Hikayat Puteri Johor Manikam*, written in Batavia in 1694).
- 23 Candidates are e.g. Appendix 2, A fol 22 (cf. Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey*, p. 43), 39 (a palm leaf manuscript, cf. Peters, *De wijze Koopman*, p. 357, who refers to Cat. Reland 1761 'lot 13' and a price of fl. 8, which seems to be a mistake), qua 8, 10, 30, 32, 35, 38, 40, 57, 58, 61, and A oct 9. For other manuscripts from Van der Vorm, see, for example, Voorhoeve, 'De oude gouvernementen-handschriften', p. 345 no. qua 3 (at p. 347 is suggested this may be the same as Leiden, University Library, Or. 1700) and p. 346 no. oct 1. Note also A fol 37 and A fol 44 (both about a temple on Ternate in the Moluccas); Reland acquired the first (and probably also the second) from the library of Theodorus de Rijcke (Ryckius) (1640–1690), professor of history and rhetoric in Leiden.

Chinese books and Oriental manuscripts via Richard Munniks, 'procurator' in the Dutch East Indies, whose family probably came from Utrecht.²⁴

A Malay translation of the Gospel of Matthew, *ex Bibliotheca Leydeckeri*, probably also found its way to Reland via Van der Vorm.²⁵ It is one of the few handwritten testimonies of the translation of the Bible in Classical (High) Malayan by Melchior Leydecker (1643–1701). This undertaking, commissioned by the Batavian church council, was completed after Leydecker's death by Van der Vorm and printed in Latin (rather than Arabic) letters.²⁶ François Valentijn (1666–1727) also belonged to this circle of translators. He had studied briefly in Utrecht under Leusden,²⁷ and became a preacher in Ambon (in Maluku province, Indonesia) in 1686. Three years later he was joined there by Van der Vorm. In 1694 Valentijn and his family returned to the Netherlands and settled in Dordrecht. Valentijn possessed a translation of the Bible in Ambonese (Low) Malayan, and vehemently defended the usefulness of 'his' version against that of Leydecker.²⁸ In the period from 1705 to 1713 Valentijn tried to reestablish himself in the Dutch Indies, but problems with the authorities forced him to return for a second time. Valentijn donated at least two manuscripts to Reland.²⁹

Remarkably, one of Van der Vorm's manuscripts is a Persian translation of the Gospels, in an elegant script copied in the Indian sultanate of Golconda (around Hyderabad and the area to the eastern shore).³⁰ This was where another of Reland's contacts had been active, Cornelis Mutter (also: Van der Murter) (1659–1701 to 1704). Little is known of Mutter, but his legacy is quite

24 See the chapter by Anna Pytlowany in this volume, p. 294, where she also discusses a manuscript of tree bark Reland obtained from Nicolaes Witsen.

25 Appendix 2, A qua 52. Other manuscripts from Leydecker also came to the Netherlands via Van der Vorm, e.g. Leiden, University Library, Or. 1961 and Acad. 233. Another manuscript from Leydecker is Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Or. 2 (*Al-Toma, De arabischen Handschriften*, pp. 43–47), which belonged to Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder, who is discussed at p. 331 below. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 408 also contains a copy of a manuscript on Islamic law owned by Leydecker, cf. n. 16 above.

26 Leydecker and Van der Vorm, *Al-Ḳawl al-'Atīk: ĩya ĩtu Sĕgala sūrat Pĕrjanĭran Lāma*, 1733. This Melchior Leydecker is not to be confused with his namesake (1642–1721), professor of theology in Utrecht.

27 Habiboe, *Tot verheffing van mijne natie*, p. 17. This work gives a detailed account of Valentijn's life and publications, but does not refer to his contacts with Reland.

28 Swellengrebel, *In Leydeckers voetspoor*, vol. 1, pp. 13–20; Habiboe, *ibid.*, pp. 54–57, 63–64. Valentijn probably used a translation already made by one of his predecessors. See also Steenbrink, 'François Valentijn'; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, pp. 78–81. Valentijn asked Reland for advice in the matter, see Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiĕn*, vol. 3, p. 112.

29 Appendix 2, A qua 7 and 37 (see below).

30 Appendix 2, A fol 3. The Latin title is followed by the inscription 'Adriano Relando donate a P. van der Vorm' (Donated to Adriaan Reiland by P. van der Vorm).

profound. His name is closely linked to that of another Dutchman in Golconda, Daniel Havart (1650–1724), who had come to Hyderabad in 1673, where he worked for the Dutch East India Company (VOC).³¹ Together with Mutter he learned Persian from a certain Shāh Qāsim.³² In 1677 Mutter presented a copy of the Arabic-Persian dictionary in verse by Badr al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Farāhī ‘out of brotherly love to my best friend Daniel Havart’.³³ In 1685 Havart left for Batavia and subsequently returned to the Dutch Republic, where three years later he published a Dutch translation of a Persian poem, Sa’dī’s *Bustān*.³⁴ He graduated in Utrecht as a medical doctor in 1691.

Mutter remained in the Orient as a translator, and in 1698 was considered as a possible member of the commission to oversee the translation of the Bible in Malay, together with Leydecker and Van der Vorm. This was not to be, for the same year he returned to the Dutch Republic.³⁵ There he met his old friend again, and in 1701 Havart gave Mutter a copy of Sa’dī’s *Gulistān*, copied by Shāh Qāsim in Golconda in 1676, to which Havart added his own Latin translation based on the printed edition by Georgius Gentius from 1651.³⁶

Reland acquired at least nine or ten manuscripts from Mutter. They include Persian copies, written by Shāh Qāsim, from Sa’dī’s *Bustān* and *Gulistān*, the last with Mutter’s translation in Dutch on interleaved European paper. Both were begun in 1677.³⁷ A copy of the Malay text *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja* was sent to Reland from the Dutch Indies and contains a short letter from Mutter to Reland with a remark about payment.³⁸ Mutter also sent two other manuscripts to Reland from the Orient, a Persian-Malay-Dutch vocabulary and a Malay-Dutch

31 Kruijtzter, ‘Pomp before Disgrace’, p. 170; idem, ‘Daniel Havart’.

32 Utrecht, University Library, MS 1473, is a collection of petitions and diplomatic papers from Golconda copied by Shāh Qāsim in 1679, many with a Dutch translation by Havart. It comes from the collection of Sebalduus Rau (Cat. Rau 1818, p. 69, no. 4).

33 Brockelmann, *Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg, Teil I*, p. 109, no. 213 (Cod. Orient. 243): ‘uyt een broederlyke genegenheyt aan myn beste vrund Daniel Havart’.

34 Havart, *Den Persiaanschen bogaard* (1686). The interleaved manuscript written by Shāh Qāsim with Havart’s translation is now The Hague, Royal Library, kw 130 C 17.

35 Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 4, pp. 86–87, cf. pp. 324–326, for his position as translator; Swellengrebel, ‘Verkorte weergave’, pp. 366–367.

36 Leiden, University Library, Acad. 138. Shāh Qāsim had already written an Arabic dictionary for the *Gulistān* in 1678/9, also for Mutter. It was accompanied by a similar dictionary in a different arrangement, now Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 158 and 192; see Brockelmann, *Katalog Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, pp. 110–111, nos. 216–217.

37 Appendix 2, A qua 3 and A fol 2. The identity of the scribe I conjecture from the foregoing.

38 Appendix 2, A fol 30; Reid, ‘Indonesian Manuscripts in the Vatican Library’, p. 56. Reid does not identify the text, but the Latin and Malay titles show it to be *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*, cf. Yock Fang, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, pp. 144–149.

lexicon with about 13,000 words, a considerable achievement and probably unique for its time.³⁹ Reland also obtained a copy of the Arabic-Persian vocabulary by Abū Naṣr Farāhī, with Mutter's mark of ownership, added in Golconda in 1679.⁴⁰ Another manuscript from Golconda, which Mutter acquired in 1680, concerns the history of the ruling dynasty of Golconda.⁴¹

While Reland may have acquired some of Mutter's manuscripts while the latter was still in the Far East, he also received four manuscripts as a legacy after Mutter had died, at some time between 1701 and 1704. These are the aforementioned *Gulistān* with translation, a Persian lexicon, a combined Malay-Dutch lexicon and Dutch-Malay grammar, and an Arabic grammar.⁴² Mutter may also have been the owner of a manuscript with a rare Persian text on the (Muslim) patriarchs.⁴³ On top of this, Reland also acquired Havart's Dutch-Persian dictionary, probably also via Mutter.⁴⁴ And this was not all, for eight of Mutter's manuscripts were acquired by Johann Friedrich Winckler (1679–1738), probably during his study trip in the Dutch Republic and England, before he became professor of Oriental languages in Hamburg in 1704 [Fig. 11.1].⁴⁵ Other documents from India may also have arrived in Reland's collection through Mutter.⁴⁶

39 Appendix 2, A fol 32 and A qua 36; see for the latter Reid, 'Indonesian Manuscripts', p. 57; perhaps it is based on Leydecker's Dutch-Malay lexicon Reland refers to on p. 58 in his *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars tertia et ultima*, published in 1708. See also Voorhoeve, 'De oude gouvernements-handschriften', p. 344, no. fol. 18.

40 Appendix 2, A oct 20.

41 Appendix 2, A qua 55; see the contribution by Arnoud Vrolijk to this volume, at pp. 379–381. It contains the inscription 'Jo. Frid. Winckler', and it seems that Winckler, after he had acquired several of Mutter's manuscripts (see below), gave or sold this particular copy to Reland.

42 Appendix 2, A fol 5, A fol 1 and A qua 61 no. 1 (Reid, p. 60). The first two are not mentioned in Reland's *De religione Mohemmedica* from 1705, but are present in the second edition of 1717 (Index no. 23 and 20). Mutter had probably died one or a couple of years before 1705, as Johann Friedrich Winckler probably acquired several of his manuscripts before he became professor in Hamburg in 1704, see below.

43 Appendix 2, A qua 6, now Utrecht, University Library, MS 1471, discussed below.

44 Appendix 2, A qua 23. I follow here the argument by Arnoud Vrolijk in his contribution to this volume, see p. 381. Leiden, University Library, LTK 589, digitised at <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1668395> (accessed 19 June 2019).

45 Brockelmann, *Katalog Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, p. 81, no. 148 (Cod. Orient. 175), p. 83 no. 151 (Cod. Orient. 177), p. 90, no. 171 (Cod. Orient. 230), pp. 107–108, no. 209 (Cod. Orient. 196), p. 109, no. 210 (Cod. Orient. 151) and n. 32, 34 and 36 above. Some of these manuscripts are dated and were written by Shāh (Muḥammad) Qāsim (ibn Faḍlī); and some were given a number by Mutter. On Winckler, see Bertheau, 'Winckler, Johann Friedrich'. Winckler also acquired one of Reland's manuscripts (Appendix 2, A qua 55), see the argument by Arnoud Vrolijk in his contribution to this volume, see pp. 379–381.

46 Appendix 2, A fol 26, which includes material related to Adriaen Verdonck and Justus van den Heuvel, mainly from the 1680s, see Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, pp. 59–62 (Vatican, BAV, Vat. Pers. 33). Both men had been directors of

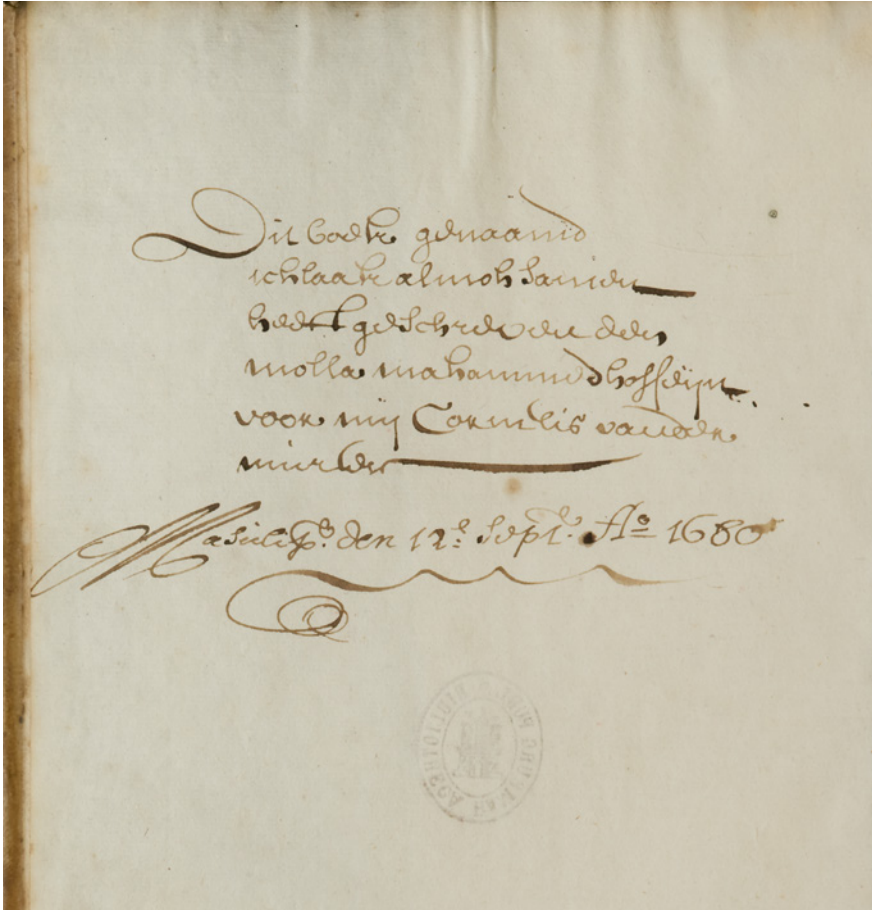


FIGURE 11.1 Inscription by Cornelis Mutter in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 177: 'Dit boek genaamd ichlaak almohsanien heeft geschreven een molla mahammed hosseyn voor my Cornelis vander murter. Masulip. den 12e Sept. Ao. 1680' ('This book entitled *Akhlāq al-Muhsinī* was written by mullah Muhammad Hussein for me, Cornelis van der Murter')

In the early and middle of the seventeenth century the most important scholars had acquired many of their Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts by going to the Near East, especially Istanbul. They were often sponsored by their

trade in Persia (see Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 5, p. 205), just as Joan Joshua Ketelaar had been a few decades later, cf. Appendix 2, A qua 14, see further below. Other manuscripts from India include A fol 12, 21; 38 and 40 (both probably palm leaf manuscripts), A qua 15 (see below) and A oct 1 (written in Hyderabad, 1636).

university or by the state.⁴⁷ For information about the languages and cultures of the Far East, this was not possible. In this case, European scholars had to rely on contacts with merchants and others with a knack for exotic languages to provide them with the necessary manuscripts, be it original texts and documents, copies thereof, or self-made dictionaries, lexicons, vocabularies or grammars.⁴⁸ And so Van der Vorm and Mutter, and to a lesser degree Valentijn, served as Reland's 'dealers', and this enabled him to publish about Far Eastern languages in his *Dissertationum miscellanearum*.⁴⁹ In turn, academic lecturers and their published studies helped preachers and merchants to acquire knowledge of the languages and culture of the areas in which they were going to be stationed.⁵⁰

3 The Dispersal of Reland's Manuscripts

For all its wealth and usefulness, Reland's manuscript collection was not sold for the benefit of collectors, scholars or institutions directly after his death. When the collection finally came to be auctioned, 43 years later, it was less relevant than if this had happened in 1718. Nonetheless, there was sufficient scholarly interest and competition to engender a successful sale. The description of the manuscript collection had been made by Sebalduus Rau (Ravius, 1725–1818), who had become extraordinary professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht in 1750, next to Mill, whom he succeeded in 1756. In most cases, Rau simply took over the descriptions which Reland had written on a flyleaf or title page of the manuscript in question, which helps to identify Reland's manuscripts in modern collections. In the copy of the auction catalogue of 1761 which is in the University Library of Amsterdam the prices paid at the auction are noted in the margin.

These annotations show that the auction of Reland's manuscripts in 168 lots generated about fl. 500 in all.⁵¹ Some lots consist of several manuscripts or

47 Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 17–29 and 36–37.

48 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 30.

49 Reland, *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars tertia*, pp. 57–139 (*Dissertatio De linguis insularum quarundam Orientalium*).

50 In 1632 Caspar Barleus had already argued for business being served by obtaining 'academic' knowledge, including learning Arabic when trading in the Orient, see Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens*, pp. 43–44, 79–80. I owe this reference to an anonymous reviewer.

51 The abbreviation 'fl.' denotes the Dutch currency 'florin(s)' or 'guilder(s)'; stuivers (1/20th of a florin) are added after a dash. Compare the fl. 500 with the fl. 415 paid for Blaeu's expensive *Atlas Maior* and accompanying atlases, nineteen volumes in all, by Gerard Meerman (1722–1771), see Cat. Reland 1761, first part, p. 1. The *Atlas Maior* (Latin, eleven

even collections of documents. Until now, no attempt was made to investigate the whereabouts of all these manuscripts. The results of my research in this matter are published in Appendix 2, where those who had one or more of the auctioned lots in their possession are listed. The first buyers are only known for about half of the lots, so our knowledge of who attended the auction of 1761—either in person or represented by an agent—is limited. Yet it gives us some insight into who bought what, and how the collection was dispersed.

The main spender at the auction was the Vatican Library, although the details of their acquisition remain unclear, and they may have conducted their sale via an unknown dealer or agent. We know for certain that 24 lots of the Reland auction of April 1761 entered the Vatican Library in August 1763. All 24 can be identified in the auction catalogue. The annotations in the catalogue show that some of these lots were combined and sold for one price, but three manuscripts of such combined lots did not end up in the Vatican Library: two manuscripts which were mainly written in Dutch (their present whereabouts are unknown) and one which had been owned by Mutter and Winckler, as discussed above, and which became a part of the collection of Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder (1721–1798), professor of Oriental languages in Groningen.⁵²

According to Angelo Mai in his catalogue of 1831, the manuscripts of Reland had been ‘acquired by Cardinal Passionei, S.R.E., librarian, for the increase of the Vatican Library, anno 1763.’⁵³ Domenico Silvio Passionei (1682–1761) died in Italy on 5 July 1761, and was not present in Utrecht at the auction in April. Yet he had been in Utrecht in 1712 for the peace talks.⁵⁴ On this occasion he may have met Reland and have been aware of his collection. If he ordered books to be bought in Utrecht via an agent, we may presume that this agent bought at least 27 lots for more than fl. 103. They included an elegantly copied manuscript of the Gospels translated into Persian (fl. 26/10) and a copy which Golius

volumes) is now The Hague, Museum Meermanno, 40 A 1, 77; see further Moorman, *Discovering Rome through Joan Blaeu's Admiranda Urbis Romae*, pp. 48–49; <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/28635> (accessed 16 August 2019), and the chapter by Anna Pytlowany in this volume, p. 301.

52 Appendix 2, A fol 21, qua 26, qua 55 (which were bought by the same unknown buyer as A fol 20, qua 25 and qua 54 according to the notes in the margin of the Amsterdam exemplar of the auction catalogue of 1761). A qua 54 and 55 were sold together for six stuivers, which is almost certainly a mistake, for A qua 55 (Leiden, University Library, Or. 1343; see the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume, pp. 379–381) contains 932 pages.

53 Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collection e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. 4, p. 644, sub no. XXXIII: ‘... a card. Passionaeo S.R.E. bibliothecario, ad incrementum bibliothecae vaticanae, anno 1763. comparata’; Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, p. 13.

54 [Goujet], *Éloge historique de M. le cardinal Passionei*, pp. 70 and 225.

made of the *Chronicon Samaritanum* from Scaliger's collection in Leiden (fl. 40).⁵⁵ After Passionei's death, however, his successor, Cardinal Alessandro Albani (librarian from 1761 to 1768), may have refused a number of lots, such as the two in Dutch, so that in the end 24 lots remained which were transported to the Vatican Library.⁵⁶

The other big spender at the auction was Jacobus Willemsen (1698–1780) of Middelburg, a former student of Reland's. He bought at least thirteen lots for over fl. 90, including an Arabic treatise on precious stones which has some fine decorations (fl. 38) and a Qur'ān from Ambon (fl. 21/10). Most of the manuscripts he bought ended up in Leiden.⁵⁷

Sebald Rau spent over fl. 56 on sixteen lots. His main prize was an Arabic manuscript on rhetoric (fl. 33/10, together with a Persian manuscript). As will be discussed below, some of his acquisitions were for the Utrecht University Library, the rest for himself.⁵⁸

The German scholar Johann Peter Berg (1737–1800) carried off sixteen lots for over fl. 48, none costing more than fl. 10/10. Afterwards he spent 36 years as a professor of Oriental languages in Duisburg. After his death his collection was auctioned, and several manuscripts of the Reland collection found their way into German libraries. The whereabouts of about half of Berg's Reland collection is as yet unknown. Berg had been a student of Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1788), professor of Oriental languages in Leiden, to whom he gave one of his acquisitions as a gift.⁵⁹ Schultens himself acquired a more modest amount of seven lots for about fl. 12.⁶⁰

55 Appendix 2, A fol 3 and qua 44. The remaining lots are mainly Oriental biblical translations and grammars.

56 Appendix 2, A fol 1, 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 30, qua 8, 25, 26, 36, 44, 52, 54, 55, 61, 62, oct 1, 3. All but the three exceptions are among the 22 manuscripts listed in Vatican, BAV, Arch. Bibl. 34, ff. 117r–118v. Certain lots were put together and other split when they arrived in the Vatican Library in August 1763. The acquisition is briefly described in Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI*, p. 168 and p. 178 n. 102. I am grateful to Delio Vania Proverbio, Scriptor Orientalis at the Vatican Library, for discussing this matter with me by e-mail, and Arnoud Vrolijk for pointing out to me that Passionei was in Utrecht in 1712.

57 Appendix 2, A fol 2, 4, 8 (Ambonese Qur'ān), 16, 41, qua 3, 5 (precious stones, discussed below), 9, 16, 17 (price unknown), 33, 42, 43, 45, 48. Not counting A fol 18b, qua 19b. On Willemsen, see further the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume.

58 Appendix 2, A fol 9, 10 and 11 (Arabic and Persian manuscripts), 31, qua 6, 12, 14, 15, 37, 41, 49, 51, oct 9, 17, 22, 24. The manuscripts for the Utrecht University Library were bought for fl. 43/10.

59 Appendix 2, A fol 23, 33, qua 1 (a–c), 2, 10, 18, 19a, 20, 21, 28, 46, oct 8, 16, 19, 20, 23 (gift to Schultens).

60 Appendix 2, A fol 24, qua 13, 34, oct 2, 12, 13, 28. Not counting A qua 1cb and 28b.

Not all of those present were Orientalists. The classical scholar Petrus Burmannus Secundus (1713–1778) became the new owner of six medieval manuscripts with the poems of Ovid, for which he paid fl. 60—the highest price for a combined lot in the entire manuscript auction. Most of the six manuscripts had previously been in the libraries of the classicists Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Petrus Francius (1645–1704), one of Reland’s teachers when he studied in Amsterdam. Reland’s brother, the jurist Pieter (1678–1714), acquired them afterwards, and at Pieter’s untimely death Reland had inherited them.⁶¹

A detailed chain of ownership such as this is quite rare. For about one third of the lots we have no information about their whereabouts whatsoever.⁶² In other cases we know that scholars such as Berg or Rau owned a number of Reland’s manuscripts of which the present locations are now unknown. In other cases the first buyer in 1761 remains unknown, but the titles of certain lots pop up in later auction catalogues, such as the one of the collection of Jan Jacob van Voorst (1791–1869) and of his father Dirk Cornelis (1752–1833), both preachers.⁶³ In other cases there appear to have been several copies of the same manuscript, sometimes apparently both from Reland’s library, although only one copy of them is mentioned in the auction catalogue of 1761.⁶⁴ A more thorough study of auction and library catalogues and of the currently identified manuscripts in the various library collections may bring more clarity in these matters.

From the available evidence it can be concluded that, with the exception of the Vatican and Utrecht, the Reland collection was not bought by institutions but by dealers, private scholars and collectors. Most manuscripts circulated for several decades, usually up to the beginning or middle of the nineteenth century, before they arrived in an academic library. In some cases, the manuscripts were important enough to stimulate new studies and publications, but many subsequently lay dormant in depots once they were catalogued. We shall see that this situation also applies to the thirteen manuscripts of the Reland collection which found their way to the Utrecht University Library.

61 Appendix 2, A qua 63 a–c and oct 32–34. The six manuscripts are now in Berlin.

62 This includes thirteen of the fifteen lots in the rubric *Manuscripta Sinica & Japonica*, among them the *Speculum Jedo* in four volumes (Appendix 2, A sj e), sold for fl. 26.

63 Appendix 2, A fol 6, 7, 25, qua 4, 7, 27, oct 5, 11. Some of these are now in Leiden.

64 Appendix 2, A fol 18 (Willemsen and Scheidius), and qua 1 (1c: Berg and Schultens), both pertaining manuscripts from the library of Golius, and A qua 19 (Berg and Willemsen) and 28 (Berg and Schultens). See also A fol 13 and qua 29 (original and copy); A qua 17 and fol 29, an original manuscript and a draft translation of it, both from the collection of Golius; A qua 39 and D 5, of which the latter includes the same text as the former; A qua 46 and D 3, which may contain copies of the same text. Several of these ‘doublets’ are discussed in Arnoud Vrolijk’s chapter in this volume.

4 Sebald Rau and the Oriental Manuscript Collection in Utrecht

Of the sixteen lots Rau bought at the auction of 1761, eight were destined for the city and university library, as is noted in a handwritten list.⁶⁵ Seven of these were given consecutive shelfmarks, 280.n until 280.t.⁶⁶

We may be certain that these documents were bought at the auction for the Utrecht University Library by Rau. He may have acquired the two manuscripts written in Greek at the request of one of the professors of theology at the time. Why the price of MS 21 differs from the auction catalogue is unclear. The eight manuscripts on the list will be discussed below.

MS 10 has two notes on the title page (fol. 1r) which read: 'Don Francisco Bravo de Acuna, caullero, noble de Espana';⁶⁷ 'Origenes in Marcum ex Bibliothecae Regis Christianissimi beneficio amicissimi Rigaltii' ('Don Francisco Bravo de Acuña, knight, nobleman of Spain'; 'Origen on Mark, from the library of the most Christian king, by the beneficence of the most kind Rigaltus'). The Rigaltus in question is the French classical scholar Nicolas Rigault (1577–1654), who published a number of annotated editions of Roman and Greek authors, including the Church Fathers. He made this copy while he was librarian at the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, in the service of Louis XIII. The recipient was the Spanish nobleman Francisco Bravo de Acuña, knight of Calatrava. In a letter sent from Madrid, the painter Peter Paul Rubens says that Acuña searched for manuscripts of the Church Fathers in the Escorial monastery near Madrid. In the autumn of 1628, Acuña went to Antwerp, where his uncle Don Juan was governor. In November 1629, Rubens writes that he mourns the loss of Acuña, who had exchanged the muses for weapons.⁶⁸ Hence it seems that the manuscript was copied in 1629, probably when Acuña visited Paris. As the notes indicate, Acuña thought that the commentary on Mark was written by the

65 This list, which is partly culled from the city archives, covers the years 1602 to 1785, and is bound at the front and back at the *Auctarium Catalogi* of 1754 in the collection of Utrecht University Library, with the obsolete shelfmark *Historia Litteraria Folio No. 131 bis*. The list is entered under the year 1761. This information is lacking in Miedema, *Resolutiën van de Vroedschap van Utrecht*.

66 This probably only happened after 1800. Four interleaved copies of the *Auctarium Catalogi* of 1754 in the collection of Utrecht University Library, with the sigla D, F, G and H, all have the eight (and other) manuscripts entered in handwriting, but in all four copies with different shelfmarks in the 280 group, including MS 1439. The 280.n to 280.t marks were written in the manuscripts themselves, but MS 1439 seems to have been overlooked in the process.

67 The part 'caullero, noble de Espana' is added by another hand.

68 Huet, *De brieven van Rubens*, pp. 269–270 (no. 119, cf. p. 401), 297 (no. 128), 307–308 (no. 132).

TABLE 11.1 Rau's eight lots bought for the Utrecht University Library

Current cat. no.	Old shelf-mark	Title in the handwritten list	No. in auction catalogue 1761	Price in guilders / stuivers in cat.; list
MS 10	280.0	Victor Antiochenus, in Marcum, Gr(aece)	fol 31	7/15
MS 21	280.p	Paralipomena Jeremiae, Graece	qua 49	1/5; 3/6
MS 1439		Opus de inventione rhetorica, Arabis	fol 10	33/10
MS 1468	280.n	Liber aethicus, Persice	fol 11	^^
MS 1478	280.r	Instructie der Indostance taal	qua 14	0/8
MS 1479	280.s	Onderwijzingen in de Malabaarse taal	qua 15	^^
MS 1482	280.t	Historia Mosis Malabarice	qua 37	0/6
MS 1483	280.q	Vocabularium Formosanum	qua 12	0/6

Greek Church Father Origen,⁶⁹ notwithstanding the fact that Victor of Antioch had already been identified as the author in the Latin edition of the text.⁷⁰ The Greek text was published in 1775,⁷¹ and this may have quickly diminished the value of the manuscript for research.

MS 21 contains only sixteen folios (excluding the interleaved pages), and is also a copy of a Greek manuscript. Unfortunately, the header of the text has been crossed out, so its provenance is unclear. The title ΠΑΡΑΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ, LIBER APOCRYPHUS is written in capitals on the title page, probably by Reland (see Fig. 11.3 below).⁷² *Paraleipomena (tou Prophetou) Jeremiou* is a short pseudographic text, also called 4 Baruch, of which several manuscript witnesses exist.⁷³ Reland also added a note on the last page about *The dialogue with Trypho* by Justin Martyr, which shows that he

69 It is partially a copy of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Grec, MS 703, fol. 246^v–294* (twelfth century, where the text is attributed to Origen), see Ormont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Pays-Bas (Leyde excepté)', p. 207, no. 43.

70 Victor of Antioch, *Commentary on Mark*, ed. Peltanus, *Victoris Antiocheni In Marcum, et Titi Bostrorum episcopi in Euangelium Lucae commentarij ...* (1580). For recent literature on this tract, see Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*.

71 Victor of Antioch, *Commentary on Mark*, ed. Matthaei, *Biktōros Presbyterou Antiocheias kai allōn tīnōn hagiōn paterōn Exēgēsis eis to kata Markon hagiōn euaggelion* (1775). Utrecht University Library holds a copy of this work.

72 The same capital letters are also on the title page of MS 1483, see below.

73 See Kraft and Purintun, *Paraleipomena Jeremiou*, pp. 3–5.

had taken an interest in the manuscript. Although the first edition of the work was published in 1861, MS 21 does not seem to have attracted much attention by scholars, and even now it is unclear from which manuscript it was copied.

Of the two 'genuine' Oriental manuscripts Rau acquired, MS 1439 is the most beautifully written and has some simple decoration. In the auction catalogue of Golius' manuscripts of 1696 it is advertised as: 'Outcries of praise for Muhammad, by the author Ibn Huggja Alhammovi. Most carefully written and very rare, taken from the library of the King of Egypt. Arabic.'⁷⁴ In the auction catalogue of 1761 the description is somewhat different: 'The book of Ibn Hozje Alhammovi on the invention of rhetoric and on both verbal and real forms. A book written in most elegant letters, AH 826 [1422–23 CE]. This exemplar was previously in the library of a certain Sultan of Egypt.'⁷⁵ The first part was taken over from what Reland himself had written by way of title page in 1700 on the manuscript itself [Fig. 11.2],⁷⁶ and what is also found in the 'Index'.⁷⁷

The description in the auction catalogue of 1761 is misleading, however, for it suggests that the manuscript itself was written in 826/1422–23, but this is the date when Ibn Hġija al-Ĥamawġ (1366–1434) composed the text copied here, *Taqdġm Abġ Bakr*.⁷⁸ The title, 'Giving Precedence to Abġ Bakr', refers to both the caliph Abġ Bakr, the first successor of the Prophet Muhammad, and to a part of the author's own name, to testify to his superiority in the realms of poetry and

74 'Praeconia laudem Muhammedis, auth. Ibn Huggja Alhammovi. Liber accuratissime scriptus, rarissimusque ex Bibliotheca Regis Aegyptii translatus. Arab.', see Cat. Golius, p. 10, no. 18 (This number is also written on a flyleaf in the manuscript itself), and compare no. 20: 'Poemata Alferesdak Persae. Translatus hic liber ex Bibliotheca Regis Aegypti, nitidissimeque majusculo caractere conscriptus'. See Vrolijk, Schmidt and Scheper, *Turcksche boucken*, pp. 10–16, for a discussion of Golius' stay in Istanbul in 1627–1629.

75 'Ibn Hozje Alhammovi de Inventione rhetorica & figuris tam verbalibus quam realibus. Liber elegantissimis litteris scriptus, anno Hegirae DCCCXXVI. Fuit hoc exemplar olim in Bibliotheca cujusdam Sultani Aegypti', Cat. Reland 1761, second part, p. 2, no. 10.

76 'Liber Ibn Haggiae de Inventione rhetorica, & de figuris tam verbalibus quam realibus. Elegantissimus liber. Fuit hoc exemplar olim in Bibliotheca Regis Aegyptii'. In the right corner Reland notes 'See the praise of this tract in the preface of the most learned Hinkelmann on the Qur'an' ('Vide Enconium hujus scriptoris in praefatione Cl. Hinkelmanni ad Alcoranum'), which refers to Hinkelmann, *Alcoranus sive Lex Islamitica Muhammedis, filii Abdallae pseudoprophetae* (1694), quire Ibv. A small bifolium written in Arabic, perhaps by Reland, was left in the manuscript.

77 Reland, *De religione Mohemmedica* (1705), p. [197], no. 15 (16 in the edition of 1717). A small printed sheet (perhaps a proof version of the 'Index') with the same text is glued on a flyleaf of MS 1439.

78 His name in full is Abġ al-Mahġsin Taġġ al-Dġn Abġ Bakr b. 'Alġ b. 'Abdallġh b. Hġija al-Ĥamawġ al-Qġdirġ al-Ĥanafġ; see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, pp. 18–19 (3. Buch, I.1.25). For Ibn Hġija al-Ĥamawġ's own commentary on the poem, see Ibn Hġija al-Ĥamawġ, *Khizġanat al-adab wa-ghġyat al-arab*, ed. Diyġb.

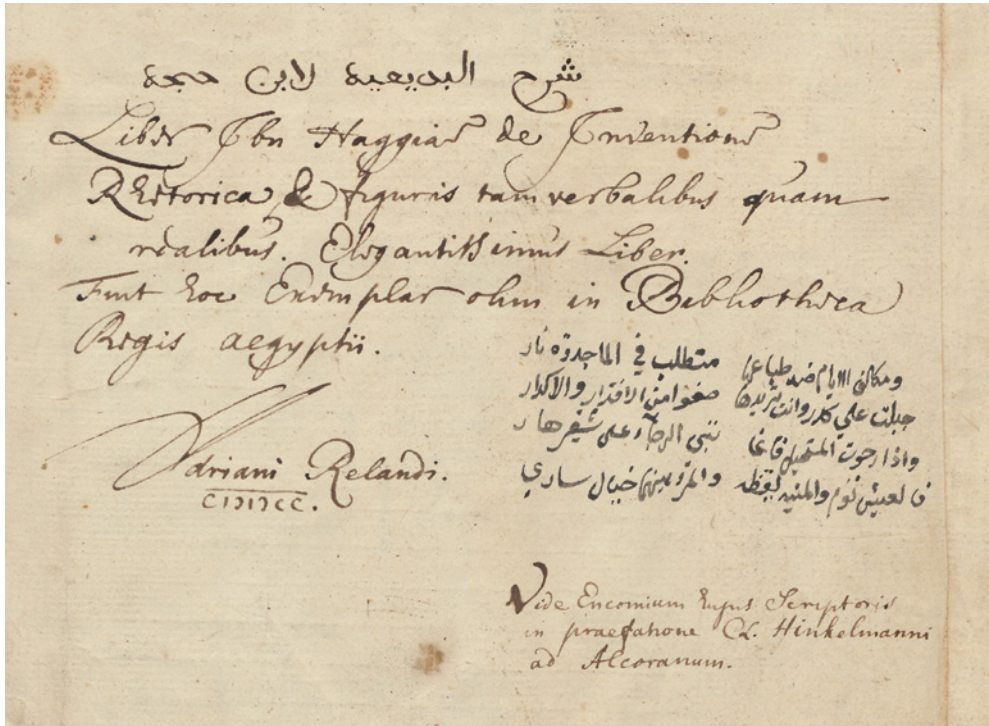


FIGURE 11.2 Inscription on the flyleaf of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1439

rhetoric.⁷⁹ MS 1439 was actually written in AH 1005 (1596/7 CE) and was owned by the otherwise unknown ‘Abdarrahmān b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Jibli.⁸⁰ This means that it was not from a library from an Egyptian sultan, for the Mamluk sultanate ceased to exist in 1517 with the Ottoman conquest, but from the library of one of the Ottoman governors or viceroys of Egypt.

Compared with the previous manuscript, MS 1468 is a simpler affair. It is a Persian text written by Kamāl al-Din Ḥusayn Wā‘iz, better known by his pen name al-Kāshifī (1436/7–1504/5), ‘The Unveiler’. His *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, ‘Ethics of Muḥsin’, is so called after Abū al-Muḥsin, the son of al-Kāshifī’s patron, Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqarā (1438–1506).⁸¹ The Dutch Orientalist Martijn Theodoor

79 Pinckney Stetkevych, ‘From *Jāhiliyyah* to *Badi‘iyyah*’, pp. 274–275; al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*, pp. 102 and 354–355.

80 De Jong, ‘Codices Orientales Rheno-Trajectinae’, p. 264, no. 2673. The manuscript has some decoration with gold paint and blue at the beginning, and has been annotated in Arabic. The leather binding with envelope flap appears to be original.

81 Subtelný, ‘Kāshifī, Kamāl-al-Din Ḥusayn Wā‘iz’; Wickens, ‘Akhlāq-e Mohsinī’; al-Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, ed. Keene, *Akhlāk-i Muḥsinī, or, the Morals of the Beneficent*. For a copy made for Mutter, see Fig. 11.1 above.

Houtsma (1851–1943) wrote a short description of MS 1468, dated 19 March 1942, which is glued on one of the flyleaves at the end of the text. It says that this is a well-known work: libraries in London, Paris, Berlin and elsewhere own half a dozen copies or more of it. The first leaf and ten to twelve leaves at the back are missing. It is a faulty copy, with parts left out or inserted. The script is not bad, although occasionally sloppy. Houtsma does not say that the manuscript contains marginal notes in Dutch and Arabic, written by an unidentified hand which is not that of Golius, who owned the manuscript before Reland.⁸²

The four other manuscripts Rau acquired for the Utrecht University Library were the cheapest, but in hindsight the most important ones. Three of them, MSS 1478, 1479 and 1483, all concern Dutch grammars and/or vocabularies of Oriental languages.

MS 1478 is entitled: ‘The instruction or teaching of the Hindustani and Persian languages, besides their declinations and conjugations as well as a comparison between Hindustani and Dutch measures and weights, together with the meaning of a couple of Moorish names, etc.’ [Fig. 11.3].⁸³

At the bottom of the title page the name of the author is crossed out, which is also the case on fol. ii^r.⁸⁴ Hyperspectral imaging has revealed that the name is that of Joan Josua Ketelaar (1659–1718). This is a name well-known from the archives of the Dutch East India Company. Ketelaar was born (as Kettler) in Elbing (Elbląg in present day Poland), but fled to the Dutch Republic when he was prosecuted for criminal offences. He made his career in Surat, a major port to the north of Mumbai. In 1687 he was promoted from clerk to assistant and in 1696 to accountant. Via an appointment as deputy head of the trading post in Ahmedabad in Gujarat, north of Mumbai, he became head of the trading post in Agra in northern India in 1700.

As we also see from later sources and activities, Ketelaar had a knack for languages, and, mindful that knowing the local language is an asset for commercial

82 An example of Golius’ hand is printed in Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands: Minor Collections*, p. 91. The annotations in MS 1468 are typical of the way that the writer starts the ‘z’ with a curl above it, so that it looks as if the ‘z’ has an ‘o’ on top of it.

83 ‘Instructie of onderwijsinghe der Hindoustanse en Persiaanse taalen: nevens haare declinatie en conjugationes als mede vergelijckigh der hindoustanse met de hollandse maat, en gewigten, mitsgaders beduijdingh eeniger moorse naamen, etc’. The following is based on Pytlowany, *Ketelaar Rediscovered*, especially pp. 63–90. See also Jaski, ‘The Earliest Hindustani Grammar’, <https://www.uu.nl/en/utrecht-university-library-special-collections/collections/manuscripts/modern-manuscripts/instructie-of-onderwijsinghe-der-hindoustanse-en-persiaanse-taalen-by-ketelaar> (accessed 28 April 2021).

84 There is no sign that Reland ever possessed it, apart from its inclusion in the auction catalogue of 1761, see Appendix 2, A qua 14.

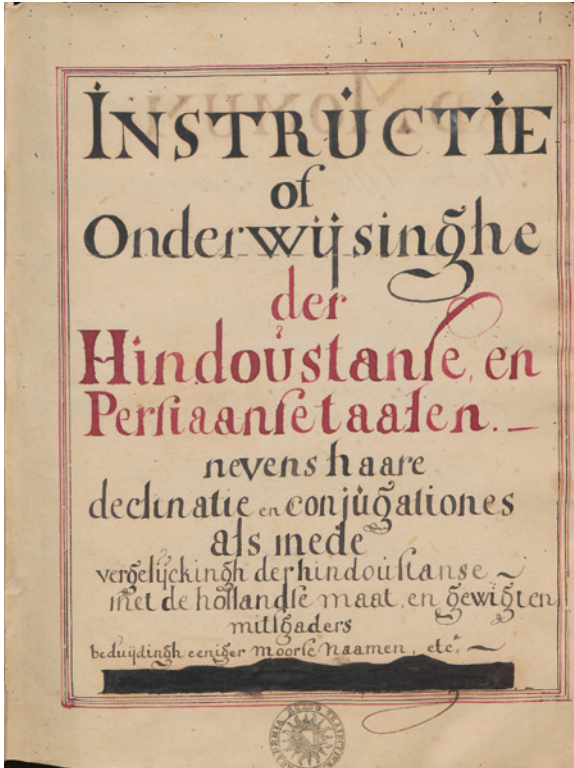


FIGURE 11.3 Title page of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1478, with crossed out: 'door Ian Iosua Ketelaar, Elbengensis'

activities, he wrote his *Instructie* c. 1697–8 in Agra. Three handwritten copies are known. MS 1478 is the most extensive and probably the most original one, but its date and place are unknown. Another copy was made in Lucknow, about 300 km west of Agra, by Isaacq van der Hoeven from Utrecht.⁸⁵ The third copy was finished in Surat in 1714.⁸⁶ The copyist of this third version has been identified as Gideon Boudaan, chief of the trading post in Deshima (Japan) from 1715 to 1716. In 1728, eleven years after his return to the Dutch Republic, Boudaan acquired a minor lordship near Utrecht. In all likelihood

85 The Hague, National Archives, Inv. no. 1.13.19.02, Coll. Sypestein, Supplement no. 2. It was bought by King William I at an auction in London in 1822.

86 Paris, Hôtel Turgot, Foundation Custodia library, Institut Néerlandais, Inv. no. 1991–A615. The manuscript was in Paris in the late nineteenth century, but the Foundation Custodia bought it from the Amsterdam antiquarian Israel in 1991.

he lent his copy of the *Instructie* to David Mill, who used it for a chapter in his *Dissertationes selectae*, published in 1743.⁸⁷ Reland's copy was at that point still in the house of Jan Hubertus, and Mill probably never knew about it. It is remarkable that Reland should have already acquired his copy of the *Instructie* while Ketelaar was still alive, which testifies to his good connections. Perhaps he owed it to his contacts with Mutter.

This may also apply to MS 1479, another manuscript with a long title: 'Attempt to make a neat description of the quality, power and the use of Malabarian vocals, letters, etc. in comparison with other languages'.⁸⁸ On the last page, fol. 28^v, is a note in which the author says he had wanted to add a section on the conjugation of verbs, but as he is moving house to Chavagacheri he does not have the time to do so, and he shall send it over at the first occasion.⁸⁹ Chavagacheri on the northern peninsula of Sri Lanka is adjacent to Jaffna, where the Dutch captured the Portuguese fortress in 1658. It is interesting to see that this manuscript served linguistic purposes rather than commercial ones, and was apparently written upon request. As Anna Pytlowany suggests, the manuscript may be closely related to, or is perhaps even an autograph of, the Dutch minister Philip(pus) Baelde (Baldaeus, 1632–1671/2), who was stationed in Jaffnapatnam from 1658 to 1665, and had an interest in the Tamil language.⁹⁰ In 1666 he returned to the Dutch Republic and settled in Geervliet (south of Rotterdam). How Reland acquired the manuscript on the Malabarian language is unknown, but he appears to have had an interest in Tamil.⁹¹

MS 1483 is entitled *Vocabularium Formosanum*. Reland's name does not appear anywhere, but the capital letters in which the title is written is the same as that of MS 21 discussed above [Fig. 11.4 and 11.5], and the headings 'Formosana' and 'Belgica' on p. 2 are also in his hand.

87 Mill, *Dissertationes selectae varias* (1743), pp. [ii]–[iii]; 455–509.

88 'Poginge om net te beschrijven d'eygenschap, kragt en het gebruyk van de Malabaerse vocalen, letteren etc. in vergelijking met die van andere talen'. Reland has written the title 'Grammatica linguae Malabaricae' and his name on the flyleaf.

89 See Pytlowany, *Ketelaar Rediscovered*, p. 47, which gives the Dutch text and an English translation.

90 See *ibid.*, pp. 43–47, 52, where she also discusses Baldaeus' name in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 283, for which see also Muru, 'Early Descriptors and Descriptions', p. 8. For a short Tamil grammar included in Baldaeus' *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel* (1672), see Ziegenbalg, *Grammatica Damulica*, ed. Jeyarai, *Tamil Language for Europeans*, pp. 18–21.

91 Pytlowany, *Ketelaar Rediscovered*, p. 50.

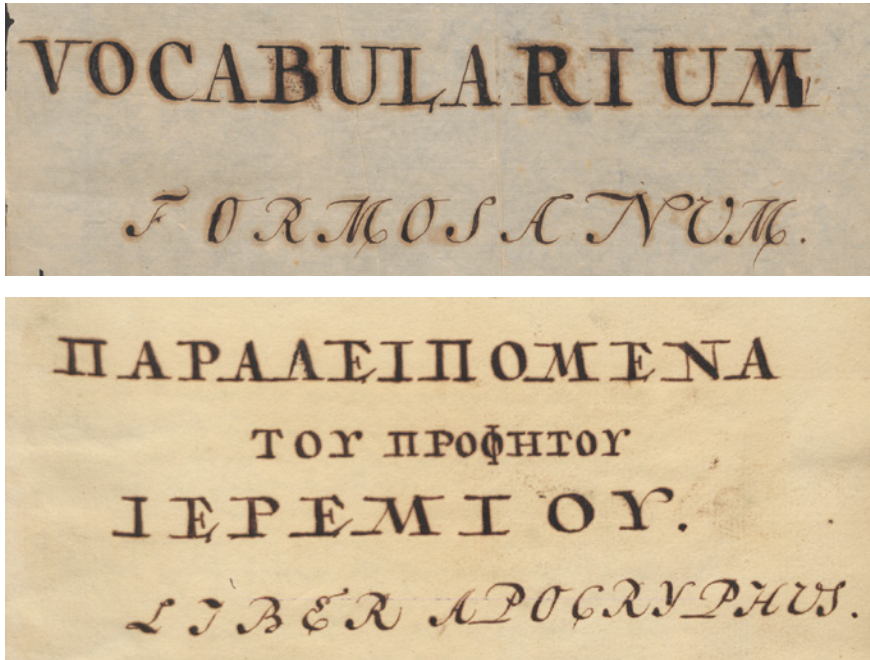


FIGURE 11.4 AND 11.5 Title pages of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1483, compared with MS 21, both by the same hand, which was probably Reland's. He possessed both manuscripts and the titles of both works also appear in the auction catalogue of 1761.

The text is written on paper. Pages 2 to 49 contain a vocabulary of 1072 words, pages 50 to 55 dialogues in which pupils with Dutch names talk about school.⁹² The Dutch were present on the island of Formosa (now Taiwan) from 1624 to 1668. In 1644 the church council of Batavia ordered the compilation of a Sakam dictionary, so named after the village where, in 1653, the Dutch built Fort Provintia, close to their main settlement, Fort Zeelandia. This was in the area where the indigenous population of the south-west of the island spoke Sinckan (Sinkang) or Siraya, an Austronesian language related to Malay and Javanese, not to Chinese. MS 1473 reflects the Siraya language at the time, and is the earliest written representation of the coastal dialect.⁹³ From the

92 Van der Vlis, 'Over een woordenboek der Formosaansche taal' (1840); idem, 'Formosaansche woorden-lijst, volgens een Utrechtsch handschrift' (1842).

93 Li, *Studies of Sinkang Manuscripts*, pp. xii–xxii, who also points out that Christian texts translated into Formosan and printed by Daniel Gravius in 1661–1662 reflect the outlying Siraya dialects of Taivuan and Makatau. In 1650 Gilberus Happert wrote a dictionary of the Favorlang language which is found in a manuscript copied by Jacobus Vertrecht. These

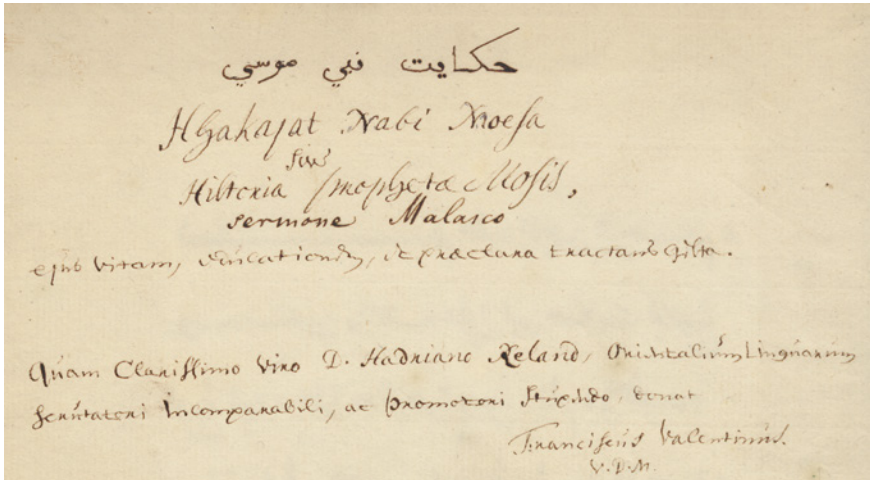


FIGURE 11.6 Inscription by François Valentijn on the title page of *Hikayat nabi Musa*, to which Reland added the title in Arabic script and the Latin 'sermone Malacca'

dialogue it is clear that the text was used at a Christian school, and sources state that Sirayan pupils began to learn Dutch in 1648 and even requested a list of Dutch names because they planned to use these names in the future.⁹⁴ We may consequently place the manuscript in the period of c. 1650. It is possible that when school masters or preachers returned to Batavia, as was usual, one of the copies of the vocabularies found its way to Reland via his network of suppliers.

One of these suppliers of manuscripts was François Valentijn, who, as we have seen, was in close contact with Reland. He dedicated MS 1482, a copy of *Hikayat nabi Musa* ('History of the Prophet Moses') 'to the most learned man, Master Adriaan Reland, incomparable examiner and wonderful promotor of Oriental languages' [Fig. 11.6].⁹⁵

It is a copy of 54 pages on European paper, carefully written in Arabic script by Valentijn's wife Cornelia. The original from Valentijn's collection is presumably a manuscript now Leiden, University Library, Or. 1625.⁹⁶ Valentijn

names and the Sakam dictionary are discussed in Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 88–89, 92–93. On the Siraya language, see also Adelaar, *Siraya: Retrieving the Phonology, Grammar and Lexicon of a Dormant Formosan Language*.

94 Chiu, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa: 1624–1662*, p. 199, cf. pp. 309–313.

95 As written on the title page: 'clarissimo viro D(omino) Hadriano Reland, orientalium linguarum scrutatori incomparabili, ac promotori stupendo'. The nature of the relationship between Reland and Valentijn remains unclear.

96 Damsté, 'De slang in de steen en de twee Cornelia's Valentijn', pp. 172–174; Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay*, p. 25. It was used to teach Malay to Valentijn's daughter, also called

similarly dedicated another manuscript copy made by his wife, of *Hikayat Isma Yatim* ('History of Isma the Orphan') to Reland. It is now in Manchester.⁹⁷ It was copied from a version by a scribe named Ismail written in 1702, found in a compilation now in Kuala Lumpur.⁹⁸ Valentijn donated the two copies made by his wife to Reland between 1714 and 1718, after he had returned from his second stay in the Dutch Indies.

This completes the manuscripts Rau obtained for the University Library of Utrecht. It is a small and diverse collection, and the reasons for acquiring them may have been various. It should be emphasized that Utrecht is the only institution we know of for sure that bought manuscripts directly at the auction. That Rau was involved in the auction no doubt stimulated this, but for Utrecht this was an unprecedented way of adding Oriental manuscripts to their collection. It was not until the 1970s that several Oriental manuscripts were again bought at auctions or elsewhere.⁹⁹

5 From Rau to Rau: The Provenance of MS 1443

MS 1443 is a copy of Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Tifāshī (1184–1253/4), *Kitāb Azhār al-afkār fī jawāhir al-ahjār* ('Flowers of Thoughts on Precious Stones').¹⁰⁰

Cornelia (1701–1761), and her siblings. Two of her own, incomplete copies of this version now form Breda, Koninklijke Militaire Academie, 6620 ('Scripta a Domina Cornelia Valentijn, A^o. 1726'). This institution, founded in 1828, also acquired three manuscripts from Reland's collection via the Culemborg mayor B.T. Nedermeijer Bosch (died 1847), see Appendix 2, A qua 29, 35 and 39. A copy of MS 1482 is now Leiden, University Library, Or. 7333.

97 Appendix 2, A qua 7; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, p. 130 (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Malay 3).

98 This version of the text, the oldest now extant, is in Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya, Museum of Asian Arts (Muzium Seni Asia), MS 81.163, see Braginsky, "Newly Found" Manuscripts that were Never Lost'. It contains three texts: *Hikayat Isma Yatim* (copied by Ismail in 1702), a compilation about Islam, and *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (a copy of Cornelia Valentijn senior of this text is Leiden, University Library, Or. 1626(3)). There is a facsimile edition of this compilation, *Syair Perang Mengkasar, Ma'rifat Islam, Hikayat Isma Yatim*, published in 1994. The binding (in white vellum) resembles that of MS 1482, according to *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Indian and Persian Miniatures from the Celebrated Collection by Sir Thomas Phillipps*, p. 38, no. 663. This manuscript is listed as 'Systema religionis Mohammedanae cum versione Malaisca interlineari' in *The Phillipps Manuscripts*, ed. Munby, p. 71, no. 4428.

99 This happened at the initiative of the Turcologist and librarian Henri Franciscus Hofman (1917–1998), see Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts*, pp. 273–274, 282–318.

100 For a modern edition, see al-Tifāshī, *Kitāb Azhār al-afkār*, ed. Ḥasan and Basyūnī, *Kitāb Azhār al-Afkār fī Jawāhir al-Ahjār*; see also ed. and tr. Raineri, *Fior di pensieri sulle pietre preziose di Ahmed Teifascite* (1818); tr. Zilio-Grandi, *Il libro delle pietre preziose*.

It is devoted to 25 precious stones and their qualities, including their price and medical applications.¹⁰¹ This is the oldest and arguably the most beautiful manuscript of Reland's in the collection of Utrecht University Library [Fig. 11.7].

On p. 208 we read that it was copied by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad in AH 769 (1367 CE). Below the note of Golius' auction catalogue (N^o. 7^o Bot. fol.) on the first flyleaf before the beginning of the text, Reland wrote 'De Gemmis Liber auctore Abulabas Ahmed ben Tousaefa Abu Mohammed. Adriani Relandi' ('About Precious Stones. A book by author ...'). He repeats this somewhat differently on the second flyleaf and on the title page, above the decorated cartouche which gives the title [Fig. 11.7]. The repetition of the title may indicate that Reland was particularly pleased to possess this manuscript, which was among the most expensive manuscripts of the auction of 1761. Reland added notes in the margin in Latin, but there are also a few notes not written by him.

The first scholar to study the manuscript and describe it in some detail was the son of Sebald Rau, Sebald Fulco Johannes Rau (1765–1807).¹⁰² The father presided at his son's public lecture on al-Tifāshī's text on precious stones in 1784, which was subsequently published. Rau junior describes how one of the four manuscripts which he consulted came into his possession when his father bought it from the collection of Jacob Willemsen after the latter's death in 1780.¹⁰³ Rau junior had planned to publish a complete edition and translation of al-Tifāshī's text, but the explosion of a ship full of gunpowder in Leiden in 1807 destroyed his home with all his notes and many of his books and manuscripts. While Rau was not among those who were killed, a short disease the same year led to his death. He had six children, and his son Sebald Jean Everhard donated more than twenty manuscripts from his father to Leiden University Library in 1887.¹⁰⁴ Yet our MS 1443 was not among them. At some time between Rau junior's death in 1807 and its description in 1873 it entered

101 Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Erster Supplementband*, p. 904, no. 5; Rosenfeld and İhsanoğlu, *Mathematicians, Astronomers and other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and their Works (7th–19th C.)*, p. 206, no. 585.

102 On his career, see Glasius, *Godgeleerd Nederland. Biographisch woordenboek van Nederlandsche godgeleerden*, vol. 3, cols. 140–146.

103 Rau, *Specimen Arabicum: continens descriptionem et excerpta libri Achmedis Teifaschii de gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis* (1784), pp. 26–29. Willemsen's acquisition of Reland's manuscripts in 1761 is discussed above. MS 1443 is not found in Cat. Willmet 1837, pp. 165–168.

104 Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental manuscripts*, vol. 4, pp. 25–26. Four of these had been from Reland, see Appendix 2, A fol 17, 18, 29, 41.



FIGURE 11.7 Title page of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1443

Utrecht University Library.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps Rau senior regained the manuscript and donated it to the collection of which he was the librarian.

6 The Manuscripts of Swijghuisen Groenewoud

As discussed above, Sebald Rau did not only buy manuscripts for the University Library, he also bought a number for himself. In 1765 Rau became librarian of the university, and he fulfilled this office for more than 40 years, next to his professorships in Oriental languages and theology. When he died in 1818 his book collection was auctioned, including manuscripts which had belonged to Reland.¹⁰⁶ Two of these were bought by Jacob Cornelis Swijghuisen Groenewoud (1784–1859), who had studied in Utrecht and had even taken over some lectures for the aged Rau. In 1817 he became professor of Oriental languages at the University of Franeker, but in 1831 he returned to Utrecht, where he spent the rest of his academic career.¹⁰⁷ Between 1860 and 1871 Doedonea Swijghuisen Groenewoud donated hundreds of books and manuscripts from her late husband's library to Utrecht University Library.¹⁰⁸ Among them were two manuscripts from Reland's collection.¹⁰⁹

MS 1447 is a small, damaged manuscript of which only the first nineteen pages remain. It is a tract by 'Abd al-Bārī al-Rifā'ī al-'Ashmāwī (fl. sixteenth

105 De Goeje, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 5, p. 269, no. 2689.

106 Cat. Rau 1818. See Appendix 2, A qua 6 (discussed below), 41, 51, oct 9, 17 (discussed below), 22, 24.

107 De Bie and Loosjes, *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, vol. 3, pp. 361–362.

108 Grosheide, *Vier eeuwen*, p. 216.

109 Among the documents the widow of Swijghuisen-Groenewoud donated is also an Esther scroll (*Megilat Ester*) from which Jews read during the festival of Purim ('Lots'). Now MS 1426, it contains the text only, written in a regular, accomplished Hebrew script assigned to Germany in the eighteenth century. It may be the same as is mentioned in the Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 27, no. 215. Willmet had acquired several manuscripts of Reland's collection via Willemsen and Jacobus Johannes de Bruin (see the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume), but as this scroll was not among them, it is unlikely to be the 'Volumen Estrae' in Cat. Reland 1761 (Appendix 2, A fol 36), which fetched a relatively high price (fl. 4/5). By contrast, MS 1426 is a simple manuscript, does not have a mark of Reland's ownership, and may well be later in date than 1718. Equally uncertain is MS 1470, also donated by the widow of Swijghuisen-Groenewoud. It is a copy of the *Silsilat al-zahab* ('The Chain of Gold') by the Persian poet Jāmi, written in Persian. Yet it has the title 'Catena aurea. Liber Arabicus' on the title page, and is surely identical to the manuscript with the same title in Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, no. 42. The mistake is curious, the title was not written by Reland and differs from 'Catena aurea gloria justorum, Liber moralis, Persice', in Cat. Reland 1761 (Appendix 2, A oct 30), which concerns the same title.

century CE), entitled *al-Muqaddima al-‘Ashmāwiyya fi ‘l-‘ibādāt* ('The ‘Ashmāwī Introduction to Acts of Worship’).¹¹⁰ It is an introductory text that covers ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), prayer (*ṣalāh*) and fasting (*ṣawm*), and is one of the standard introductory texts in the Mālikī school of law.¹¹¹ There are some marginal comments in Arabic, especially at the beginning, but for the rest it is simply the text. Later authors wrote extensive commentaries on this work, which survive in far greater numbers than the manuscripts that only have the text itself.¹¹²

Of greater interest is MS 1471, which is described in the auction catalogue of 1761 as ‘*Mazabich a l’Calub*, a Persian book, in which the lives of the first members of mankind—Adam, Noah, Abraham—and the sacred rites are discussed’.¹¹³ In his catalogue entry of MS 1471,¹¹⁴ Pieter de Jong notes that this work is included in the monumental literary bibliography of Ḥājji Khalifa (Kātip Çelebi) (1609–1659), the *Kashf al-Zunūn*. The entry therein reads:

Maṣābīh al-qulūb, The Lights of the Hearts. [A book] about [providing] exhortation, in Persian. By Shaykh Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Sabzavāri al-Bayhaqī al-Shāfi‘ī, who died in ... It is divided into 53 chapters, and, according to what I have seen, it belongs to the Shī‘ī books, or is full of guiles (? *aw madsūs*).¹¹⁵

110 The title-page has *Kitāb al-‘Ashmāwiyya fi ‘l-fiqh*.

111 Appendix 2, A oct 17 (as usual, the title in the auction catalogue of 1761 reflects the one given by Reland on the title-page, after which he has written the title in Arabic).

112 C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Zweiter Supplementband*, p. 435, no. 2b.

113 ‘*Mazabich a l’Calub*, liber Persicus, in quo agitur de vitis primorum hominum Adami, Noachi, Abrahami & de ritibus sacris’; see Cat. Reland 1761, second part, p. 5, no. 6; Appendix 2, A qua 6. This reflects the title written by Reland on the second flyleaf before the title page, on which Reland notes the work consists of 53 chapters. It has 230 folio’s and is incomplete at the end, where the story of Salomon abruptly ends due to missing pages.

114 De Goeje, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 5, pp. 274–275, no. 2707. See also Tiele, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae*, p. 345, cat. 1471, who adds that the author’s nickname is Salīmī.

115 ‘*Mesábīh el-colúb*, lucernae cordium. Opus paraeneticum persice scriptum a Sheikh Abu Ali El-Hasan Ben Mohammed Sebzewári Beihacki Shafiita, qui anno ... obiit. Dispositum est in quinquaginta tres sectiones, et, ut vidi, ad libros shiiticos pertinet aut ex occulto doctrinam shiiticam docet’; see Flügel, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustafa Ben Abdallah, Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalfu celebrato compositum*, vol. 5, p. 573, no. 12134. Christian Lange informs me that Flügel’s translation of the last part, ‘aut ex occulto doctrinam shiiticam docet’ (‘or teaches from occult Shī‘ī doctrine’), does not correctly translate the Arabic text which Flügel also prints. The author’s correct name is Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, better known as al-Shī‘ī al-Sabzavāri.

The author, Shī'ī Sabzavārī (fl. AH 757/1356 CE), was from the city of Sabzavār in the Bayhaq area, now in north-eastern Iran. The period in which he lived was unknown to Ḥājjī Khalifa. Few other manuscript copies are known, at least in Europe.¹¹⁶

Reland included an entry of this manuscript in his 'Index' (no. 24), where he notes that various religious matters are discussed, the history of the prophets, sacred rituals, etc., but that it has 40 chapters rather than 53 as he noted himself on the title page of the manuscript itself. It is a gift from the Reverend Texelius, the brightest person in Den Briel. This is no doubt Pieter van Tessel (1640–1715), who had studied theology in Leiden. In the 'Index' of the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica* (also no. 24) Reland states that the book was 'discussed with me' (*communicavit mecum*) by Texelius,¹¹⁷ suggesting that Reland did not have it in his possession in 1705—this was just before or after Texelius's death in 1715.

How would this rather obscure minister have obtained this rare Persian manuscript? A short description in Dutch in the top margin of the first page of the actual text (fol. 1^v) contains a clue. It appears to read: 'No. 6 named Mosabieh al koloeb, an historical story about the blessed patriarchs, and lessons from the Qur'an'.¹¹⁸ One may at first presume that this was written by Texelius, but the script, phrasing and numbering are quite identical to annotations in two other Oriental manuscripts, both from the collection of Cornelis Mutter, but brought to Hamburg by Winckler.¹¹⁹ As we have established that Mutter died between 1701 and 1704, there are no chronological objections to the argument

116 Péri, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, pp. 26–28 (Persza Qu. 09/2, written in 1651). Here it is described as 'a commentary on fifty-three traditions of the Prophet Muhammad highlighting various ethical and moral issues. The work, intended for beginners who wished to learn the art of preaching, is divided into fifty-three chapters'. See further Shī'ī Sabzavārī, Abū Sa'īd Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn, *Masābīh al-qulūb: sharḥ-i Fārsī-i panjāh va sih ḥadīs-i akhlāqī az payāambar-i Islām*, ed. Siphri.

117 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (1717), p. [283]; p. [199] in the edition of 1705. The discrepancy between the entry in the 'Index' and Reland's description of the contents in the manuscript (taken over in the catalogue of 1761, cf. Appendix 2, A qua 6) is odd, and the 40 chapters may be an oversight by Reland (perhaps he was confused with Appendix 2, A fol 11). The title in Arabic script in the 'Index' is the same as that in the manuscript, and in the catalogue of 1761 it is identified with that in the 'Index' no. 24.

118 'No. 6—genaamd mosabieh al koloeb, een historis verhaal van den godsaligen oudvaders. en lessen van den al Coraan'.

119 See Appendix 2, A qua 6: see Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 175 (No. 10) and 196 (no. 1), see Brockelmann, *Katalog Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, p. 81, no. 148 and pp. 107–108, no. 209. I am grateful to Monika Müller for helping me to get digital scans of specimens of Mutter's handwriting. Another manuscript by Mutter, Leiden,

that Mutter possessed MS 1471 in or some time before 1705. Mutter would have been in a perfect position to both acquire the manuscript in India and to have understood its contents. If this is a correct deduction, one may suspect that Reland was aware of it but that he chose not to record it.

7 Two Annotated Printed Books

Finally, we come to the two printed books which contain marginal annotations. Both were sold in the auction of 1718, but neither entered the University Library of Utrecht directly after that. MS 1551 is an edition of the classical poet Propertius, edited by Joan van Broekhuizen, who gave this copy to Reland, as is clear from the title-page.¹²⁰ Broukhusius (1649–1707) was a professional soldier with an interest in classical literature. He shared a number of acquaintances with Reland, such as Petrus Francius and Petrus Burmannus senior (1668–1741).¹²¹ Reland appreciated the gift: on several pages he added notes in Latin, Greek and Dutch in the margins. The printer's mark on the title page has an inscription that reads 'Andreae Gochenii, Jo. Lud. filii', written by Andreas Gochenius (1728–c. 1765), who was a preacher in Amerongen (province of Utrecht) from 1751 to 1764, when he retired at a young age due to failing health. He was thus not the one who bought the annotated Propertius in 1718. The book is first recorded in the library catalogue of 1835.¹²²

With regard to Oriental studies, v fol 89 rar is of greater interest. It is Gentius' edition of the Persian *Rosarium politicum*, printed in 1651.¹²³ It has the Persian text on the left and the Latin translation on the right. This, too, was a gift to Reland, this time from his friend Sikius, as the inscription on the title page 'Relando Sikius' shows. A further note, written by an unknown hand, adds: 'It is collated with handwritten codices and throughout are added the roots

University Library, Or. 1343 (Appendix 2, A qua 55), has the number 13 and the title in Dutch, so Arnoud Vrolijk has informed me, but he is not sure the hand is that of Mutter.

120 Sextus Propertius, *Elegiae*, ed. [J. Broukhusius], *Sex. Aurelii Propertii Elegiarum libri quatuor* (1702); Appendix 2, C 8. The dedication reads: 'Clarissimo Relando donavit', to which Reland has added 'Auctor Janus Broukhusius'.

121 Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus en de *Boekzaal van Europe*', pp. 18–19. See further the chapter by Remke Kruk and Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume, pp. 133–137, and the literature there cited.

122 *Bibliothecae Rheno-Trajectinae Catalogus* (1835), p. 751.

123 Muşliḥ al-Dīn Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, ed. Gentius, *Musladini Sadi Rosarium politicum, sive Amoenum sortis humanae theatrum* (1651); Appendix 2, C 7.

of Persian words clarified by Henricus Sikius'.¹²⁴ This is indeed what we find: almost all the pages with the Persian text and some pages with the Latin translation are annotated by Sikius [Fig. 11.8].¹²⁵

But Reland appears to have made some additions as well. One of his notes begins with 'in MS.to. meo inscitur hoc ...' ('in my manuscript is here written ...') (p. 41). We know that he had a manuscript of the *Gulistān*, with the Persian text and a Dutch translation by Mutter on interleaved pages, written between 1676 and 1680.¹²⁶ He also had another version in which he noted the passages in this manuscript that were missing in Gentius' edition.¹²⁷ A third name written on the title-page is that of 'S. Ravius', and so, again, it was Sebald Rau senior who came into the possession of one of Reland's books. The library kept a record of its printed acquisitions, and we consequently know that this was catalogued in 1818, the year when Rau died. The acquired manuscripts are not listed.¹²⁸

8 Conclusion

With Sikius and Rau we have come full circle. For it was Sikius who stimulated Reland to pursue Oriental studies at the beginning of his career, while Rau stands at the other end and was the one who stimulated his university to acquire eight manuscripts from the Reland collection at the auction of 1761. Yet this could not prevent Utrecht from remaining in the shadow of Leiden as a centre of Oriental studies, and in the end it was Leiden which, in various ways, and more by coincidence than by design, collected most of Reland's library of manuscripts and annotated and rare printed books. According to the present

124 'Collatum est cum codd. MSSis, & adscriptis passim vocum Persicarum radicibus illustratum ab Henrico Sikiō'.

125 Note his peculiar way of writing '&c', as he does on pp. 46, 52 and 326. There are some references to words in Hebrew, Greek and Arabic, see, for example, pp. 120, 164 and 250.

126 Appendix 2, A fol 2, now Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS pers. 8, see *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im preussischen Staate. I Hannover 3 Göttingen 3*, p. 397.

127 Appendix 2, A oct 7: Gulistan, sive Rosarium, auctore Scheih Saadi, Persice, in fronte notavit [Relandus] multa in hoc codice haberi, quae in editione Gentii non extant.

128 The number at the back, 9602, corresponds to the handwritten *Index librorum quibus ab anno inde 1816 aucta est Academiae Trajectinae Bibliotheca* in Utrecht University Library. It is also in the *Bibliothecae Rheno-Trajectinae Catalogus* of 1835, p. 854.

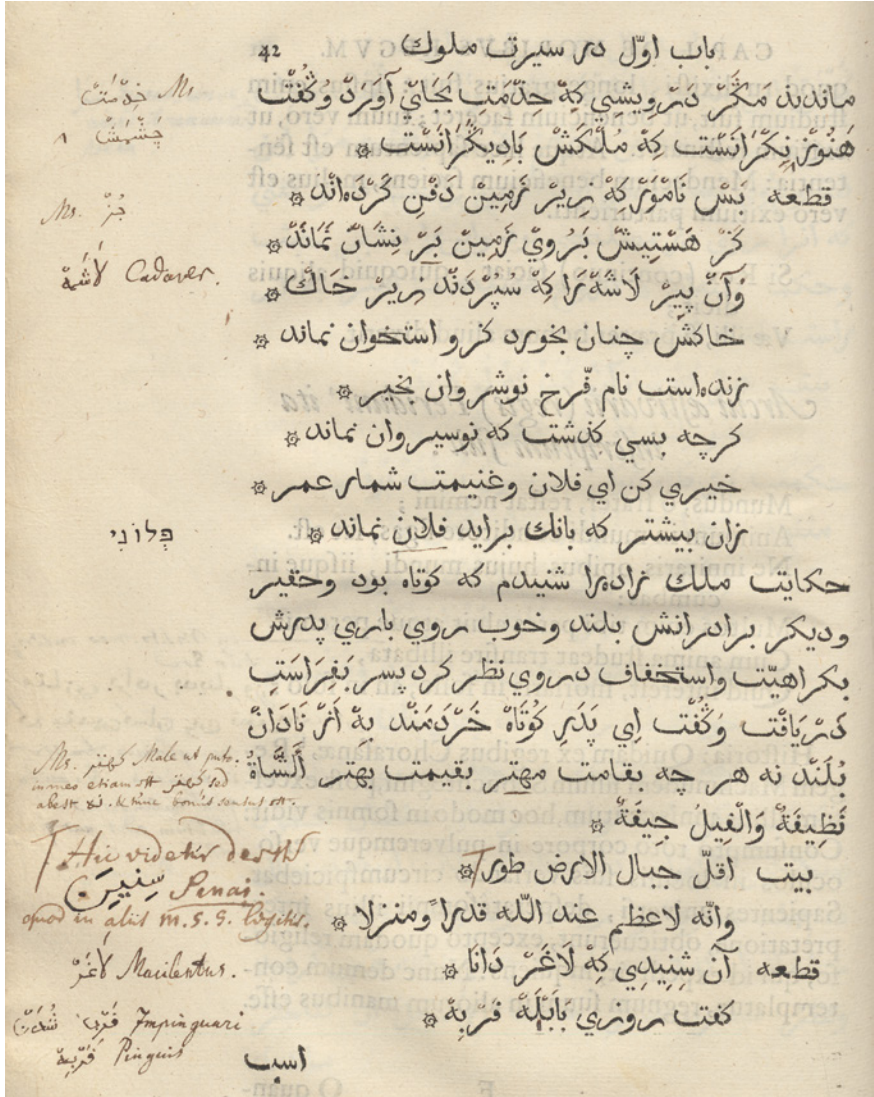


FIGURE 11.8 Marginal notes by Sikius and Reland ('Hic videtur ...') on p. 42 of G. Gentius (ed.), *Musladini Sadi Rosarium politicum, sive Amoenum sortis humanae theatrum...*, Amsterdam, Johannes Blaeu, 1651

tally, Leiden now has 39 items,¹²⁹ the Vatican 25,¹³⁰ Utrecht 13,¹³¹ Berlin 12,¹³² Göttingen 5,¹³³ Bonn 4,¹³⁴ Breda and Oxford 3 each,¹³⁵ and Cambridge, Chicago, Copenhagen, Jena, Manchester, Paris and The Hague 1 each.¹³⁶ This gives a total of 109, which is a bit more than half of the manuscripts and annotated and rare printed books we know of.¹³⁷ This dispersal of manuscripts is of course typical of a time in which private collections were not acquired wholesale by academic institutions. Our view is complicated by manuscripts of Reland which exist in multiple copies or which do not appear in his auction catalogue. This is what we encounter elsewhere, as in the case of the collection of Golius, the dispersal of which still has to be investigated in detail. We have seen from their respective auction catalogues that Reland himself acquired 31 manuscripts from the former library of Golius. Yet Reland also possessed two manuscripts with Arabic translations of biblical books by the Jewish Moroccan Saadia ben Levi Azkanot (fl. 1629–1650). Saadia produced at least two such translations at the request of Golius, and these had already been acquired, probably shortly after Golius' death in 1667, by Thomas Marshall (1621–1685), rector of Lincoln College in Oxford, while he was acting as a preacher to English merchants in the Netherlands from 1647 to 1672.¹³⁸ It may well be that Reland had obtained two other manuscripts written by Saadia from Golius' library.

The use Reland made of his manuscripts deserves further study, not only with regard to the *De religione Mohammedica*, even though it contains the 'Index' of the manuscripts he used, but also with regard to his other publications, in

129 See the list in the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume.

130 Appendix 2, A fol 1, 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27, 28, 30, qua 8, 25, 36, 44, 52, 54, 61, 62, oct 1, 3, 25.

131 A fol 10, 11, 31, qua 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 37, 49, oct 17, C 7, C8. All these manuscripts have been digitised and are available online.

132 A fol 42, qua 1 (a-c, counted as three), 63a, 63b, 63c, oct 32, 33, 24, SJ c, D 5.

133 A fol 2, qua 3, 16, oct 20, 35.

134 A qua 2, 10, 18, 21.

135 A qua 29, 35, 39; D 7, 8, 9.

136 D 6; A qua 19; A qua 1a; A qua 46; A qua 7; A qua 59; A oct 36; not counting A oct 15 (Glasgow?).

137 Exact figures are hard to give, since the lots in the auction catalogue of 1761 do not always correspond with the individual manuscripts in modern collections.

138 See Appendix 2, A fol 14 and 15 (both written in 1641; now kept as one manuscript, Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ar. 24). Saadia's translation of Maimonides is now Oxford, Bodleian, MS Marshall 186, and his transcription of a legal compendium, written in Amsterdam, is now Ms Marshall 362; both had belonged to Golius, see Poole, 'Early Oxford Hebraism', p. 80. For Marshall, see Dekker, 'The Old Frisian Studies', pp. 121–122. Saadia's translation of Genesis, Psalms and Daniel is now London, British Library, Harley 5505, see Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, vol. 2, p. 232. Leiden, University Library, Or. 1228, contains one or two letters from Saadia to Golius.

which he also refers to the manuscripts he consulted.¹³⁹ His interest in manuscripts as expressed in his letters needs to be investigated too.¹⁴⁰ These and other letters also give evidence of Reland's international network, which partially overlaps with his network and contacts as evidenced by his manuscripts and other books, and which extended to the Far East.

Reland's vast amount of publications, broad interests, impressive knowledge and formidable network are among the aspects of his scholarly life which we are still learning to understand and appreciate. He certainly fulfilled his aim to prove and promote the usefulness of Oriental studies in Utrecht, but his untimely death may have prevented him from solidifying this.¹⁴¹ Successive professors in Oriental languages were appointed: David Mill (1718–1756), Sebald Rau (1750–1810), Jean Henri Pareau (1815–1830), Jacobus Cornelis Swijghuisen-Groenewoud (1830–1855) and Hendrik Christiaan Milliës (1856–1868). It is telling that the oration of Hendrik Christiaan Milliës should have been entitled *About the necessity of (studying) Oriental literature with Christian theology*.¹⁴² Ironically, shortly after the professorship in Oriental languages disappeared, the Oriental manuscripts in Utrecht, including those of Reland, were described and published in the catalogues of de Goeje (1873) and Tiele (1887).

The torch of the study of Oriental languages, religions and cultures was now taken over by three successive professors of Hebrew literature and antiquities, Pieter de Jong (1832–1890), Martin Theodoor Houtsma (1851–1943), who retired in 1917, and Theodoor Willem Juynboll (1866–1948); all three had studied in Leiden. In 1925 the Faculty of Indological Studies was founded, in which an

139 See, for example, the note at Appendix 2, A oct 24.

140 See, for example, London, British Library, Add. 4277, fol. 138 and 56, written by Reland on 20 July and 27 October 1706 to Joseph Wasse (1672–1738), a scholar at Queen's College, Cambridge, who worked on an edition of the works of the Latin historian Sallust. The second letter is transcribed in Bernhard, Birch and Lockman, *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, vol. 8, p. 717 (for 'Voolio' read 'Koolio': Johannes Koolius of Amersfoort). The letters mention the names of several scholars Reland knew, including Sikius.

141 It should be noted that during the time that Reland was professor in Utrecht, the vast majority of students in Utrecht graduated in either law or medicine, very few in theology or philosophy, Reland's department. In the *Album promotorum* of Utrecht Reland is not mentioned as a promotor, and not a single student wrote his dissertation on Oriental studies, although he presided over the public examinations of philological disputations by Johannes Boddens (*De filo rubro altaris Hierosolymitani*, 1714), Hieronymus van Alphen (*De barbaris et Scythis. Coloss. 3:11*, 1717), Petrus van der Hagen (*De tryphone Judaeo, Justini martyris antagonista*, 1717) and Emo Lucius Vriemoet (*De uxore domiseda. Epist. ad Titum, n. 5*, 1717, which has three arguments partially in Arabic script). Reland's successor David Milliës graduated one day after he had become professor.

142 Milliës, *Oratio De literarum Orientalum cum theologia Christiana necessitudine* (1856).

interest in Oriental languages and Islam was fostered to prepare students for a career in the Dutch Indies. After the definitive loss of the Dutch Indies in 1949, Oriental studies continued in the department of Oriental languages and cultures, which, under Jan Gonda (1905–1991), focused mainly on the study of Sanskrit. This department was abolished in 1992, and within the department of Religious Studies the study of Islam rose again to prominence. It is also in the last few decades that the Oriental collection in Utrecht, including the Reland manuscripts, has begun to attract the notice of scholars. This heralded a renewed appreciation of Reland and his collection which was long overdue. Now, more than 300 years after his death, Adriaan Reland is finally regaining the stature that he enjoyed during his own lifetime.¹⁴³

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The Adriaan Reland Collection at Leiden University Library

Antoine Galland Autographs, Oriental Manuscripts and the Enigmas of the 1761 Auction Catalogue

Arnoud Vrolijk

Private Oriental manuscript collections convey mixed messages.¹ There can be no doubt that they reflect to a large extent the scholarly interests of their collectors, but in the background other factors are also at play. Availability plays a prime part, and anyone who has ever attended an auction will readily admit that one's desire to possess an object is not always commensurate with the depth of one's pocket. If the scholar in question travelled to the Orient he could tap directly at the source, but unlike their seventeenth-century predecessors, eighteenth-century Dutch Orientalists were not of the travelling kind, with the main exception of Johannes Heyman (1667–1737), who had been pastor of the Dutch Protestant community in Izmir before taking up the Chair of Oriental languages at Leiden in 1710. He owned a small collection of Oriental manuscripts which was dispersed after his death.² In isolated cases scholars could perhaps use the intermediary of diplomatic channels. The lively booktrade in the Dutch Republic did not import manuscripts as such, but a modest number of handwritten volumes arrived through the well-developed Dutch trade in Asian commodities. Some employees of the Dutch East India Company or Protestant missionaries acquainted themselves with Oriental languages such as Persian and Malay, and sometimes assembled collections which they took home upon retirement. As a result, the best opportunity to acquire manuscripts was to attend the auctions of deceased predecessors, and collections kept on being recycled from one generation to another. This inevitably limited one's choice, so the presence of a certain manuscript, or the absence of others, does not necessarily fully reflect a scholar's own tastes or proclivities.

A case in point is the Dutch Orientalist and Islam scholar Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), who never set foot outside his native country but nevertheless left

1 I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my fellow curator Dr Bart Jaski of Utrecht University Library for his constant support and advice in the preparation of this contribution.

2 See Schmidt, 'Between Author and Library Shelf', pp. 40–45.

a collection of about 155 Oriental manuscripts,³ which were sold many years after his death.⁴ In this contribution we shall investigate the Reland manuscripts kept in the Special Collections of Leiden University Libraries. We shall set off selected items against Reland's professed scholarly interests, and devote special attention to the intricate byways through which Reland's manuscripts ended up in a library which, to our knowledge, did not acquire any manuscripts directly from his auction. Last, but certainly not least, we shall look into the problem of identifying manuscripts in the Leiden collections on the basis of the often laconic and erroneous descriptions provided by the auctioneer. At the end of this contribution the reader will find an appendix with a list of the Reland manuscripts which were previously detected in the Leiden collections from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, as well as a number of new additions (pp. 391–393).

1 Two Persian Manuscripts by Antoine Galland

Adriaan Reland was nominated professor of Oriental languages in 1701. He accepted his nomination by giving an inaugural lecture on the importance of the Persian language 'and related Oriental letters' [Fig. 12.1].⁵

In another Dutch professorial oration from 1990, almost three centuries later, the Persian scholar J.T.P. de Bruijn argued that Adriaan Reland was not particularly aware of the chronological development of Iranian languages and the distinction between Old, Middle and New Persian. Reland, he explained, stressed the value of Persian first and foremost for the study of Scripture and Classical Antiquity, and secondly for the conversion of the Muslims to Christianity.⁶ The latter theme found its maturest expression in Reland's magnum opus *De religione Mohammedica* of 1705 (second edition 1717).⁷ Reland's call for the study of Persian, however flawed, did not remain an empty promise: he elaborated on the theme in the second volume of his *Dissertationes miscellaneae*, dating from 1707. It contains both a *Dissertatio de reliquis veteris linguae Persicae* ('Treatise on the ancient vestiges of the Persian language') and a *Dissertatio de Persicis vocabulis Talmudis* ('Treatise on Persian words in the

3 Excluding manuscripts or printed books in Greek or Slavonic languages.

4 For an overview of Reland's life and career see Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 11–21; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, pp. 65–72.

5 Reland, *Oratio Pro lingua Persica et cognatis literis Orientalibus*.

6 De Bruijn, *De ontdekking van het Perzisch*, pp. 10–12.

7 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, 1705; ... editio altera auctior, 1717.

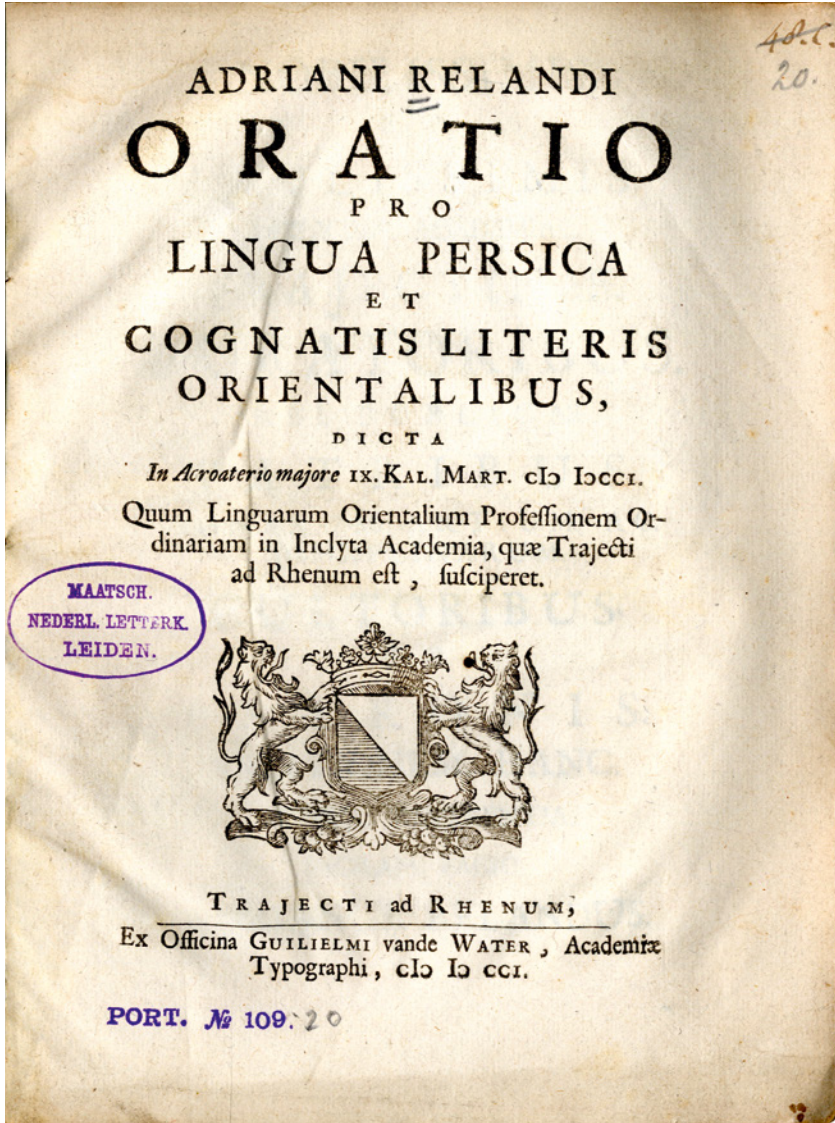


FIGURE 12.1 Adriaan Reland's inaugural lecture on the merits of the Persian language, Utrecht, 1701
 COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, PORTEF. 109 NO. 20

Talmud').⁸ This, if nothing else, shows that Reland's focus was on Antiquity rather than Modern Persian.

This second volume of the *Dissertationes* is dedicated to the French numismatist, antiquary and Arabist Antoine Galland (Rollot, Picardy 1646—Paris 1715), whose fame rests mainly on his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*, a work that would profoundly change the course of literature in Europe and beyond. This dedication is hardly surprising, since Galland and Reland shared the same interest in Oriental coins, inscriptions and the history of the Middle East in Antiquity. Three years later, on 24 June 1710, Galland sent two Persian manuscripts to Reland together with a lengthy dedication in the most flattering terms, in which he called Reland *clarissimus, eruditissimus* and *dig-nissimus* ('most eminent, erudite and worthy'). At the age of 64 Galland complained that Oriental studies were being utterly neglected in Europe. He had copied, annotated and translated the manuscripts into Latin 30 years earlier during his stay in Istanbul and subsequently after his return to France, but he now urged Reland to edit and publish them, for he was convinced that he was the greatest Persian scholar of his day. Although Galland did not say so explicitly, it would appear that at his age he no longer had the willpower nor the energy to undertake such a task himself [Fig. 12.2].

The first of the two manuscripts contains the text of the *Pandnāma* ('Book of exhortation'), a work that is often but erroneously attributed to the famous Persian poet and mystic Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār of Nishapur (c.1145–1221 CE). It is a popular didactic poem on Islamic ethics, probably from the fifteenth century CE, which gained a wide circulation in the Ottoman Empire. The *Bulbulnāma*, undisputedly by 'Aṭṭār, is a true literary poetical text with strong Sufi overtones like most other works of this author.⁹ Galland's parallel Latin translation and profuse commentary are, of course, of special interest. Galland was never a prolific author, who, apart from his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*, mostly limited himself to concise treatises on subjects such as coins, Oriental maxims or coffee. His most substantial work is the posthumous edition of Barthélemy d'Herbelot's influential encyclopaedia *Bibliothèque orientale*, published in 1697. Unfortunately, neither Reland nor any other scholar after him went to the trouble of publishing Galland's work on the *Pandnāma* or *Bulbulnāma*, and both manuscripts now languish on the shelves of the Leiden University Library, neglected and all but forgotten.

8 Reland, *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars altera*, pp. 95–266, 267–324.

9 On 'Aṭṭār and the two texts under discussion see Reinert, "Aṭṭār, Farīd al-Dīn"; Storey and De Blois, *Persian Literature*, vol. 5, pt. 2, pp. 298–300 (*Bulbulnāma*), 308–314 (*Pandnāma*). But note, however, that the Leiden manuscripts with Galland's translation are not mentioned.

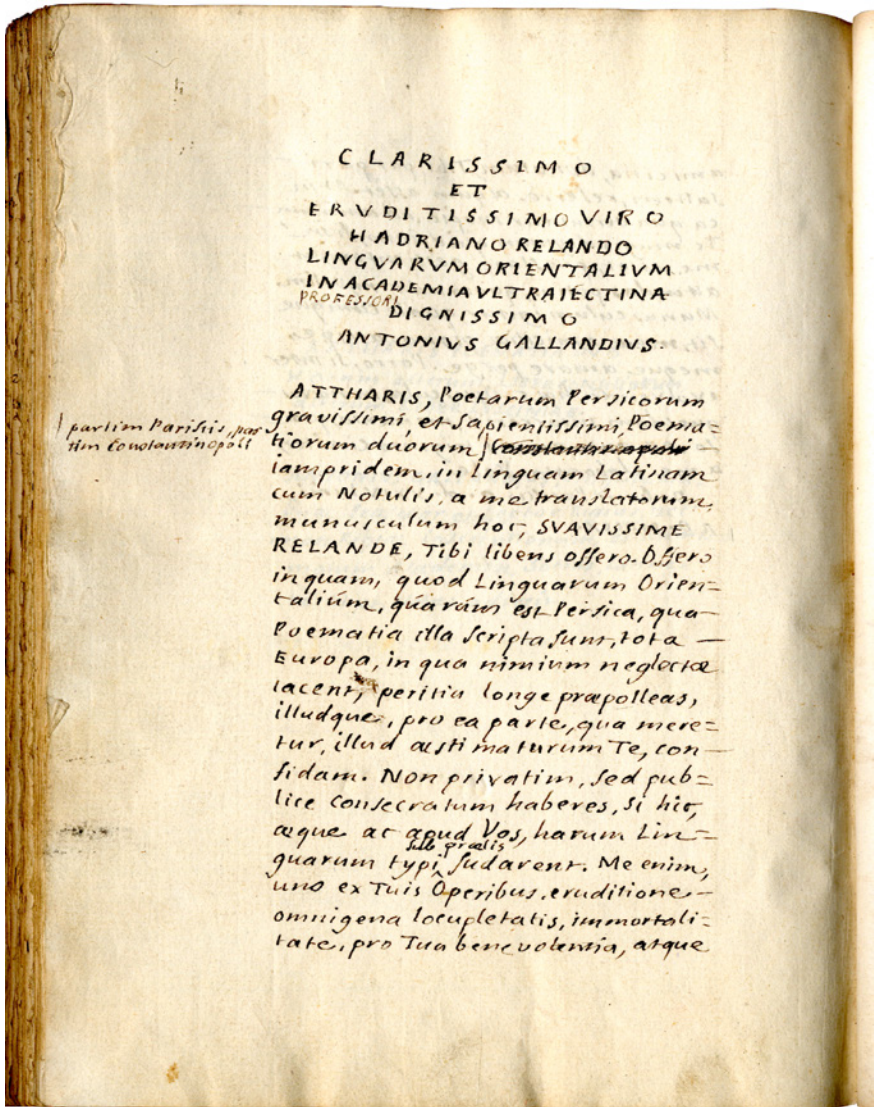


FIGURE 12.2 Antoine Galland's dedication to Adriaan Reland in his own copy and translation of the *Pandnāma*
COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, OR. 1226, FLYLEAF

The text of the *Pandnāma*, though of spurious origin, fared much better in the hands of Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), the doyen of Oriental studies in the decades after the French Revolution. In 1819 he published his own edition with French translation and commentary at the Imprimerie royale in Paris: *Pend-nāmeḥ, ou le Livre des conseils*. Later in the nineteenth century a German translation appeared by Georg Ferdinand Heinrich Nesselmann (1811–1881), printed in 1871 at Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad, Russian Federation). The *Bulbulnāma* has never found a Western translator.

The fact that Reland published neither work, however, does not necessarily mean that he ignored them altogether. In the second edition of his *De religione Mohammedica* from 1717 he added an appendix with an ‘Index Manuscriptorum’ not only from his own private collection, but also other manuscripts belonging to the German Orientalist Heinrich Sike or Henricus Sikius, who taught Arabic to Reland in Leiden and then at Utrecht, or from the City Library of Amsterdam.¹⁰ Under item XXII we find the two Persian manuscripts kindly donated by his ‘dearest friend’ (*amicissimus*) Antoine Galland. The extent of Reland’s actual use of the *Pandnāma* and *Bulbulnāma*, however, is yet to be ascertained, but it seems very limited.

Apparently Reland had no interest in Modern Persian *belles-lettres*. He did not dwell on the subject in his inaugural lecture of 1701, nor in any other of his works. Perhaps Galland was too optimistic about Reland’s scholarly interests and ambitions, but one should also bear in mind that Reland died at an early age, and it is quite possible that he would have turned his mind to it if he had lived to a ripe old age. In any case, the Persian manuscripts are not only testimonies to the cordial relationship between Antoine Galland and Adriaan Reland, but also to the scholarly networks in the early-eighteenth-century Republic of Letters at large.

2 Provenance

In September 1780 the extensive private library of Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1778) was put up for sale by the Leiden bookseller Hendrik Mostert. Schultens had been professor of Oriental languages and theology at Leiden from 1749

¹⁰ This Index Manuscriptorum in the second edition of *De religione Mohammedica* (1717) is unpaginated. It is slightly expanded in comparison with the same Index in the first edition of 1705. Below, we shall be referring to this second edition. On Heinrich Sike, see Hamilton, ‘Sike, Henry (bap. 1669, d. 1712)’, and idem, ‘Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht’, pp. 100–103.

until his death in 1778. At the auction Leiden University Library purchased 81 Oriental manuscripts, a momentous acquisition after its Oriental collections had lain almost dormant for more than a century (Codices Or. 1222–1302). The information currently available in the extant Leiden catalogues reveals that the purchase included the two Galland manuscripts which had formerly been in the possession of Adriaan Reland. They were registered and at a certain point received the pressmarks Or. 1226 (*Pandnāma*) and Or. 1297 (*Bulbulnāma*). The Galland provenance was duly accounted for in the catalogues, but the Reland connection appears to have been forgotten.¹¹ A few remarks on the line of ownership between Reland and the last private possessor J.J. Schultens therefore seem to be in order.

On the inside cover of the *Bulbulnāma* (Or. 1297) is a note reading *JJ Schultens. Dono Optimi Bergii 1761* ('J.J. Schultens. Gift from the Excellent Bergius, 1761'). This 'Bergius' is the German scholar Johann Peter Berg from Bremen (1737–1800), who on 26 September 1758 matriculated at the University of Leiden as a student of theology. He studied under Jan Jacob Schultens and returned to Bremen in 1762. The following year he accepted a nomination as professor of theology at the University of Duisburg, where he spent the rest of his career.¹² His relationship with the Schultens family was close. In 1797, for instance, he contributed widely to *Das Buch Hiob*, a German translation of Hendrik Albert Schultens's posthumous edition of *Het boek Job* from 1794.¹³ It is most likely that J.P. Berg acquired the *Bulbulnāma* at some point between 1758 and 1761 during his sojourn in the Dutch Republic, and made a present of the manuscript to J.J. Schultens out of recognition shortly before his departure to his home country. But how did he obtain this manuscript from the Reland collection in the first place?

11 See Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 602, no. 3848, p. 604, no. 6995; Dozy and De Jong, *Catalogus codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, vol. 2, p. 115, nos. 658 and 660; Witkam, *Inventary of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 2, pp. 73 (sub Or. 1226), 106 (sub Or. 1297).

12 Du Rieu, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, col. 1061; Möller, *Denkschrift zur Ehre des Namens und der Verdienste des Herrn Johann Peter Berg*; Krafft, 'Berg, Johann Peter', *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2, 1875, p. 364. Seven manuscripts from Berg's auction, mostly copies from Leiden manuscripts, were purchased by the Amsterdam professor Joannes Willmet (1750–1835). At his death these came into the possession of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, and were later given on permanent loan to the Leiden University Library, see De Jong, *Catalogus codicum Orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum*, p. xi; see also the introduction to Witkam, *Inventary of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences*, pp. 4–5.

13 Weidenbach, *Das Buch Hiob*.

To begin with, Reland's Oriental manuscripts were not auctioned off after his death in 1718, for they are conspicuously lacking in the sales catalogue that was printed by his regular publisher Willem Broedelet in Utrecht, *Pars magna Bibliothecae [...] Hadriani Relandi*.¹⁴ Rather, they remained in the possession of Adriaan Reland's son and heir Jan Hubertus Reland or Relandt, a citizen of Utrecht and councillor and alderman of the town of Zierikzee in the province of Zeeland. He died on 10 September 1760 and the following year, in April 1761, his library was sold from his home on Nieuwegracht in Utrecht, by Willem Kroon and Gijsbert Tieme van Paddenburg. At the end of the auction catalogue a special sixteen-page appendix was added with the Oriental manuscripts of Jan Hubertus's father Adriaan. Judging from a note scribbled on the front cover of a rare surviving copy of the auction catalogue, this Oriental appendix was compiled by Sebaldus Ravius or Sebald Rau (1721–1818), professor of theology and Oriental languages and librarian at Utrecht University. At the auction the *Bulbulnāma* fetched a price of 5 guilders. It is therefore only reasonable to assume that Johann Peter Berg attended the auction in 1761 and passed the manuscript on to Jan Jacob Schultens shortly afterwards as a token of his recognition. At the same auction Schultens bought the *Pandnāma* for himself for 4 guilders and 5 stuivers (Or. 1226).¹⁵ Their shopping spree did not end there as we shall see below, but it must here be noted that Schultens, after all a Leiden professor, failed to act on behalf of his employer, and as a result Leiden University bought nothing at the auction. But the presence of the two Galland manuscripts alone implies that there is indeed such a thing as a Reland collection at Leiden, which reached the university in various ways.

14 Cat. Reland 1718, see Van Selm et al., *Dutch book sales catalogues, 1599–1800*, microfiches, nos. 4715–4716. For the updated and expanded electronic successor to the previous resource, see *Book Sales Catalogues Online*. For bibliographic metadata see also *Bibliopolis*. The microfiches were made on the basis of an original kept at the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, shelfmark 16.77.1.42. Reland's collection was auctioned 'at the home of the deceased' in Utrecht on 7 November 1718.

15 Cat. Reland 1761. See p. 5, quarto 13 for the *Pandnāma* (Or. 1226) and p. 11, octavo 23 for the *Bulbulnāma* (Or. 1297). See also Van Selm et al., *Book Sales Catalogues, 1599–1800*, microfiche, no. 493, based on an original copy in the library of the University of Amsterdam, collection Bibliotheek van het Boekenvak; see also *Bibliopolis*, and *Book Sales Catalogues Online*. The Amsterdam copy of the catalogue contains a handwritten annotation on the first page of the Appendix, 'concinatus a cl. Sebaldio Raviio, ling. Oriental. in Acad. Ultraiectina Professore Ordinario' ('Prepared by the most eminent Sebaldus Ravius, ordinary Professor of Oriental languages at the Utrecht Academy'). On Ravius see Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 114–118. For an overview of the manuscripts in Cat. Reland 1761, see also Appendix 2 in this volume.

3 The Reland Collection at Leiden University Library

In the second half of the nineteenth century Leiden scholars such as Reinhart P.A. Dozy, Michaël Jan de Goeje and Pieter de Jong authored new and comprehensive catalogues of the Oriental holdings of the Leiden University Library, most prominently the six-volume *Catalogus codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*.¹⁶ In these catalogues they devoted varying attention to the provenance of the manuscript collections, but no one was more active in this respect than Pieter de Jong, (assistant) curator of Oriental manuscripts at Leiden from 1855 onwards, and from 1859 lecturer of Persian and Turkish. In 1868 he moved to Utrecht, where he accepted the Chair of Hebrew. In 1862, several years before his removal to Utrecht, De Jong made a catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), which had been given in permanent loan to Leiden in 1856.¹⁷ Practically all manuscripts in this collection had previously belonged to Joannes Willmet (1750–1835), professor of Oriental languages at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam.¹⁸ Willmet turned out to possess a small collection of Reland manuscripts, and in his description of the collection De Jong painstakingly added the details of the Reland auction held in 1761, scrupulously referring to the auction catalogue together with the exact page and item number, but without ever mentioning the exact title of the catalogue.¹⁹ This is intriguing, for the original auction catalogue has not been preserved in the Leiden University Library, and all knowledge of it was subsequently lost until a microfiche was published in 1990.²⁰ The English translation of De Jong's catalogue, published in 2006, reproduces the page and item references but refrains from mentioning the title of any auction catalogue connected with the Reland auction and its aftermath.²¹

Willmet, born in 1750, was evidently much too young to have attended the Reland auction in 1761, but De Jong also identified the intermediate stages in the line of ownership between Reland and the last private owner Willmet,

16 More generally known as *CCO*, 6 vols, Leiden, 1851–1877.

17 De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*.

18 On Willmet see Nat, pp. 102–103.

19 See, for instance, the description of MS Leiden Acad. 10 in De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, p. 189: 'Willemsenus eum emisse videtur e bibl. Hadr. Relandi, [v. Cat. Mss. p. 2 n. 16]'; ('Apparently Willemsen bought it from the library of Adriaan Reland, [see the Manuscript catalogue, p. 2, no. 16]').

20 See above, n. 13.

21 Witkam, *Inventory of the Royal Academy*.

which appeared to have run along a very regular pattern.²² In 1800 Willmet had bought Reland manuscripts from the auction of Jacobus Johannes de Bruin or de Bruyn of Middelburg, Zeeland,²³ who had read law at the now defunct University of Harderwijk in the 1750s.²⁴ In his professional life he had held public office in his home town Middelburg in various capacities such as councillor, alderman, treasurer and burgomaster. He was also one of the directors of the local Chamber of the Dutch West India Company (WIC), which at any rate suggests that he was actively engaged in the West African slave trade, a highly profitable enterprise. Apart from his death in 1799, no further details are known about his life and there is nothing to indicate that he was particularly interested in Oriental studies.²⁵

In his turn De Bruin acquired Oriental manuscripts from a much more likely owner, Jacobus Willemsen (1698–1780), also from Middelburg, Zeeland. He studied Hebrew and theology in Utrecht and was actually a pupil of Reland, whose funeral he attended in his birthplace De Rijk in 1718. There may have been a special affinity between Reland and his student Willemsen, for at the funeral Reland's widow bestowed a silver medal on him in memory of the deceased.²⁶ He taught as professor at the Athenaeum in Middelburg and also served as a minister of the established Dutch Reformed Church. He possessed a vast fortune through his marriage to a rich lady from the Dutch East Indies, who, upon her untimely demise, left him the sum of 800,000 guilders. Grief-stricken, he promptly sought refuge in the fashionable watering hole of Spa in the Ardennes to restore his spirits.²⁷ His exquisite private library was so large that after his death it had to be sold on two separate occasions. When his books and manuscripts on theology, Classics and Oriental studies came up for sale at the firm of Luchtmans in Leiden in 1781, the auction took no less than nine days.²⁸ Most probably Willemsen had bought books and manuscripts directly from the Reland auction in 1761 in memory of his old professor.

In all, Pieter de Jong discovered seven Oriental manuscripts in the Royal Academy loan collection which had passed along these lines from Reland

22 De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, p. xi.

23 Cat. De Bruin 1800, see Van Selm et al., *Book sales catalogues*, microfiches, nos. 1170–1172; see also *Bibliopolis*, and *Book Sales Catalogues Online*.

24 For De Bruin's matriculation at the University of Harderwijk see Van Epen, *Album studiorum Academiae Gelro-Zutphanicae*, p. 104b.

25 Van den Broeke, *Het pryel van Zeeland*, pp. 349–350.

26 Hoek, '300 jaar Adriaan Reland', p. 11.

27 Nagtglas, *Levensberichten van Zeeuwen*, pp. 954–958; Molhuysen et al., *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5, cols 1128–1129.

28 Cat. Willemsen 1781.

to Willmet, and his approach was so thorough that only three more Reland items have now come to the surface in this particular collection. The efforts of his Leiden colleagues to detect Reland manuscripts in the other holdings of Leiden University Library, however, proved much less successful. The results were mixed at best, but in the case of the private library of the aforementioned Jan Jacob Schultens the score was abysmally low with only one single Reland manuscript, which was traced only because De Jong had found a similar one in the Royal Academy loan collection and made a note of it in his catalogue.²⁹ As a result, only fifteen Reland manuscripts were previously known to exist at Leiden.

By going through the Reland auction catalogue and checking it against the complete Leiden holdings acquired before the close of the nineteenth century, it was possible to identify another twenty-four manuscripts which had not previously been ascribed to Reland. In the collection of Jan Jacob Schultens alone there turned out to be nine Reland manuscripts instead of only one. Among these twenty-four, one undetected Reland manuscript was brought to our attention by Anna Pytlowany of the University of Amsterdam, a Persian-Dutch glossary with Hindustani elements which had ended up in the collection of the Society for Netherlands Literature kept at Leiden University Library (LTK 589). Bart Jaski, Keeper of Manuscripts at Utrecht University Library, contributed three new items: a collective manuscript on magic (Or. 1576); *Mukāshafat al-qulūb* or 'Disclosure of the Hearts', a work attributed to Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (Or. 1634); and the *Dīvān* or collected works of the Persian poet Qāsim-i Anvār, who died in 1433 CE (Or. 1893).³⁰ In combination with the fifteen listed so far, this has resulted in a new total of 39 manuscripts at Leiden which may be ascribed to Reland with varying degrees of certainty. Ironically for a university which bought nothing at the Reland auction of 1761, this makes it the largest single Reland collection in the world.

Other collections with a Reland provenance exist outside Leiden, most notably in Utrecht, the Vatican and Berlin (Staatsbibliothek), each with their own particular strands of ownership, but, as such, they are beyond the scope of the present contribution, unless there is a direct link with a Leiden manuscript. For the other manuscripts we refer the reader to Bart Jaski's contribution to the

29 See the description of Acad. 39, *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī*, in De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, pp. 237–238. This codex never belonged to Reland. His manuscript of the *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī*, which was acquired by J.J. Schultens, now bears the Leiden pressmark Or. 1283. Reland possessed two manuscripts of this text; the other one is now in the Vatican, MS Vat. Pers. 15, see Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, p. 41.

30 See also Appendix 2, A oct 28, D 4 and A oct 4.

present volume. Where appropriate, reference will be made to individual items and their provenance.

4 The Enigmas of an Auction Catalogue

An analysis of the Leiden Library catalogues from the nineteenth century reveals that the authors recorded a Reland provenance only if they encountered his name in a manuscript, and consequently worked their way backwards through the various auction catalogues until they arrived at the Reland catalogue from 1761, of which they had a copy at their disposal which is now lost. For the present identification of additional Reland manuscripts—*i.e.* the ones that bear neither his name nor in many cases his annotations—the opposite procedure was adopted. Starting from the 1761 catalogue, we tried to link the Latin descriptions to existing items in the Leiden collections. Generally speaking, however, auction catalogues from the eighteenth century can be exasperatingly vague, and many scholars must have been driven to despair when confronted with elusive descriptions such as ‘Liber Persicus incerti argumenti’, ‘A Persian book on an uncertain subject’, and what could they think of ‘Liber Arabicus ignoti auctoris’, ‘An Arabic book by an unknown author’? Sebaldus Ravius, the scholar who prepared Reland’s catalogue, must have been a competent Hebraist but his knowledge of other Oriental languages was negligible. He therefore limited himself to blindly copying the author and title details that Reland had left behind in his manuscripts and for the rest simply tried to make the most of it.

The only listing that Reland himself made of his collection is the aforementioned Index Manuscriptorum which is attached to both editions of *De religione Mohammedica*. The Latin descriptions in this Index percolated into the auction catalogue together with a numbered reference. But Reland also provided additional details in his Index, especially in Arabic, that cannot be found in the auction catalogue. Glaring mistakes can be very helpful, as in the case of the utterly obscure name ‘Anhaswaliensis’, which occurs both in the Index and the auction catalogue, but which turns out to be based on a misreading of al-Jazūli, the renowned Moroccan author of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, an immensely popular devotional work (for more details see below under the description of MS Leiden, Acad. 32). Otherwise catalogue entries, however garbled, usually contain snippets of useful information such as part of a name, isolated title words, a date, a previous owner or even the format.

Furthermore, it may be argued that a text such as the Qur’ān, which enjoyed a wide circulation even in the West, is difficult to associate with a specific

manuscript. A description such as ‘Selecta quaedam capita Corani’, ‘Certain selected chapters of the Qur’ān’, will not help you find a corresponding manuscript on the shelf before you. Conversely, rare texts by authors who are not particularly well known will be correspondingly easier to identify.

We have already discussed the efforts of a scholar such as Pieter de Jong to trace manuscripts along a fixed line of ownership from Reland to Willemsen, De Bruin, Willmet and finally the loan collection of the Royal Academy. It is therefore hardly surprising that a closer look at Willmet’s collection disclosed more Reland manuscripts, and the same applies to the Leiden professor Jan Jacob Schultens, who was the grateful recipient of a gift from his German student Johann Peter Berg. It often turned out that the descriptions in the Reland catalogue, as erroneous and idiosyncratic as they are, were echoed—often verbatim—in the auction catalogues of one or more subsequent owners, suggesting that it concerned the same manuscripts which had passed from one owner to the next. But here a caveat is in order: certain Reland items in the Leiden collections whose provenance seemed to be established with a fair degree of certainty also appear in the auction catalogue of a scholar such as Johann Peter Berg, the student of Jan Jacob Schultens, whose books and manuscripts came under the hammer in Duisburg in 1801. The descriptions in this catalogue also hail back to the Reland catalogue of 1761.³¹ This may be explained in various ways: either Reland possessed more than one copy of a text, or the attribution of a Leiden manuscript to Reland is possibly wrong. The latter question is not easy to decide, for only in isolated instances can Berg’s manuscripts be traced in modern public collections. But there is also the third possibility that a manuscript passed from Reland to J.P. Berg, but eventually found its way back to the Netherlands. A previously identified and described example is Leiden Or. 1628, an Ottoman Turkish work on oneiromancy.³²

Finally, one must assume that an auction catalogue can hardly be regarded as the alpha and omega of a scholar’s collection. If the descriptions of individual items are faulty, it is not very likely that the entire listing will be complete and without error. The auctioneer or the heirs of the deceased may have decided to withhold certain items. During a scholar’s lifetime his collection remained fluid; he may have bought certain manuscripts and sold or even

31 Cat. Berg 1801, pp. 433–441, ‘Codices Manuscripti Orientales’. I am indebted to Bart Jaski for drawing my attention to this catalogue and the questions it raises with respect to the provenance of the Leiden MSS attributed to Reland.

32 A manuscript listed as “Ὀνειροκρίτικον Turcicum” in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 6, quarto 20, and under the same title in Cat. Berg 1801, p. 440, no. 6852. It was subsequently owned by the Dutch pastor Pierre Josué Louis Huët (1799–1846), at whose auction in 1849 it was sold to Leiden, see Witkam, *Inventory Leiden University*, vol. 2, p. 197.

given away others—as Galland did with his two Persian manuscripts. So, if we find a manuscript that unequivocally belonged to Reland, we should not be surprised if it does not appear in the auction catalogue.

5 Reland's Manuscripts in the Leiden Collections

Below, the reader will find a brief survey of a selection of recently detected manuscripts that may have belonged to Reland, together with a discussion of the considerations that led to their identification. As already said, the attributions have varying degrees of certainty, but are never wholly speculative. If an ascription to Reland is problematic in any way this will be noted, and if it remains doubtful after all, the pressmark will be marked with an asterisk, for example '[Or. 1296*]'. The survey will be followed by an appendix with the short titles and pressmarks of all manuscripts under consideration.³³

[Or. 1232] *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, 'The lights of Canopus', the Persian version of the fables of Bidpai by Ḥusayn Vā'iz Kāshifī, who died in 1504 CE. Undated, but probably from the sixteenth century CE and written on indigenous paper. A luxury manuscript with illuminated opening pages and several miniatures. The title is written in minute script in the centre of the *sarlavḥ* or headpiece on fol. 1b. It may be identical with Cat. Reland 1761, p. 3 folio 24, 'Liber Persicus Continens varii generis Historias & Fabulas (titulo deaurato)', 'A Persian book containing various kinds of stories and fables (with a title illuminated in gold)'. It is listed in the auction catalogue as a folio manuscript; our Leiden manuscript is technically speaking not a folio but a very large octavo, but with its height of c. 26.5 cm it could easily pass for a folio. It sold for 4 guilders and 8 stuivers, which is far above the average price. In the Schultens Cat. 1780, p. 604, no. 7006, it appears as an octavo manuscript with the correct title 'Anwār Soheili s[ive] versio Persica Fabularum Bidpai s[ive] Coleilah we Dimnah', 'The lights of Canopus, or the Persian translation of the fables of Bidpai or *Kalīla wa-Dimna*'. The manuscript was rebound, probably in the late eighteenth century, and all flyleaves or pastedowns which might have contained a name or other inscriptions are lost. Both the subject (stories and fables) and the exceptional illumination in gold of the opening pages suggest that this is indeed the manuscript that once belonged to Reland [Fig. 12.3].

[Or. 1275] *Waṣīyyat al-Nabī li-'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, an anonymous work with admonitions of the Prophet Muhammad to his son-in-law 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib,

33 For general descriptions of the Leiden Oriental manuscripts I again refer to Witkam, *Inventary Leiden University*.



FIGURE 12.3 The 'titulus deauratus' (gilded title page) of a manuscript of *Amvār-i Suhayli* by Vā'iz Kāshifi

COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, OR. 1232, FOL. 1B

the fourth caliph of Islam. The quarto manuscript is of North African origin and bears the date 932 AH / 1526 CE. It is listed in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 7 quarto 28 as 'Waziato l'Nabi sive praeceptum Muhammedis Prophetae Ali datum [...]'. See also Cat. J.J. Schultens *Bibliotheca Schultensiana* 1780, p. 601 no. 3826: 'Libellus, quo continetur paraenesis Mohammedis ad Alin Ben Abi Talib [...]'. It is a rare text which is not mentioned in Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (GAL), and may be a fragment of a larger work.³⁴ The chances are but slight that two different copies of such a rare manuscript in the same quarto format and with the same title would turn up twice within a period of forty years, but the same title is mentioned in the J.P. Berg auction catalogue of 1801.³⁵ Most likely, Reland possessed two copies of this text.

[Or. 1280] The Ottoman Turkish *Dīvān* or collected poetry of 'Azmizāde Ḥāletī (1570/71–1631), a Supreme Judge (*Kazasker*) of Rumelia who was also active as a poet like many of his fellow jurists or clerics. This is yet another item acquired by Leiden at the J.J. Schultens auction in 1780, see his Cat. 1780, p. 604, no. 7002 (Codices Manuscripti Orientales in octavo). In the Reland Cat. 1761, p. 11 octavo 12, it is described as 'Poëmata Persica Halati [...] ex Bibliotheca J. Golii', 'Persian poems by Halati [...] from the library of J. Golius'. The same inscription—but with 'Persica' crossed out and corrected into 'Turcica'—is found on fol. 1a of the Leiden manuscript, together with the number 'Msc. qto N. 63'. The manuscript appears under exactly the same number in the auction catalogue of Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), professor of Arabic at Leiden between 1625 and 1667.³⁶ An interesting detail is that Golius bought the manuscript during the author's lifetime, and he may actually have known him during his sojourn in Istanbul in the late 1620s.

[Or. 1296*] *Bahāristān*, 'The Spring Garden' of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (1414–1492), an octavo Persian manuscript dating from 959 AH / 1552 CE. Also part of the J.J. Schultens collection, see his Cat. 1780, p. 604, no. 6991 (Codices Manuscripti Orientales in Octavo). In Reland's Catalogue 1761, p. 11 octavo 13, we find a 'Liber Persicus dictus Baharistan', 'A Persian book called Baharistan', also in octavo, with the remark 'scriptus à celeberrissimo poëta Gjami Herbelot in Bibl. orient., hac voce', a reference to the entry 'Giami' in Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* of 1697. The fact that two octavo *Baharistāns*, after all a popular text, occur in two consecutive catalogues is inconclusive as such, but the entry in the Schultens catalogue reiterates the

34 Though not listed by Brockelmann, it appears as a separate entry in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 3, p. 446, no. 3959.

35 Cat. Berg 1801, p. 434, no. 6817: 'Waṣiyyat al-Nabī Praeceptum Muhammedis Ali Ibn Abi Taleb commendatum, arabice, caractere Africano'.

36 See Cat. Golius 1696, p. 20, no. 63.

reference to d'Herbelot: 'Giama *Baharistân*, Pers. (vid. *Herbelot*. v[oce] *Giama*). Bibliographic references are rare in the Schultens catalogue, and this would allow for the assumption that we are dealing with one and the same manuscript. If this is true, it is also interesting to note the assertion in the Reland catalogue that this manuscript once belonged to the German scholar Heinrich Sike, who taught Arabic to Reland in Leiden and Utrecht.³⁷ Nevertheless, the Reland provenance remains uncertain.

[Or. 1299] *Risāla-yi Ḥasaniyya* (also: *Kitāb-i Ḥasaniyya*), a very rare Shi'ite compendium in Persian on religious obligations (*'ibādāt*), mostly on the requirements of ritual purity and prayer, by 'Izz al-Dīn al-Āmulī (further particulars unknown). This work is listed as no. IV in the Index Manuscriptorum of Reland's *De religione Mohammedica*: 'Systema Persicum theologiae Mohammedanae, auctore [in Arabic script: *Shaykh 'Izz al-Dīn al-Āmulī*] Antistite Adsaddino Amoliensi, cui titulis [in Arabic script: *Risālat-i Ḥasaniyya*]'. Golius possessed a manuscript of this text (Cat. Golius 1696, p. 21, no. 80). Not mentioned as such in the Reland auction catalogue. It was bought at the J.J. Schultens auction of 1780, but the specific title cannot be found in his auction catalogue either. The manuscript was rebound in the eighteenth century and it no longer contains any information about its previous European owners, so it is not immediately possible to establish a link for the Leiden codex Or. 1299 between Golius, Reland and J.J. Schultens.

Interestingly, however, Reland possessed at least one copy of the *Risāla-yi Ḥasaniyya*, which is hidden behind a very generic description in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 4 quarto 1: 'Institutiones Religionis Muhammedicae, quibus continentur tum dogmata fidei, tum Liturgiae, tum aliae cerimoniae Arabice & Persice', 'The institutions of the Muhammedan religion, containing the dogmas of the faith as well as the liturgy and other ceremonies, in Arabic and Persian'. Reland apparently obtained this item from Golius, see Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, no. 3, where it is listed under exactly the same title. At the Reland auction it fetched 10 guilders and 10 stuivers, an exceptionally high price. The item was acquired by J.P. Berg and his auction catalogue (Cat. Berg 1801, p. 436–437, no. 6823) informs us that it actually consisted of a convolute of *three* individual texts, including *Kitāb-i Ḥasaniyya*. The other two texts are *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, 'Book of forty principles of Islamic theology', by the great theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111) and the *Risāla* or 'Treatise', a famous Islamic creed by Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawānī (922–996).

37 Please note that this is not the present-day Leiden ms Acad. 145, which is a folio copy by Jacobus Golius's copyist Shāhīn Qandī or Sjahin Kandi, see Cat. Golius 1696, p. 22, no. 6, and De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, p. 217.

These three texts were acquired at the J.P. Berg auction by the Prussian diplomat and Orientalist Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817) and are now in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. Diez quarto 102.³⁸ They are not original manuscripts but modern apographs, most likely made by Golius's amanuensis Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo or Niqūlā ibn Buṭrus al-Ḥalabī.³⁹ Nicolaus Petri also transcribed an unrelated fragment at the end of *Risāla-yi Ḥasaniyya* which harks back to an addendum in a different hand at the end of the Leiden Cod. Or. 1299 (pp. 313–314). This unique addition allows us to conclude that the codex Or. 1299 served as the exemplar for Nicolaus Petri's apograph, and also that Or. 1299 actually belonged to Golius. It equally allows us to assume that Or. 1299 passed from Golius to Reland and thence to Schultens, not only because of the unique addition but also the overall rarity of the text.

[Or. 1337] *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*, 'The meadow of fragrant herbs on the stories of the saints', by 'Abdallāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'ī (d. 1367 CE), a Sufi treatise in Arabic on Muslim saints. Bought at auction before 1830 (Brockelmann, GAL, II 177, S II 228). The Reland connection was already known, because the manuscript contains an acquisition note 'Adrianus Reeland MDCC'. But all cataloguers appear to have missed the inscription in faded brown ink on the pastedown of the front cover: 'Misc. qto N. 28'. This is a familiar reference to the Golius collection, and indeed it appears under this number in his auction catalogue of 1696, p. 17, no. 28: 'Vita religiosorum. Arab', 'Life of Holy Men, in Arabic'. But unfortunately this manuscript cannot be identified in any recognisable form in the Reland auction catalogue.

[Or. 1343*] *Tārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī*, a history of the eponymous dynasty of Golconda (now Hyderabad), dedicated to the ruler Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, who died in 1625. Acquired from the estate of Nicolaas Willem (Nicolaus Wilhelm) Schroeder, professor of Oriental languages at Groningen (1721–1798).⁴⁰ At the Reland auction Schroeder bought the Leiden codices Or. 1347 (mentioned immediately below) and Or. 1893, and we shall now explore the possibility that Schroeder also acquired the present Leiden codex Or. 1343 on

38 For *Risāla-yi Ḥasaniyya* see W. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 246–247, no. 193. For al-Ghazālī's *Kitāb al-arba'in* see W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 2, p. 318, no. 1717; for the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd see *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 53, no. 4447/3.

39 I am indebted to my colleague Dr Christoph Rauch of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for sending me some sample pages of Cod. Diez quarto 102, which allowed me to establish the Reland provenance and the identity of the copyist, Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo.

40 Cat. Schroeder 1834, pp. 4–5, no. 10. On N.W. Schroeder see Nat, pp. 74–79.

the same occasion.⁴¹ According to an annotation on the last folio 474b, the manuscript Or. 1343 was acquired on 17 October 1680 by Cornelis van Murter (also: Cornelis Mutter), whose name occurs frequently in the Reland auction catalogue.⁴² Mutter was born in Overschie near Rotterdam in 1659 and followed a career in the Dutch East India Company, serving as a clerk and interpreter in Golconda in 1674–1680 and afterwards in Batavia. He was also considered as a candidate for a new Malay Bible translation, but this came to nothing and he appears to have returned to his native country in or shortly after 1698. He died around 1704, leaving a considerable number of manuscripts in Persian and Malay or Javanese. Most of the Malay or Javanese items which came into Reland's possession went to the Vatican, where they constitute the core of the Southeast Asian collections.⁴³ Eight Mutter manuscripts, all of them in Persian, were acquired by the German scholar Johann Friedrich Winckler (1679–1738) and are now in the Staatsbibliothek in Hamburg.⁴⁴ The Leiden MS Or. 1343 also contains the name 'Jo.Frid. Winckler' on fol. 1a, but it did not end up in Hamburg like the others. It is enticing to assume that at some point this manuscript came to Reland and that it appears in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 9 quarto 55 as 'Historia Coronationis Regis Persiae antecedit historia praelii ab ipso commissi, Persice', 'History of the coronation of a Persian king, preceded by the history of a battle fought by him'. No such text is known in Persian historiography, but on fol. 1a there is a note in Dutch in a seventeenth-century hand (possibly Mutter's): 'No. 13—den Cronijk der Cronijken / vande Indise Coningen', 'The chronicle of chronicles / of the Indian kings'. The final 'n' of 'Cronijken' is partly obscured by the tab of a more recent flyleaf. It is quite possible that it was misread as 'Croninghen', coronations. This error is all the more understandable since it results in the perfectly alliterating and rhyming title 'den Cronijk der Croninghen / vande Indise Coningen', 'The chronicle of the coronations / of the Indian kings'. And in fact, the word *julūs* or enthronement occurs frequently in the rubricated headings, as is only to be expected in a dynastic history. Moreover, the word 'Indian' was 'corrected' into 'Persian' by

41 Leiden cod. Or. 1893, *Dīvān-i Qāsim-i Anvār*, Cat. Reland 1761, p. 10 octavo 4, not found in Cat. Schroeder 1834.

42 For Mutter's manuscripts in Reland's possession, see De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, p. 216 n. 2 (sub no. CLXII = Acad. 138).

43 See Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, p. 49, sub Vat. Pers. 21; Swellengrebel, 'Verkorte weergave van Prof. Dr. A.A. Censes ontwerp-beschrijving'; Reid, 'Indonesian Manuscripts in the Vatican Library', p. 53. See further the contribution of Bart Jaski in this volume, pp. 325–330.

44 On J.F. Winckler see Bertheau, 'Winckler, Johann Friedrich'. On Winckler's Mutter manuscripts in Hamburg see Brockelmann, *Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, sub nos. 148, 151, 171, 209, 210, 213, 216, 217.

an unknown hand on the new flyleaf, resulting in the Latin title 'Liber persicus seu chronicon regum persarum' or 'Persian book or chronicle of the kings of the Persians'. In combination, this could very well have led to the entry in the auction catalogue. But in spite of all considerations, the Reland attribution remains uncertain.

Incidentally, Leiden University Library possesses two more manuscripts with a Mutter connection. The first is MS Acad. 138, a copy of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* or 'Rose Garden' from 1086 AH / 1676 CE, which was partly transcribed by Mutter's friend and VOC colleague Daniël Havart, who had learned Persian together with him in Golconda in the year 1675.⁴⁵ This manuscript probably never belonged to Reland. The second one is the aforementioned Leiden manuscript LTK 589, a Persian-Dutch vocabulary with additions in Hindustani, judging from the handwriting also by Havart, which is most likely identical with the 'Vocabularium Persico-Belgicum' in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 6 quarto 23. There can be little doubt that this Havart manuscript came to Reland through Cornelis Mutter.

[Or. 1347] *al-Taqrīb fi 'l-fiqh* or *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiqh*, 'The approach (or compendium) of Islamic jurisprudence', by Abū Shujā' Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 1106 CE, Brockelmann, GAL, I 392, S II 676). An Arabic manuscript with an incomplete interlinear Malay translation. The manuscript does not mention Reland's name, but there is a title entry on the first flyleaf in a hand that may be safely attributed to him: 'Liber iste est [in Arabic script: *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiqh*] i.e. Breve compendium Juris Mohammedanorum secundum sectam Schafaeorum [etc.]'. A detailed table of chapters and subjects on the pastedown reveals that the owner had a profound knowledge of Islamic law, and in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic this could only have been Reland. Like Or. 1343 mentioned above, and indirectly also Or. 1893 (*Dīvān* of Qāsim-i Anvār, Cat. Reland p. 10, octavo 4), this manuscript was also bought by Leiden from the estate of Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder, professor of Oriental languages at Groningen, who died in 1798.⁴⁶

But note, however, that this work on Islamic law by Abū Shujā' is not the same as an anonymous theological work mentioned in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 8 quarto 46, under practically the same title: 'Compendium Theologicum

45 Havart donated this manuscript to Mutter in Utrecht on 25 January 1701, which means that Mutter had returned to the Dutch Republic by 1700 at the latest. See the note on the first flyleaf of MS Leiden Acad. 138, and also De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, pp. 215–216.

46 Cat. Schroeder 1834, p. 4, no. 8: 'Breve Compendium Juris Mohammedanorum....' Please note that the Leiden codex Or. 1893 does not occur in Cat. Schroeder 1834, but it has an annotation on the first flyleaf, 'Ex Bibl. N.G. Schroederi'.

ex mente Muhammedanorum secundum Sectam Schafaeorum [etc.]'. This latter manuscript, essentially an Islamic creed, is listed in Reland's Index Manuscriptorum as no. xx1. It was sold to J.P. Berg, Cat. 1801, p. 436, no. 6820, and it is now in the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, MS Prov. o. 378.⁴⁷ In his Index Manuscriptorum, no. 15, Reland cites the legal compendium by Abū Shujā' among the manuscripts he borrowed from the City Library of Amsterdam,⁴⁸ but he does not mention a manuscript of this text from his own private library, and neither does it appear in any recognisable form in his auction catalogue of 1761. Nevertheless, it would seem that Reland owned, or had access to, multiple copies of this text. This is corroborated by the fact that Or. 1347 bears the inscription 'Codex A' on the flyleaf, implying that there is also a codex B. This second codex is no doubt identical with MS Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, no. xv, covered in the same decorative paper as the Leiden codex Or. 1347, and also with a title entry that may be attributed to Reland. This manuscript was given by Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder to his younger brother Johann Wilhelm, professor at Marburg (d. 1793).⁴⁹

[Or. 1634] *Mukāshafat al-qulūb* ('Disclosure of the hearts'), a work on religious ethics attributed to Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111, Brockelmann, GAL, I 425, S I 755 sub no. 61). It is neither in Reland's Index Manuscriptorum nor in his auction catalogue. But, as Jan Schmidt noted, there is an inscription on the pastedown in Reland's handwriting reading 'Scheich Soliman Efendi liber de praxi pietatis erga Deum, de munditia, de precibus &c., de jejuniis etc. Arabice' (Book by Shaykh Sulaymān Efendi on the practice of piety towards God, on ritual purity, on prayers et cetera, on fasting et cetera. In Arabic). Reland, who was unaware of the text's attribution to al-Ghazālī, mistook a certain Sulaymān Efendi, who endowed the book as *waqf*, for its author.⁵⁰ Bought in 1851 from Belinfante publishers and booksellers, The Hague.

[Or. 1661] *Rīyāz al-inshā'*, 'The meadows of epistolography', or *Inshā-yi Khvāja-Jahān*, 'Epistolography of Lord Jahan', a Persian work by the Indian vizier 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd Gāwān from Gīlān (d. 1481). Acquired from the

47 Sobieroj, *Islamische Handschriften Thüringen*, pp. 10–12.

48 See Mendes da Costa, *De handschriften der Stedelijke Bibliotheek*, p. 35 no. 38.

49 Al-Toma, *Die arabischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg*, pp. 27, 89–93. I would like to thank Johannes Dams, student at the University of Marburg, for drawing my attention to this manuscript and its decorative binding. I am also indebted to Gesine Brakhage of the Universitätsbibliothek Marburg for kindly providing a digital copy of the Marburg Oriental codex no. xv.

50 Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University*, vol. 2, pp. 202–204.

Van Voorst auction, January 1860.⁵¹ Signed and annotated by Reland on fol. 1a: 'Formulae aliquot Epistolarum, ad Principis aliosque mittendarum. Persice. Hadriani Relandi', 'Some models of letters to be sent to princes and others'. The same annotation can be found in *Cat. Reland 1761*, p. 10 octavo 11. It was not previously known, however, that this manuscript was once in the possession of Jacobus Golius, see the second note on the same fol. 1a in faded brown ink, 'Misc. qto N. 40.', referring to the Golius auction of 1696, see his *Catalogue*, p. 18, no. 40, 'Litterae familiares Persicae, elegantissimae conscriptae', 'Private letters in Persian, most elegantly written'.

The Van Voorst auction proved to be an important source for Reland manuscripts at Leiden: among the 63 Oriental manuscripts offered for sale, Leiden bought no fewer than 33, and five of these revealed a Reland provenance (*Codd. Or.* 1649, 1652, 1661, 1665, 1666). The auction comprised the vast private library of Jan Jacob van Voorst (1791–1869) and his father Dirk Cornelis (1752–1833), both ministers of the established Dutch Reformed Church in Amsterdam. Neither of them could have bought manuscripts directly from the Reland auction, but the names of the intermediate owners are at present unknown. Jan Jacob studied at Leiden under Johan Hendrik van der Palm (1763–1840), the son-in-law of Hendrik Albert Schultens, who was the last in a line of three consecutive generations of Schultenses who occupied the Chair of Oriental Studies at Leiden University. Under the guidance of Van der Palm, Jan Jacob van Voorst would have taken a special interest in the Arabic language, which would explain his interest in Oriental manuscripts.⁵²

[Or. 1945] A folio Qur'ān with a Malay interlinear translation from the island of Manipa, close to Ambon, Indonesia, with a richly illuminated opening page in the Western style, dated 1694 CE. Listed in *Cat. Reland 1761*, p. 2 folio 8 as 'Alcoranus, Arabice, nitidissime conscriptus, Manipae in insula Ambon à quodam Batou Langkay sive Antistite Urbis Tomilehou, & a quatuor aliis Iman [sic, A.V.] anno MDCXCIV collatus [...]'. This is obviously a translation of an annotation in Dutch on fol. 249a.⁵³ It is listed under the same Latin title in *Cat. Willemsen 1781*, p. 165, no. 725. A subsequent owner was Everard Scheidius, professor of Oriental languages at Harderwijk and Leiden (1742–1794), who

51 *Cat. Van Voorst 1859*, p. 4, no. 31: 'Inschâ de Khodja-Djihân. 8°. For the Van Voorst MSS acquired by Leiden, see Witkam, *Inventory Leiden University*, vol. 2, pp. 208–215.

52 Prins, 'Levensbericht van J.J. van Voorst', p. 178.

53 MS Leiden, Or. 1945, fol. 249a: 'Dese Corân is op Manipa, een eijland onder Ambon, door batou Langkaij, imâm van Tomilêhou, uitgeschreven, en van 4 andere imâms aldaar nagesien, in 't jaar na Christi geboorte 1694' ('This Qur'ān has been copied on Manipa, an island below Ambon, by batu Langkay, imam of Tomilehu, and verified there by 4 imams in the year 1694 after Christ's birth').

probably bought it at the Willemsen auction. According to an annotation on fol. 1a, Scheidius made a gift of this Qurʾān on 2 May 1792 to a certain J.H. Brinkhoff, who may be identical with Joannes Henricus Brinkhoff of Arnhem, who matriculated at the University of Harderwijk on 20 September 1791.⁵⁴ This would in any case explain the absence of the Qurʾān in Scheidius's auction catalogue of 1806,⁵⁵ but it is difficult to see why Scheidius should have given such a splendid Qurʾān to a mere novice. The manuscript was donated to Leiden in 1870 by a certain Mr Rinse Koopmans van Boekeren (1832–1896), an author of children's books whose connection with Brinkhoff, his heirs or other possible previous owners has yet to be established [Fig. 12.4].

[Or. 3083] and [Acad. 197] Two copies of the Capitulations granted by the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, sent to the States General of the Dutch Republic in The Hague and dated in the last decade of Shaʿbān 1043 / 19–28 February 1634. The first, Or. 3083, is an apograph, probably by Shāhīn Qandī, who worked as a copyist for Jacobus Golius.⁵⁶ On the inside cover it bears a handwritten title in Latin, 'Epistola authentica Morad Chan Imperatoris Turcarum scripta ad Ordines Belgii Foederati anno Christi 1633', 'An authentic letter of Murad Khan, Emperor of the Turks, written to the States General of the Dutch Republic in the year of Christ 1633'. It bears Reland's name and appears under exactly the same title in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 2 folio 18. It was bought by Everard Scheidius and features in his auction catalogue from 1806 as 'an apograph of a letter from the Governor of Algiers [sic!, A.V.] to the Government of the Netherlands', most likely because the author of the catalogue mistook 'Qusṭanṭīniyya', the official Ottoman name of Constantinople, for Constantine in Algeria.⁵⁷ It came to Leiden in 1887 through the descendants of Sebald Fulco Johannes Rau (d. 1807), Scheidius's successor in Leiden. However, the fact that this apograph is erroneously described as 'authentic' has created great confusion in establishing the provenance of the second manuscript, Acad. 197. This is not an original ferman either but a certified copy made in Istanbul and therefore at any rate a genuine Turkish document. Pieter de Jong linked this copy to Reland, and

54 MS Leiden, Or. 1945, fol. 1a: 'Huncce Coranum amicissime donavit E. Scheidius LL: Or: Prof: Ord: die 2 Maji Anno MDCCXCII. J.H. Brinkhoff'; for Brinkhoff's matriculation see Van Epen, *Album studiosorum Academiae Gelro-Zutphanicae*, p. 149b.

55 Cat. Scheidius 1806, pp. 87–99.

56 On Golius's copyist Shāhīn Qandī (in Dutch: Sjahin Kandi) see Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch*, pp. 167–169.

57 Cat. Scheidius 1806, p. 98, no. 70.



FIGURE 12.4 Opening page of a Qur'an from Manipa (near Ambon, Indonesia), dated 1694 CE
 COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, OR. 1945, FOL. 1B

simultaneously detected the richly illuminated original ferman in the collections of the National Archives in The Hague.⁵⁸

[Acad. 29] A collective volume in Arabic with 1) *Tashūl al-maqāṣid li-zuwwār al-masājīd*, 'Providing easy access to the visitors of the mosques', by Aḥmad ibn 'Imād al-Dīn al-Aqfahsī (d. 1405 CE, Brockelmann, GAL, II 94), and 2) *al-Qawl fī tafsīr al-kalimāt al-ṭayyibāt*, 'A word of explanation on the Delightful Words', by the same author (Brockelmann, GAL, II 94). The Leiden MS Acad. 29, bound in parchment, corresponds exactly to Cat. Reland 1761, p. 5 quarto 9: 'Liber de ritibus & caeremoniis Turcarum praecipue in Templis [...]', 'Book of the rites and ceremonies of the Turks, most notably in the Temples [...]'. The same description can be found on fol. 1a of this manuscript in Reland's own hand. Although almost obliterated, his name is at the top of the page, 'Sum Adriani Reelandi', together with the date 1702. See also Reland's Index Manuscriptorum, no. 7. An earlier owner's inscription or auction catalogue number has been almost completely erased, but one must assume that it once belonged to Golius, for the manuscript is in the hand of his copyist Shāhīn Qandī. On the pastedown of this manuscript we read that it is an apograph from MS Leiden Or. 1284, and this could very well be true: Or. 1284, a convolute dated 847 AH / 1443 CE, starts with these very same two texts by al-Aqfahsī, but more research will be needed to establish the exact relationship between the two MSS. This second manuscript, Or. 1284, was bought at the auction of J.J. Schultens, cat. 1780, p. 601, no. 3827: 'Tashil Al Mokazed li zour al mesgiad [...] auctore Omad Acafahesbi.—Accedit Minhagi ila al Giannat [...] auctore Al-Gazali'. And indeed, this Leiden MS contains not only the *Tashūl al-maqāṣid* by al-Aqfahsī (and '*al-Kalimāt al-ṭayyibāt*') but also *Minhāj al-ʿābidīn ilā jannat Rabb al-ʿālamīn*, 'The way of the Lord's servants to Paradise', by Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 CE, Brockelmann, GAL, I 423, S I 751). The manuscript bears some isolated annotations which may be attributed to J.J. Schultens's father Albert Schultens (1686–1750), also professor of Oriental languages at Leiden (see, for instance, fol. 121a in Latin, and fol. 122b in Arabic). It is not clear how A. Schultens came by MS Or. 1284, but the fact that he possessed it at all seems to rule out Reland's ownership. Golius possessed two manuscripts containing the *Tashūl al-maqāṣid* by al-Aqfahsī. On a conjectural basis it is possible to identify Acad. 29 with Cat. Golius 1696, p. 15, no. 82 (Libri Miscellanei M.S. in Folio), although the format does not match; Or. 1284 may be identical with Cat. Golius

58 De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, pp. 246–247. The original of the *Ahdnâme* or Capitulations of 1634 is kept at the National Archives, The Hague, access, no. 1.01.02, inv., nos. 12593.47A–12593.47B2, online via <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/en> (accessed 23 March 2021).

1696, p. 24, no. 4 (Libri Miscellanei M.S. incompacti in Quarto &c.). It is listed as 'incompactus', unbound, but note that the present binding dates from the late eighteenth century [Fig. 12.5].

[Acad. 32*] *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, 'Manifestations of benefactions', a very popular devotional work by the Moroccan author Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (1404–1465, Brockelmann, *GAL*, II 252, S II 359). This undated manuscript in the maghribī script, though lacking either Reland's name or annotations, might be identical with Cat. Reland 1761, p. 6 quarto 19, 'Sylloge Eulogiarum ad Muhammedem instituendarum autore Abdalla Muhammed Ibn Sokeiker Anhaswaliensi', 'Compilation of eulogies of Muhammed, by Abdalla Muhammed Ibn Sokeiker Anhaswaliensis'. The auction catalogue contains an explicit reference to, no. 15 of the 'Index Manuscriptorum': *Sylloge precum & eulogiarum auctore Abu Abdalla Mohammed Ibn Sokeiker*, *أنهزولي*. 'Sokeiker' surely stands for Sulaymān and the Arabic letter combination 'nhzwly' is no doubt an erroneous reading of *الجزولي*, al-Jazūlī. One may suspect that Reland pronounced it as 'Anhazwalī', which turns up as 'Anhaswaliensis' in the auction catalogue. In the Willemsen auction catalogue of 1781 the 'Anhaswaliensis' from the Reland auction catalogue has been corrected into 'Al Gazwaliensis', a closer approximation of al-Jazūlī.⁵⁹ After Willemsen, the manuscript was owned by both De Bruin and Willmet. However, the same title description as in Reland with the author's name 'Anhazwaliensis' occurs in J.P. Berg's catalogue of 1801, p. 435–436, no. 6818. As a result, the Reland attribution of the Leiden MS Acad. 32 remains uncertain: either he possessed more than one manuscript of the text, or Willemsen obtained his manuscript from a source other than Reland.

[Acad. 188] A Persian collective volume dated 1034 AH / [1625 CE], containing *Nizām al-tawārīkh*, 'Methodical arrangement of histories', a brief compendium of the history of the world and especially Persia by the famous jurist and exegete 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286 CE). Secondly, it contains *Risāla-yi Ḥātimiyya*, a work on the proverbial generosity of the pre-Islamic figure Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī and his daughter by Vā'iz Kāshifī (d. 1504 CE). On fol. 1a there is a note in Reland's own hand, 'Compendium chronologiae Persicae item Elogium matronae [sic, A.V.] Persicae Hatem Tai', 'Compendium of Persian chronology, as well as a eulogy of the Persian lady Hatem Tai'. This manuscript was previously in the possession of Jacobus Golius, see Cat. Golius 1696, where it is listed twice with minor variations in the title under Miscellanei in quarto, p. 18, no. 39, and Addenda, Libri M.SS. Compacti in quarto, no. 2. This work does

59 Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 167, no. 1777 (for the title description see, no. 1776); De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, pp. 168–169. See further Appendix 2, A qua 19.

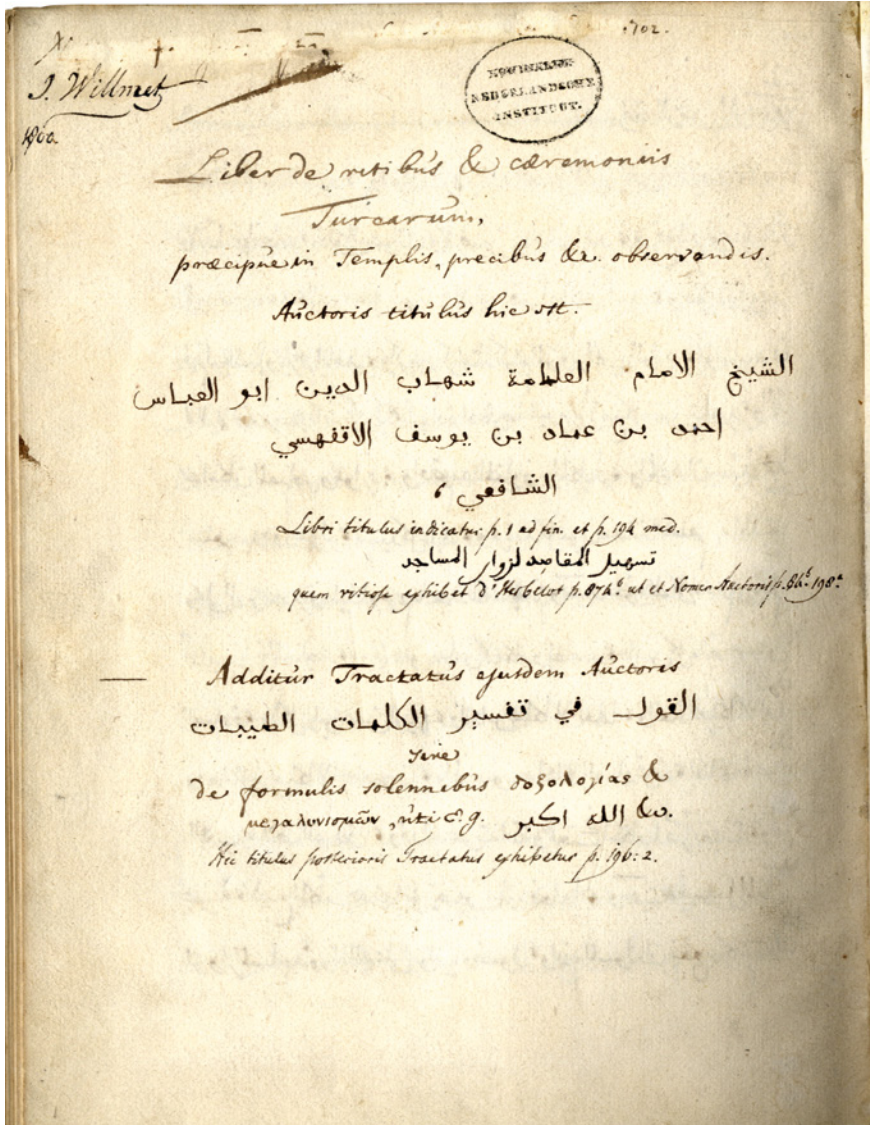


FIGURE 12.5 Annotations by Adriaan Reland in a convolute beginning with *Tashil al-maqāsid* by al-Aqfahī
 COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, ACAD. 29, FOL. 1A

not occur in Reland's auction catalogue of 1761, but it is listed in Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, no. 1819 under the title 'Compendium Chronici Persici, incerto auctore. (Codex bene scriptus AH 1034.)'. Afterwards it followed the regular trail of ownership to the Royal Academy loan collection at Leiden.

Nevertheless, it is deceptively easy to associate this manuscript with an entry in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 6 quarto 16: 'ABDALLAE BEIDAVI historia Chajatae, sermone Persico'. After all, it is by the same author al-Bayḍāwī; it is a history in Persian and the mysterious word 'Chajatae' may be a garbled rendering of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī. But this is actually a completely different manuscript in Reland's possession, containing a history of China which was formerly ascribed to al-Bayḍāwī.⁶⁰ The word 'Chajatae' is indeed garbled, but it should have read 'Chatajae', 'of China', in Persian *Khatāy* or *Khiṭāy*. The manuscript was once in the possession of Jacobus Golius, who took a lively interest in China, and it occurs in his Cat. 1696, Addenda Libri compacti in quarto, no. 10: 'Fragmentum historiae Chateorum, Arabice [sic, A.V.], cum annotationibus Jacobi Golii'. In 1696 it was acquired by Heinrich Sike, who added his own annotations. It subsequently passed to Reland and thence in 1761 to Jacobus Willemsen (Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, no. 1817). If it had been purchased by Joannes Willmet it would now have been at Leiden, but in this instance it ended up in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek of Göttingen, MS Pers. 30.⁶¹

6 The Golius Factor

A name that recurs time and again is that of Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), the second professor of Arabic at Leiden between 1625 and 1667.⁶² The history of his private collection of manuscripts, which he assembled on his travels in Morocco and the Middle East, has been described in detail in Jan Just Witkam's publication *Jacobus Golius en zijn handschriften* from 1980.⁶³ In 1696, nearly

60 See for instance the edition by Andreas Müller, *Abdallae Beidavaei Historia Sinensis*, first published Berlin, 1677, second expanded edn. Jena, 1689.

61 See Meyer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im preussischen Staate*, p. 410, and Bart Jaski's Appendix 2 of Reland MSS in this volume, sub p. 6 quarto 16.

62 For a general overview of Golius's life and career see Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch*, pp. 119–183; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, pp. 41–48.

63 Witkam, *Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) en zijn handschriften*; for the first catalogue of the Golius manuscripts in the Marsh collection see 'Bibliothecae Illustrissimi Domini Narcissi Archiepiscopi Dublinensis nobile auctarium', in Bernard et al., *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti*, vol. 2, pars altera, pp. 61–65.

three decades after Golius's death, this collection came up for sale in Leiden. Archbishop Narcissus Marsh of Dublin (1638–1713), Anglican Primate of Ireland and consequently a wealthy man, sent an agent and £200 to Leiden to buy up the greater part of Golius's manuscripts. But he left many of the smaller and less important items to the locals. It is more than likely that the 20-year-old Adriaan Reland came over from Utrecht to attend the auction. Among the 39 Leiden manuscripts now attributable to Reland, no fewer than nineteen can be traced back to Golius—almost fifty per cent. This only confirms the general idea that Oriental manuscripts were recycled from one generation to the next in a scholarly community where few manuscripts were imported directly from the Orient.

Before concluding, though, a few words may be added about the acquisition policy of the Leiden University Library. As already said, Leiden did not attend the Reland auction of 1761. Among the 39 Reland manuscripts that trickled into Leiden before the late nineteenth century, only four do not belong to the familiar triad of Arabic, Persian or Ottoman Turkish, and not a single penny was paid for any of these: Or. 1692, the Malay manuscript of *Tāj al-salāṭīn* ('Crown of the sultans'), a work in the mirror-for-princes genre, was transferred from the Delft training college for colonial civil servants in 1864;⁶⁴ Or. 1945, the aforementioned Qur'ān from the Moluccas with an interlinear translation in Malay, was donated in 1870 by Mr Koopmans van Boekeren, whilst Acad. 223, a Chinese manuscript with quotations from the *Lunyu* of Confucius, entered the Leiden library as part of the permanent loan collection of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences in 1856.⁶⁵ Finally, a Russian Orthodox Calendar of Saints from c. 1593 was donated to the Society of Netherlands Literature (Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) in 1887 by S.J.E. Rau, a descendant of the Professor Sebaldus Ravius who had prepared the Reland catalogue of 1761 (LTK 965). This small and delicately made manuscript was previously catalogued as a 'work on astrology and chiromancy', and it is under this title that it occurs in Reland's cat. 1761, p. 12 octavo 29: 'Libellus de Xeïromantia & arte divinandi'. On the pastedown is a brief dedication from the German Orientalist Heinrich Sike to Reland, 'Relando suo Sikius'.⁶⁶

64 Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University*, vol. 1, pp. 33–34.

65 Kuiper, *Catalogue of Chinese and Sino-Western Manuscripts in the Central Library of Leiden University*, pp. 68–69.

66 [Blok], *Catalogus compendiarus*, vol. 4, p. 51. In this description of the manuscripts of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde of 1937 Sike is still mentioned as the author and the subject as astrology and chiromancy. For a correct description of the manuscript see Meijer, 'Slavjanskje rukopisi', p. 263 no. 6 (LTK 965).

This illustrates the persistent reluctance of a university such as Leiden to explore new languages and fields of study until well into the nineteenth century. At the same time, however, the 1761 auction catalogue shows us that an academic like Reland was quick to follow up the scholarly activities of early travellers and missionaries in the Dutch colonial empire. This, if nothing else, can only increase our admiration for Adriaan Reland, a dedicated scholar from Utrecht with a catholic interest in many Oriental languages, who respected the tradition of his predecessors and understood the value of the handwritten sources. It more than justifies his reputation as the finest Oriental and Islam scholar of his day.

Appendix: Conspectus of Reland MSS in Leiden University Library

No.	Classmark	Contents	Reland previously known?	1761 Auction	Link with Golius?
Collection JJ Schultens (1716–1778), auction 1780, Or. 1222–1302					
1	Or. 1226	<i>Pandnamah</i>	o	p. 5, no. 13	o
2	Or. 1232	<i>Anvar-i Suhayli</i>	o	p. 3, no. 24	o
3	Or. 1272	<i>Confusio sectae Mahometanae</i>	o	p. 7, no. 34	x
4	Or. 1275	<i>Wasiyyat al-Nabi</i>	o	p. 7, no. 28	o
5	Or. 1280	<i>Divan-i Haleti</i>	o	p. 11, no. 12	x
6	Or. 1283	<i>Jami'-i 'Abbasi</i>	x	p. 10, no. 1 or 2	x
7	Or. 1296	<i>Baharistan</i>	o	p. 11, no. 13	o
8	Or. 1297	<i>Bulbulnamah</i>	o	p. 11, no. 23	o
9	Or. 1299	<i>Risala-yi Hasaniyya</i>	o	?	o
Unknown collection, auction Amsterdam (c. 1830)					
10	Or. 1337	<i>Rawd al-rayahin, by al-Yaft'i</i>	x	?	x

(cont.)

No.	Classmark	Contents	Reland previously known?	1761 Auction	Link with Golius?
Collection NW Schroeder (1721–1798), auction 1834, Or. 1343–1348					
11	Or. 1343	<i>Tarikh-i Qutb Shahi</i>	o	p. 9, no. 55	o
12	Or. 1347	<i>Muhktasar fi 'l-fiqh</i>	o	?	o
Collection JH van der Palm (1763–1840), ex JJ Schultens, auction 1841, Or. 1571–1599					
13	Or. 1576	<i>Liber de arte magica</i>	o	p. 12, no. 28	o
Collection PJJ Huet (1799–1846), auction 1849, Or. 1627–1628					
14	Or. 1628	<i>Interpretation of dreams</i>	x	p. 6, no. 20	x
Acquired from Belinfante booksellers and publishers, The Hague, 1851					
15	Or. 1634	<i>Mukashafat al-qulub</i> (attr. Ghazali)	o	?	o
Collection DC van Voorst (1752–1833) and JJ van Voorst (1791–1869), auction 1859, Or. 1646–1678					
16	Or. 1649	<i>Erpenius Arabic dictionary</i>	o	p. 1, no. 6	o
17	Or. 1652	<i>Diwan-i 'Urfi</i>	o	p. 10, no. 5	x
18	Or. 1661	<i>Riyaz al-insha'</i>	x	p. 9, no. 62	x
19	Or. 1665	<i>Kanz al-lughah</i>	x	p. 4, no. 4	o
20	Or. 1666	<i>Khulasa-yi 'ilm-i sarf</i>	o	p. 6/7, no. 27	o
Collection Delft Academy, transferred in 1864, Or. 1689–1882					
21	Or. 1692	<i>Taj al-salatin (Malay)</i>	x	p. 6, no. 22	o
Acquisition from Brill, Leiden, 1865 (ex NW Schroeder, 1721–1798)					
22	Or. 1893	<i>Divan of Qasim-i Anvar</i>	o	p. 10, no. 4	x
Collection Koopmans van Boekeren, donation 1870, Or. 1944–1952					
23	Or. 1945	<i>Moluccan Qur'an</i>	o	p. 2, no. 8	o

(cont.)

No.	Classmark	Contents	Reland previously known?	1761 Auction	Link with Golius?
Collection SFJ Rau (1765–1807), ex E Scheidius (1742–1794), bequest 1887, Or. 3075–3096					
24	Or. 3080	<i>Translation Golius Subhat ul-ahbar</i>	o	p. 3, no. 29	x
25	Or. 3081	<i>Schedae Golianae</i>	x	p. 4, no. 41	x
26	Or. 3082(2)	<i>Excerpta Ibn al-Farid</i>	o	p. 2, no. 17	x
27	Or. 3083	<i>Ferman Sultan Murad IV (copy)</i>	x	p. 2, no. 18	x
Collection KNAW, from J. Willmet (1750–1835), permanent loan 1856					
28	Acad. 10	<i>Synod of Dordrecht</i>	x	p. 2, no. 16	x
29	Acad. 29	<i>Tashil al-maqasid</i>	x	p. 5, no. 9	x
30	Acad. 30	<i>Ghunyat al-mutamalli (‘De ritu precum’)</i>	o	p. 8, no. 48	o
31	Acad. 32	<i>Dala’il al-Khayrat / Burdal al-Busiri</i>	o	p. 6, no. 19	o
32	Acad. 152	<i>Bahr al-ma’arif</i>	x	p. 8, no. 42	x
33	Acad. 182	<i>Subhatu l-ahbar</i>	x	p. 6, no. 17	x
34	Acad. 188	<i>Nizam al-tawarikh (Baydawi)/Hatim Ta’i</i>	o	p. 6, no. 16	x
35	Acad. 197	<i>Ferman Sultan Murad IV (authentic copy)</i>	x	p. 2, no. 18	x
36	Acad. 211	<i>Collective vol. in Turkish</i>	x	p. 8, no. 43	o
37	Acad. 223	<i>Lunyu (Confucius)</i>	x	p. 1, no. 4	o
Collection Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde					
38	LTK 589	<i>Vocabularium Persico-Belgicum</i>	o	p. 6, no. 23	o
39	LTK 965	<i>Russian Calendar of Saints</i>	o	p. 12, no. 29	o

NB: o = no; x = yes; ? = not found

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Adriaan Reland on Islamic Gems and Seals

An Annotated Translation of the Latin Text

Jan Just Witkam

1 Introduction¹

In 1708, Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht, published a short treatise on Islamic gems and seals. Rather than a theoretical essay, it was a number of short case studies based on seals that were shown to him by Dutch contemporary collectors, owners of cabinets of curiosities. Reland uses the texts on the seals to reiterate positive aspects of Islam, in particular its extreme monotheism. He had previously made these points in his thesis of 1696 and his study of Islam, the first edition of which had appeared in 1705. The essay on seals also gives us a glimpse of Reland's extensive social network.

Adriaan Reland's short treatise on Islamic seals of 1708,² which seems to be the first of its kind, can be read from two perspectives. First, there is the small corpus of seven Islamic seals that Reland presents and deciphers. He uses the texts of a number of 'his' seals to show that there are ideas in Islam that are not so different from Christianity, especially the notion of monotheism. This is a recurrent theme in Reland's writings, especially his doctoral dissertation³ and his much larger work on the 'Muhammadan' religion (first edition 1705, second edition 1717).⁴ This is how we know Reland, as a proponent of 'a more balanced and tolerant view of Muhammad and his religion', as a protagonist of the early Dutch Enlightenment.⁵ A sub-theme in the treatise on seals is Reland's criticism of the Arabic typography of his time, which he finds poor in comparison

1 This chapter follows my presentation at the Colloquium 'Adrianus Relandus (17 July 1676–5 February 1718), Professor Oriental Languages, University of Utrecht 1701–1718', Utrecht, 5 February 2018, which can be seen here: <<http://islamicmanuscripts.info/Files/Witkam-2018-Reland-Islamic-seals.pdf>>.

2 Reland, 'Dissertatio De gemmis Arabicis', pp. 231–250.

3 Reland, *Exercitatio philologico-theologica*.

4 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica*.

5 Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, p. 615. See also Hamilton, 'From a "Closet at Utrecht"'.

with the calligraphic potential of the Arabic script that we see in manuscripts and inscriptions [Fig. 13.4].

The second perspective concerns the social context of the author. Given that, when Reland wrote, there were only private collections of exotic objects such as Islamic seals in the Netherlands, I have tried to find out who these 'collectionneurs' with an interest in seals were, what their relationship with Reland was, and how the relevance of their collections can be understood in the context of their time. About Henricus Hadrianus vander Marck and Jacob de Bary I could at least find some information. I have been more successful in the case of Jacob de Wilde.

Reland calls the 'seals' that he describes *gemmae*, 'precious stones'. A more particular meaning of the word is 'things made of precious stones', among which can be understood 'a seal ring, a signet', a 'pearl', and 'the eyes in a peacock's tail'.⁶ However, only one of the *gemmae* is explicitly described by Reland as being made of a precious stone, an agate (No. 1), and only one was meant to be printed and was therefore a genuine seal (No. 6). All the illustrations in Reland's short study are unsigned copper engravings, the original drawings of which could have been made by Reland himself as he was also an accomplished draughtsman.

Like several other of his shorter treatises, Reland wrote his essay on Islamic gems and seals in the form of answers to questions from several friends and acquaintances. As is often the case with those who know how to read non-Latin scripts, he was asked by several members of the public about pieces in their collection.⁷ Of the seven pieces that he treated, he was only the owner of the last one (No. 7). The other seals belonged to Dutch patricians, Jacob de Bary (d. 1727, Nos. 1, 2, 5), Jacob de Wilde (1645–1721, No. 3) and Henricus Hadrianus vander Marck (d. 1727, No. 4). No. 6 is not given a provenance, but it appears to originate from India, not from Indonesia. Reland interpreted the language on the seal as Malay, but it could also have been Sanskrit. Three collectors asked Reland for information:

Henricus Hadrianus vander Marck, who probably died in 1727, was a Catholic clergyman and a private collector. His library and huge coin collection were auctioned off in The Hague on 14–22 July 1727 and later by the bookseller

⁶ Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v.

⁷ My own professor of Arabic, Jan Brugman (1923–2004), in his first course in October 1964, mockingly announced to us a future of deciphering fragmentary texts in Arabic scripts on ashtrays, wrappers of all sorts, Coca Cola bottles, etc.

Petrus de Hondt. I have no further information on him nor is his auction catalogue of 1727 explicit about his life and work.⁸

Jacob de Bary was a collector of coins and other curiosities. He had lived in Seville as a consul to the Dutch nation and in 1702 he had moved to Amsterdam. In 1727 he died in Maarseveen.⁹ The auction of his collection was scheduled, according to the title-page of the catalogue, *in aedibus defuncti* ('in the house of the deceased') in April or May 1730.¹⁰ In his treatise on Islamic seals Reland calls De Bary's cabinet of curiosities 'Cimeliarchum Barianum', the 'Baryan Treasury'.¹¹ The auction catalogue shows in two separate images and twenty-six tables a modest collection of some 139 items, mostly Roman and Phoenician coins, but also thirteen Islamic coins, gems or seals, including the three that Reland described in 1708.¹²

From the introduction to the auction catalogue, the fact that De Bary collected most of his seals or gems in Spain where he had lived for a long time and where he had owned a magnificent mansion, is confirmed. The three seals of De Bary's collection that Reland describes (Nos. 1, 2 and 5) are also illustrated in the auction catalogue. The inscriptions of Nos. 1 and 2 are given in Latin translation in the beginning of the catalogue. These were apparently copied from Reland's treatise on Islamic gems and seal. The three illustrations in the auction catalogue of 1730 are based on the same copper engravings that Reland

8 Van der Marck, *Bibliotheca*. His numismatic collection of Greek and Roman coins was described in a separate sales catalogue in two volumes: Van der Marck, *Series numismatum antiquorum*. His Shi'ite seal, Reland's No. 4, is not mentioned in the auction catalogue. The auction catalogue of 1727 describes him on its title-page as: 'Toparcha in Leur, & Ecclesiae Metropolitanae, quae Ultrajecti est, Canonicus, &c. &c.', meaning 'Seigneur' of Leur (a locality in Brabant, now part of Etten-Leur) and Canon (Clergyman) of the Metropolitan Church in Utrecht, etc. The website of the Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague (RKD, Rijkskunsthistorisch Documentatiecentrum), with reference to the 1727 auction catalogue, calls van der Marck a 'publisher' and a 'book collector' <<https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/467342>>. See also the Bibliissima website <<https://portail.bibliissima.fr/>>, which offers a virtual library of texts and books produced and described between Antiquity and the eighteenth century, and which contains a description of the items in van der Marck's library.

9 Schutte, *Repertorium*, p. 411.

10 De Bary, *Catalogus numismatum antiquorum*. I am grateful to Paul Dijstelberge, Amsterdam University, for putting photographs of this rare booklet (copy: Amsterdam University Library, Obr. 005 267) at my disposal.

11 Reland, 'Dissertatio de Gemmis Arabicis', p. 248.

12 Table 22 shows a display of eleven Islamic coins. Nos. 1–5 and No. 11 give the impression of being early, possibly Umayyad coins, with the Islamic creed as text. No. 6 is the item that Reland described as his No. 5. De Bary's No. 7 was struck in Granada in 890 (1485–1486), and his Nos. 8 and 9 possibly as well, in 880 (1475–1476) and 890 (1485–1486) respectively. The origin of De Bary's No. 10 is not clear.

had used in 1708. No. 5 is illustrated in the auction catalogue (table 22, No. 6), together with a number of other coins with legends in Arabic, but these latter were commented upon by Reland. Jacob Diego de Bary had been appointed Dutch consul in Seville on April 8, 1689.¹³ He is also mentioned in a letter from Gisbert Cuper (1644–1716) to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), dated Deventer, February 1711. Among other things Cuper tells Leibniz that De Bary spent some twenty years in Seville as a consul, looking after the interests of the Dutch merchants there, and that he owned a collection of some eight hundred coins.¹⁴ In his *Bibliothèque choisie* Jean le Clerc (1657–1736) in two instances mentions objects from De Bary's cabinet,¹⁵ first a number of Phoenician coins,¹⁶ then a piece of nonflammable wood.¹⁷ From this we may conclude that the cabinet also contained *naturalia*.

Jacob de Wilde (1645–1721) is the acquaintance of Reland about whom we know most. He was a high official ('ontvanger-generaal') in the Admiralty of Amsterdam. He himself has left few traces in the biographical literature, and what we know about him often comes through publications by or about his daughter Maria de Wilde (1682–1729), a highly versatile young woman who was active as an engraver and playwright in Amsterdam's upper-class bourgeoisie [Fig. 13.1]. In a poem by Pieter van den Berge (1659–1737), her publisher and himself a man of many talents, which prefaces one of Maria's tragedies, the cabinet of curiosities of her father is described:

The cabinet of Mr. de Wilde is famous all over Europe, because knowledge can be acquired here free of charge by everybody who decides to look for wisdom. This is because De Wilde provides for excellent intellects a flat and smooth track that leads to the knowledge of peoples and countries, which are then led to Pallas's choir. Here you see, in the form of collections of coins, old customs, their temples so rich and great, their funerary pillars after their death, their palaces now fallen into ruin, their sacrifices,

13 Schutte, *Repertorium*, p. 411.

14 Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, pp. 41–42 (No. 32).

15 See about this journal Wijngaards, *De «Bibliothèque Choisie»*.

16 Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, vol. 11 (1707), article 2 (pp. 104–133). In the illustration opposite p. 104 several Phoenician coins can be observed that would later also occur in De Bary's auction catalogue of 1730.

17 Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, vol. 12 (1707), article 2 (pp. 57–80), and see also the beginning of the *Avertissement* of the same volume.

their victories, their splendour, their delightful jewelry, their loot, their playful festive dressings ... All this De Wilde shows to you...¹⁸

The same Pieter van den Berge has drawn a portrait of Jacob de Wilde as the frontispiece of a printed catalogue of part of his collection of gems [Fig. 13.2]. One sees him in his Museum, holding a tray from a *dactiliotheca* with gems in his left hand.¹⁹ The cabinet, the Museum Wildianum as it was called, was a large room in De Wilde's house at Keizersgracht 333, Amsterdam. The walls are covered with shelving that contains books, plano leaves, and globes.²⁰ A large number of statuettes are placed on top of the shelvings.²¹ At the far end of the room is an apse²² in which De Wilde's *Nummophylacium* was placed, an artfully made container for choice items from his collection of coins. In the centre of the room is a round table. It shows De Wilde sitting with his royal visitor, Czar Peter the Great (1672–1725), who visited the Museum on December 13, 1697 [Fig. 13.3]. On the table are several smaller objects the function and nature of which seem to be the subject of conversation.

We are so well informed about the room because of an etching by Maria de Wilde. She had made a drawing on the date of the visit of Czar Peter and she subsequently made an etching of it that illustrated the catalogue of 1700.²³ That catalogue also contains an engraved portrait of Maria de Wilde herself, made by David van Hoogstraten who added a short poem in Latin. There are

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- 18 My translation from the Dutch text of the beginning of the liminary poem by Pieter van den Berge preceding Maria de Wilde, *Abradates en Panthea*, unnumbered page. The love story of Abradates and Panthea is a theme developed by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*.
- 19 [De Wilde], *Gemmae selectae antiquae*. An uncatalogued copy of the portrait is in Leiden University Library: Singer 33543.
- 20 Of the two globes that the cartographer Willem Jansz. Blaeu (1571–1638) produced from 1602 onwards, one represented the earth, the other the sky.
- 21 It is tempting to identify these with those depicted by Maria de Wilde in [De Wilde], *Signa Antiqua*.
- 22 Details of the *Nummophylacium* can be seen in four unnumbered engravings at the end of another De Wilde catalogue, *Selecta Numismata Antiqua*.
- 23 [De Wilde], *Signa Antiqua*. The edition has several 'drempledichten' (liminary poems). One of these is a poem in Latin by Charles Heriot of King's College, Cambridge in praise of the *Nummophylacium* and its content under the motto *non equidem invideo, miror magis*, 'I am not envious of something like this, I rather admire it'. A similar poem by David van Hoogstraten (1658–1724) is there as well, as is a poem by Andreas Lange (1680–1713) from Lubeck on De Wilde's *Gazophylacium*, 'treasure chest'. Andreas Lange (Andreas Langius), a lawyer, poet and literary translator from Lübeck, fell in love with Maria de Wilde but this led nowhere. A Dutch translation by Johannes Brandt (1654–1731) of his now lost Latin love poem to Maria de Wilde is in Kaspar and Johannes Brandt, *Poëzy*, vol. 2, pp. 61–62. Judging by the translation it is clear that Lange's desires for Maria de Wilde, both spiritual and physical, were expressed in unequivocal terms.

several more of these 'liminary poems' in this and the other De Wilde catalogues, all praising the Museum. Reland's poem, however, does not concern the Museum, but rather what may have been De Wilde's greatest treasure by far, his daughter Maria. In 46 elegant hexameters, he describes Maria's art and beauty. 'You paint Venus in such a way that if the sculptor Apelles would see it, he would say: this art is not less than mine'. And about her physical qualities he addresses her: 'It is credible, most beautiful virgin, that marble (statues) become soft when you touch them'. Neo-Latin lyrics were no uncharted territory for Reland, as can be seen from his poetical play *Galatea*.²⁴ Having cabinets of curiosities as Jacob de Wilde did was a hobby among the rich bourgeoisie in the Netherlands.²⁵ Reland used his own manuscript collection as a source for his learned commentary on the gems that he was asked about. These bibliographical references can be found in the 'Index' of both editions of *De religione Mohammedica* (1705, 1717). A full view of the considerable collection of manuscripts that Reland had brought together during his short life can be gained from the auction that was held after the demise of Reland's son Jan Hubert Relandt on April 6, 1761, and the days following.²⁶

2 Translation of Adriaan Reland's Essay on Islamic Seals²⁷

[p. 231] Essay 13 on Islamic seals [p. 232 blank]

[p. 233] Essay 13 on Islamic seals

§ 1 *On the Use of Arabic Seals*

I am very much aware of the fact that there are quite a number of people who are eager to acquire certain precious seals, and that, among them, they prefer to look for seals with Arabic or Persian inscriptions. So, for the pleasure of those who are desirous to read and understand the Oriental pieces, and to

24 Reland, *Galatea*, which was reprinted (1710, 1739), annotated (1809) and translated into Dutch (1837). See also the article by Dirk Sacré in the present volume.

25 See for an overview Bergvelt and Kistemaker (eds), *De wereld binnen handbereik*. Jacob and Maria de Wilde are abundantly mentioned in this book, but Jacob de Bary and Henricus Hadrianus vander Marck remain unmentioned.

26 *Naam-lyst van een zeer keurige verzameling ... boeken met daarin de Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum* (1761). I consulted the annotated copy of this auction catalogue that is kept in the collection of the 'Vereeniging ter bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels', now Amsterdam, University Library, KVB Nv 274. I am grateful to Arnoud Vrolijk (University Library, Leiden) for providing me with images of this catalogue.

27 Reland, 'Dissertatio De gemmis Arabicis', pp. 231–250. Footnotes are by me, not by Reland.

solve the complex and intricate difficulties of the script, I will show several seals to which I will add my interpretation. Those specialists of Arabic and Persian, who devote themselves [p. 234] to reading manuscripts, more in particular Persian ones, or who occupy themselves with numismatics or epigraphy, will agree with me that this is a useful activity. Even if the small specimen that we herewith present is in no way sufficient to overcome all difficulties, it will nevertheless lead to something. Especially so if the information that I have recently published²⁸ about the four Arabic inscriptions that are, even today, available in Pozzuoli is added to this.

Nor will those who are not knowledgeable about these secrets be totally ungrateful for this work, unless I flatter myself with a totally vain imagination. Who, then, is not taken in by looking at scripts so elegant and artful, which show ornate interconnected letters, with the correct application of spaces and with the distribution of diacritics that look like little stars? And all these, I confess, are the more accurately perceived by the person to whom these letters are not unknown. To the uneducated person, they even show that these peoples, from whom these scripts originate, are not as uncivilised and barbaric as we are generally inclined to believe.

§ 2 *Explanation of the First Seal*

The first seal, which is kept in the Treasury of the Most Noble Gentleman, Jacob de Bary, is the one that is shown on the next page. I have described it at the request of this gentleman, who is my very good friend, and these writings have previously been published. However, as they have only reached very few hands,²⁹ I will explain them here once more for the reader. These are the writings: [p. 235]

28 For the Arabic inscriptions of Pozzuoli (near Naples) see Reland, *De nummis veterorum Hebraeorum*, appendix pp. 1–16, apparently published under a separate title: *Adriani Relandi Dissertatio de marmoribus Arabicis Puteolanis et nummo Arabico Constantini Pogonati*. The latter title had been published earlier as a separate booklet by Theodor and Henricus Bruyn in Amsterdam. It is in fact an informative letter addressed to Didericus Modé, dated Utrecht, October 1, 1704. In this *Dissertatio* Reland gives a transcription and a Latin translation of the four inscriptions in Pozzuoli and shows No. 3 in his illustration. All four inscriptions had already been illustrated by Sarnelli, *La guida de forestieri curiosi*, published in Naples in 1697. In the edition of 1709 that I consulted, the four inscriptions are illustrated together opposite p. 28. For a modern study on these inscriptions, see Grassi, 'Iscrizione funerarie arabe nel Napoletano'. These Italian references were kindly provided by Lucia Raggetti (Bologna University), to whom I am most grateful.

29 Is this a reference to another work of Reland or to one of his letters?



Reland, seal 1.

Adriaan Reland to the Most Noble Gentleman Jacob de Bary

My dear friend, it rarely happens that I leave Amsterdam without your blessing me with some small handful, according to the custom of Oriental peoples. In this case, a few days ago, you were so kind as to give me an example of this when you wished to hand over this Agate to me, inscribed with Arabic script, in order to be examined. I herewith return it to you, in the hope that I have sufficiently satisfied your wish when you requested me to decipher the script. Since the script lines are wonderfully intricate, as if the initial letters of one word were sometimes placed on top of the other and sometimes underneath the other in order to enhance the script's elegance, so that the total surface of the seal everywhere shows letters with equal proportions, [p. 236] I shall present them to you in extricated (?) form and in the order in which we usually use the Arabic characters. In such a way that you can observe that the script lines in which the letters are placed together are not very different, and so that you can better admire the artfulness of the script in your seal. Here, then, are the Arabic words themselves:

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما
 في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم
 ولا يحيطون بشي من علمه الا بما شا وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يوده
 حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

In Latin, these words sound as follows:³⁰ 'God. There is no God besides Him. He is the Living One, the Everlasting One. Slumber does not overtake Him, nor sleep. To Him belongs what is in the heavens and what is on earth. Who is it who can intercede with Him other than by His permission? He knows what is

³⁰ Qur'an 2:255. Here directly translated by me from Arabic into English. Reland translates 'He knows what is in front of them and what is behind them' with 'He knows the present and the future'. See also Fig. 13.4.

in front of them and what is behind them, and they do not comprehend anything of His knowledge except what He wishes. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth. The preservation of these two does not tire Him, and He is the High One, the Great One'. 'What an excellent description', you will say, 'of the divine omnipotence and majesty!' Thus it is, Most Noble Gentleman, [p. 237] and you would admit this all the more if you understood the text in Arabic. Yet I doubt whether this can be explained to certain people who take all Muhammadans for donkeys. The more so if I had told you that all these words are contained in the most holy Qur'ān. And that is the truth. They can be read in the second chapter, in verse two hundred and fifty-six.³¹ However, may these pericopes alone convince the people, who are of the opinion that the Qur'ān only contains trivialities and nothing useful, of the contrary. If they had been transmitted by a Greek or Roman author they would have been highly praised. But now that they have been said by Muhammad, they are not deemed worthy of review or attention. So much for the prejudices about the barbarism and stupidity of the Turks! It would be more useful if they were more concerned with the conversion of these peoples to the Christian faith, and that they spent hours learning the Arabic language, which is useful for other reasons as well, and reading the theological scriptures of the Muhammadans (if it has to be that God whose effort some of us would wish to use for the salvation of so many erring peoples), than to speak about them with contempt, to neglect their languages, and to vituperate against the efforts of a few people devoted to these matters. Really, I feel that I have already exhausted the subject. You, who have direct knowledge of the Muhammadans of Africa when you lived in Spain, [p. 238] are used to judging them in a softer and more benign way. May God keep You for a long time intact and well-preserved, so that you can show to the world of learning, according to your decision, those excellent and remarkable coins, of Phoenician and Celto-Iberian origin, and the other most rare inscriptions (with which you can provoke the envy of Princes, Kings, and the owners of numismatic treasures), and that you add the well-deserved value of your effort to them. Thus, written in Utrecht on July 26, 1706.

§ 3 *A Qur'ānic Passage Contains Something Excellent*

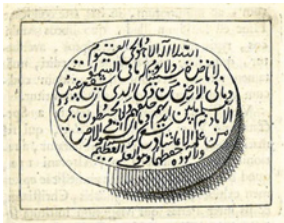
I have nothing to add to what I have just written above, except that I saw in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* by that most erudite author, Barthélemy d'Herbelot, under the lemma 'Corsi', that this Qur'ānic passage is reckoned by the Muhammadans to be among the most excellent passages of the Qur'ān, and

³¹ Verse 255 according to the Cairo vulgate edition.

that especially the last passage is praised as the most elegant one.³² This is what d'Herbelot writes [in French]: 'In the second chapter of the Qur'ān it is said that the Throne of God embraces heavens and earth, that the preservation of these does not require any effort of Him, since he is the Highest One, the Greatest One [...]. The exegetes tell us that this verse is the most considerable of the entire Qur'ān, and that reading it therefore brings the greatest blessings.'

§ 4 *The Second Seal Contains the Same Text*

The second seal, which later reached the hands of the same person whom we have mentioned before, and then my own hands, is the following: [p. 239]



Reland, seal 2.

That seal contains the same pericope of the Qur'ān as the first one, but it is executed in a different style. It will not strike those who know the Arabic script as unpleasant to compare the characters of this seal with those that can be read in the first seal and to admire the elegant variety in which the same letters and words are written so that they do not seem to have anything in common, either on first view, or after a more accurate study. But these are the treasures of the Orient. These are the signs of rich penwork and a fertile imagination of the Asiatic peoples, who know how to vary one and the same character in more than one most artful script, and who organize a sizeable part of the ornamentation of their books, and equally their correspondence, [p. 240] with seals and coins in this way. Hence the disgust with which they turn away from the Arabic books that are printed in our way. These books may have been very accurately edited, but in no way do they approach the elegance of the manuscripts that are in use in the Orient.

§ 5 *Chapter 12 of the Qur'ān Inscribed on a Seal*

The third seal, which has been given to me by the Excellent Gentleman Jacob de Wilde, who is Treasurer-General at the Admiralty of Amsterdam,³³ con-

³² D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, p. 274.

³³ Thus in Zuidema, 'Maria de Wilde'.

tains chapter 112 of the Qurʾān. It gives a short epitome of the Muhammadan doctrine, directed against the Jews, the Christians, and those Persians who follow the ideas of the Magi. First, it teaches us that their God is One God, and that He is eternal. The word *الصمد* is translated in various ways: as 'eternal'; 'permanent'; the 'One to Whom all our actions must be directed as if He were the goal'; the 'One Who exists by Himself; and Who is lacking nothing in order to exist, but Whom all things are in need of'. That is the power that is inherent in this word, write the Muhammadans. However, the Greeks, who were among the first to attack this religion in writing, have mistranslated this word with *ὀλοσφυρόν*, 'spherical', and have said with intolerable calumny that the Muhammadans have made their God corporal, *λίθον ἢ ξύλον ἀναίσθητον*, 'made out of stone or wood', as if these very words and their derivatives are always used for solid and hard objects. But I will certainly not dwell [p. 241] on this and I have effectively responded to this calumny elsewhere.³⁴ In the same chapter of the Qurʾān, which is shown in the third seal, Muhammad writes against the Jews, who, he said take Ezra, that is 'Uzayr, as the son of God, that God has no offspring; against the Christians, who believe that Christ was born from God the Father, that God is no offspring (about which Johannes Damascenus says in his 'Book of Heresies', thus writing about Muhammad: *λέγει ἓνα θεὸν εἶναι ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων, μήτε γεννηθέντα μήτε γεγεννηκότα* 'he says that He is one God, the Maker of everything, Who has no offspring and Who is no offspring');³⁵ against the Magi, finally, who believed in two equal principles, good and bad, and against some Arabs, who declared that God has associates, [he writes] that nothing is equal to Him. On page 410 is the image of the seal itself.

34 It is, in fact, the main subject of Reland's doctoral thesis of 1696, *Exercitatio philologico-theologica*, in particular thesis IV on pp. 7–8. Reland repeated the discussion in § 3 of book 2 of the first edition of his *De religione Mohammedica*, pp. 105–110.

35 Greek text (after Migne) with English translation in Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*, pp. 132, 133.



Reland, seal 3.

§ 6 *Explanation of the Third Seal*

What I have written not long ago to the Excellent Gentleman De Wilde as explanation of this seal I will also offer here to the eyes of the readers. Here, then, is my letter. [p. 242]

Adriaan Reland to the Excellent Gentleman Jacob de Wilde

I herewith return to You the Arabic seal that I brought here with me yesterday from Amsterdam, together with the explanation of the characters that it contains. The two lines that are visible in the central part of your seal are as follows, in the Arabic typography as used by the Christian printers:

لا اله الا انت سبحانك اني
كنت من الظالمين

Compare now the form of these letters, that I herewith offer to you, with those that are shown in your seal, and you will see how far our printers are from the extraordinary Arabic calligraphy. This to such an extent that it should not appear strange that the Muhammadans appreciate less the books in Arabic script that are printed among us, such as the *Gulistān* by Sa'dī and others, and by far prefer to these the books that have been written by hand. You will also understand, when you compare these characters, that the different words are actually joined, and that some are placed on top of others, so that the tail of the letter ي in the word اني has a backward extension in such a way [p. 243] that it serves as a separation line in the central part of the seal. Translated into Latin [and here into English] these words are: 'There is no God except You. Praised be You. I am among the unjust'. They contain the complete prayer that the Prophet Jonah is said to have spoken when he was hidden inside the fish. They are transmitted exactly so in the Qur'ān, in chapter twenty-one, called 'The Prophets', verse eighty-seven.³⁶ The Muhammadan authors write that he was sent to the city of نينوي Nineveh (thus written by Kessaes,³⁷ but the

36 Qur'ān 21:87 mentions the prophet by name, though not as Jonas, but as Dhū al-Nūn, 'the man of the fish'.

37 This concerns a work by al-Kisā'ī, the author of works of the genre 'Stories of the Prophets' living in the beginning of the 5th/11th century (GAL G I, 350). The title re-emerges as

author of ³⁸ *مصايح القلوب* gives the name of the city as *نيتوي* Nitove³⁹ with the incorrect punctuation, and says that this is the same as *موصل* Mosul. Yūsuf Ibn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf⁴⁰ has *شهر نيلوس* ‘the city of Nilus’, for which read: *نينوس* Ninos) and says that, in order to avoid the punishment that had been announced to them by the god, he had fled in a state of doubt and anger. When thereupon a tempest had arisen and lots were cast to see who should be thrown into the sea, the lot fell on Jonah. However, he was caught by a fish, in which he dwelt for forty days, till he was able to placate the irate god with these prayers, or rather with this confession, and he was returned to our open air. The words that occupy the entire surface of the outer margin of the seal show, first, this formula: *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*, ‘in the name of God, the most merciful’ (words that are usually [p. 244] placed before each *Sūra*), and then they show the complete chapter of the Qur’ān, which, as you can see, is not too long. It is the antepenultimate chapter of the entire book, number one hundred and twelve, and it contains these words, with which the Muhammadans in particular fulminate against the Christians, and that they frequently take in their mouth, divided into four verses:

١- قل هو الله احد
 ٢- الله الصمد
 ٣- لم يلد ولم يولد
 ٤- ولم يكن له كفوا احد

‘1. Say (that is: to the infidels, or to those who ask You your opinion about God) God is one. 2. God is eternal. 3. He has no offspring; he is no offspring. 4. And no one is equal to Him’. The Muhammadans hold this *Sūra* in great honour, in such a way that several of them place it on the level of one third of the entire

Historia sacra seu vitae Prophetarum a creatione usque ad Muhammedem juxta Muhammedanorum traditionem, auctore Kessaeo in the auction catalogue of Reland’s Oriental manuscripts collection (1761), p. 4, in-quarto, No. 2. *Kessaei Historia Sacra* is also mentioned as MS Reland No. 9 in the ‘Index’ of Reland, *De religione Muhammedica* of 1705, and No. 10 in the edition of 1717, on one of the unnumbered pages at the end of the volume under the heading ‘Index codicum Orientalium manuscriptorum, quos citavimus, & quibus usi sumus ...’ It is now Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, So 7, see Appendix 2, A qua 2, in the present volume.

38 A manuscript from Reland’s own collection, see No. 24 in the ‘Index’ of *De religione Muhammedica*. Utrecht, 1705, in ‘Index’. The Persian text is *Maṣābiḥ al-qulūb* by Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, known as al-Shī‘ī al-Sabzavāri, see Āghā Bozorg, *al-Dharī‘a*, vol. 21, p. 90. The manuscript that Reland used (CCO 2707 = vol. 5, pp. 274–275; MS Utrecht 44) is now Utrecht, University Library, MS 1471 (1 E 20), see <<https://utrechtuniversity.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1004377427>>, and the contribution by Bart Jaski in this volume.

39 Thus, in Utrecht, University Library, MS 1471, fol. 193a (chapter 44).

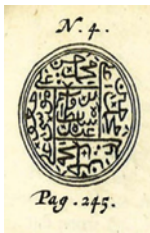
40 This refers to the Turkish *Subḥat al-akhbār*, originally a historical pedigree by Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf. The manuscript is now Leiden, University Library, Acad. 182, and Reland quotes from fol. 15a. See Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts. Minor Collections*, pp. 202–203.

Qur'ān. That shows clearly what the use of this seal was, and why these words were chosen for the inscription on it. Place it back in your Treasury, and keep it as an example of Arabic calligraphy and art. As the viewing of it was a most pleasant task for me, I have no doubt that it will [p. 245] be a great joy for other onlookers as well. When, in the meantime, something with a similar form of writing arrives in your hands, I wish you to think of Reland and give me either a print-off or, preferably, the original seal. Farewell, most kind De Wilde, and love me.

Thus, written in Utrecht on 18 [month not mentioned] 1706.

§ 7 *The Twelve Leaders of the Persians Inscribed on a Seal*

The fourth seal, which has been sent to me by the Most Noble Gentleman Henricus Hadrianus vander Marck⁴¹ contains, apart from the proper name of the person who used it,⁴² the names of the twelve leaders, or *imams*, whom the Persians believe to be the legitimate successors of Muhammad. As there are four among them who were called 'Alī, the engraver of this seal has drawn the letter *ع* at the end of the word 'Alī in a backward direction, in such a way that, written four times, it divides the surface into four areas, each of which is filled with the names of three leaders. Of these leaders or princes only the names are available in this seal. From my manuscript of the *Taarich*⁴³ I will therefore add their titles to their names.⁴⁴



Reland, seal 4.

41 Reland writes his name as 'vander Mark'. The seal that Vander Marck showed to Reland is not mentioned in either coin catalogue.

42 Not deciphered by Reland, or by me.

43 This also concerns the Turkish text *Subḥat al-akhbār* by Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf, in a copy by Shahin Candi, Golius' copyist, with a continuation by Reland up to 1703. It is now MS Leiden Acad. 182. Reland has given Acad. 182 a complete Latin title-page: *Genealogia ab Adamo usque ad Sultan Morad. Ab Josepho Ibn Abdollatif ex Persico in Turcicum sermonem translata juxta Sententiam Mohammedanorum. Cum Explicationibus Turcicis, ex Bibliotheca Jacobi Golii, Viri Cl. Publica auctione distracta Lugduni in Batavis XVI Octob. 1696. Adrianus Relandus*. Reland quotes the names of the Shi'ite imams from ff. 18b–19b. This manuscript is mentioned in Reland's auction catalogue of 1761, p. 6, in-quarto, No. 17. Golius' Latin translation of the *Subḥat al-akhbār* is now MS Leiden Or. 3080: *Taarich de sermone Turcico in Latinum conversum a Jacobo Golio*, which manuscript was also in Reland's collection (Reland's auction catalogue of 1761, p. 3, in-folio, No. 29).

44 The translation simply follows Reland's text.

1. المرتضى 'Alī al-Murtaḍā, or the one who is dear and beloved to God. His wife was Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad. [p. 246]
2. امام حسن الرضا ابو محمد Imām Ḥasan, who pleases God, Abū Muḥammad.
3. امام حسين ابو عبدالله Imām Ḥusayn, Abū 'Abdallāh.
4. امام ابو الحسن علي زين العابدين Imām Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, the ornament of the servants of God.
5. امام محمد الباقر Imām Muḥammad, who excels by wisdom.
6. امام جعفر الصادق Imām Ja'far, the just one.
7. امام موسى الكاظم Imām Mūsā, the clement one. [p. 247]
8. امام علي الرضا Imām 'Alī, beloved by God.
9. امام محمد التقا Imām Muḥammad, the pious one.
10. امام علي التقا Imām 'Alī, the pious one.⁴⁵
11. امام حسن العسكري Imām Ḥasan, al-'Askarī, thus said to originate from the city of 'Askar Makrūm in Persia, where he was born.⁴⁶
12. امام محمد المهدي Imām Muḥammad, the guide, or the leader.

§ 8 *On the Leader al-Mahdī*⁴⁷

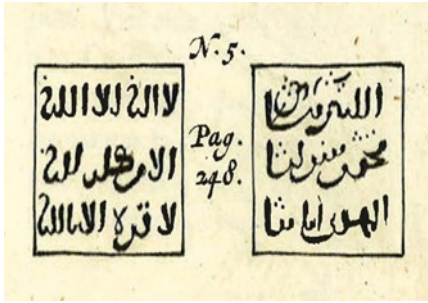
The Persians transmit many curious facts about the last of these, al-Mahdī, who was born in the year 255 of the Muhammadan era, [p. 248] and they believe that, shortly before the end of the world, he will return victoriously among mankind, and that he will join Jesus the Messiah, so that one religion will come into being from the two religions, the Christian and the Muhammadan ones. Among the Muhammadans, there are quite a number of people who have falsely impersonated him. D'Herbelot can be consulted about them in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*.⁴⁸ Not long ago I saw in the Treasury of Jacob de Bary, which I have mentioned before, a square leaf of silver, which I herewith show in copper engraving No. 5, and in which this al-Mahdī is mentioned.

45 Reland is mistaken about the Arabic titles, the epithets, of the ninth and tenth *imāms*. They are Muḥammad al-Taqī and 'Alī al-Naqī, respectively. The text in MS Leiden Acad. 182, fol. 19b, from which Reland worked, is correct, however.

46 Both Medina and Samarra are usually mentioned as his place of birth. Legend has it that he was born in the military camp in Samarra, hence his name al-'Askarī.

47 Reland has § 7 twice.

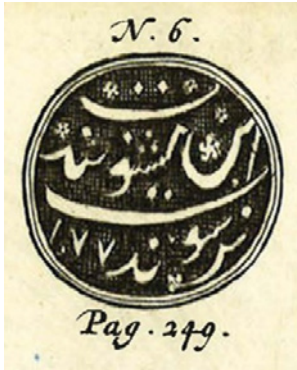
48 Here Reland largely follows d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, p. 531, s.v. Mahadi.



Reland, seal 5.

On one side it contains the following words *الله ربنا محمد رسولنا المهدي امامنا*. This means ‘God is our Lord. Muḥammad is the messenger of God who was sent to us. Al-Mahdī is our leader’. On the other side it has three formulas that the Arabs call *الكلمات الطيبات*, ‘the good words, about which Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās ibn Aḥmad Ibn [p. 249] Yūsuf al-Aqfahsī has written a book, of which I own a manuscript:⁴⁹ *لا اله الا الله | الامر كله لله | لا قوة الا بالله*, which means ‘There is no God but God. All command belongs to God. There is no power except in God.’⁵⁰

§ 9 *On the Seals of Private Persons, and on the Seal of the Turkish Emperor*

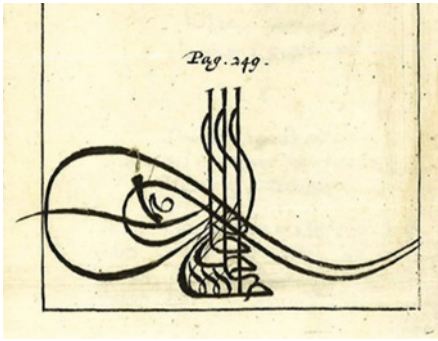


Reland, seal 6.

49 Reland’s manuscript, which is now MS Leiden Acad. 29, contains two texts by Aḥmad b. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Aqfahsī (d. 808/1405), GAL G II, 94: (1) *Tashīl al-maqāṣid fī zuwwār al-masājid* and (2) *al-Qawl fī tafsīr al-kalimāt al-ṭayyibāt*, to which latter text Reland refers here. It is MS Reland No. 7, in the ‘Index’ at the end of *De Religione Muhammedica*; see also Appendix 2, A qua 9. The two texts in MS Leiden Acad. 29 (2) are copies by Shahin Candi, Golius’ copyist, from two texts in another Golius manuscript, that is now Leiden, University Library, Or. 1284. See Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, p. 274.

50 MS Leiden, Acad. 29, p. 196.

The seal that is illustrated as No. 6, contains the following words: نرشو قندیت ابن کسنو قندیت, Narshū Pandit, son of Kisnū Pandit, which is followed by the year 1077 of the Muhammadan era, which is 1666 in our era. It was, therefore, the seal of that Narshū. The word *Pandit* قندیت, means in Malay 'literate, copyist, doctor'. Narshū and Kisnū are the names taken by rivers of India, or rather by the spirits that are believed to reign over them. All the seals (*sigilla*) of the Persians and Arabs are organized more or less in this way, and the words should, for the greater part, be read upwards from below. I do not have other examples of these here, but instead I do own the seal of the Turkish emperor Murad IV (herewith illustrated as No. 7) [p. 250], taken from a letter of the year 1632 that was addressed to the illustrious and powerful States of Holland, and that is in manuscript.⁵¹



Reland, seal 7.

Anybody can easily detect the traces of the letters of the words مراد خان Murād Khān in this seal. On the left side, as seen by the reader, two letters can be read that stand for the words مظفر دایما, forever victorious.⁵² The name of the emperor is written in the same way on coins, which I could add here (since

51 Reland refers to an authenticated copy of an *Ahdnāma*, in this case the trade agreement between Sultan Murad IV and the States-General of the Dutch Republic, dated 1043 (1633), in his own collection. The manuscript itself is now MS Leiden Acad. 197. That manuscript no longer has the *tughra* that Reland gives as his seventh specimen. However, Reland also owned the copy of the *Ahdnāma* that was made by Golius' copyist Shahin Candi, which is now Leiden, University Library, Or. 3083. Either the original *tughra* of MS Leiden Acad. 197, was detached for some reason, or it was copied from Shahin Candi's copy, MS Leiden Or. 3083, fol. 1b [Fig. 13.5]. Reland may have kept the original document when engaged in translating for the States-General. See also the article by Arnoud Vrolijk in the present volume.

52 Reland's typographer has erroneously inverted the order of the words: ضایما مظفر and he, or Reland, also misspelled the word *dā'iman* by writing it with a *ḍād* instead of a *dāl*.

I own them), if I were not of the opinion that the writing of the letters in this larger seal is much clearer.

The end.



FIGURE 13.1 Self portrait of Maria de Wilde. Original etching in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1910-1860



FIGURE 13.2 Portrait by Pieter van den Berge of Jacob de Wilde holding the tray of a *dactyliotheca* with gems. Copper engraving. From an original in Leiden, University Library, Singer 33543 suppl.



FIGURE 13.3 The Museum Wildianum is visited by Czar Peter the Great. Jacob de Wilde explains pieces of his collection to the royal visitor. Etching by Maria de Wilde, published in [De Wilde], *Signa antiqua*, from an original in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, RP-P-1938-1300

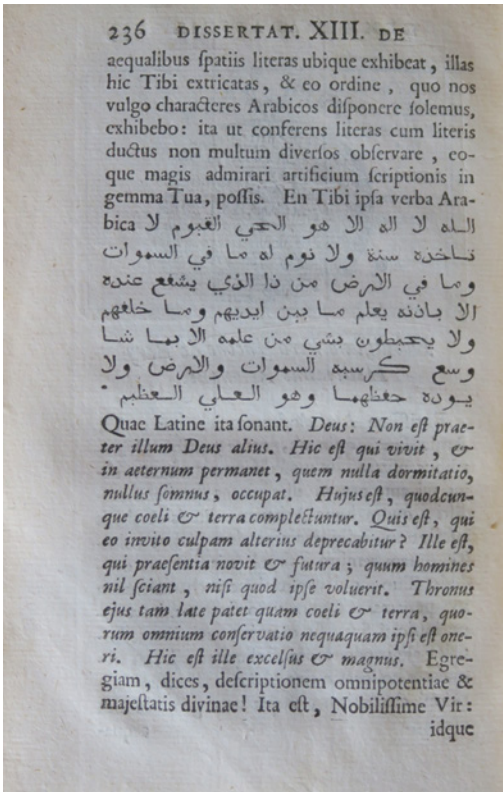


FIGURE 13.4 The *Āyat al-Kursī* in seal 1. Example of the typography of Arabic, so detested by Reland, taken from his essay on gems and seals (Utrecht 1708), p. 236. Ter Lugt collection, Leiden

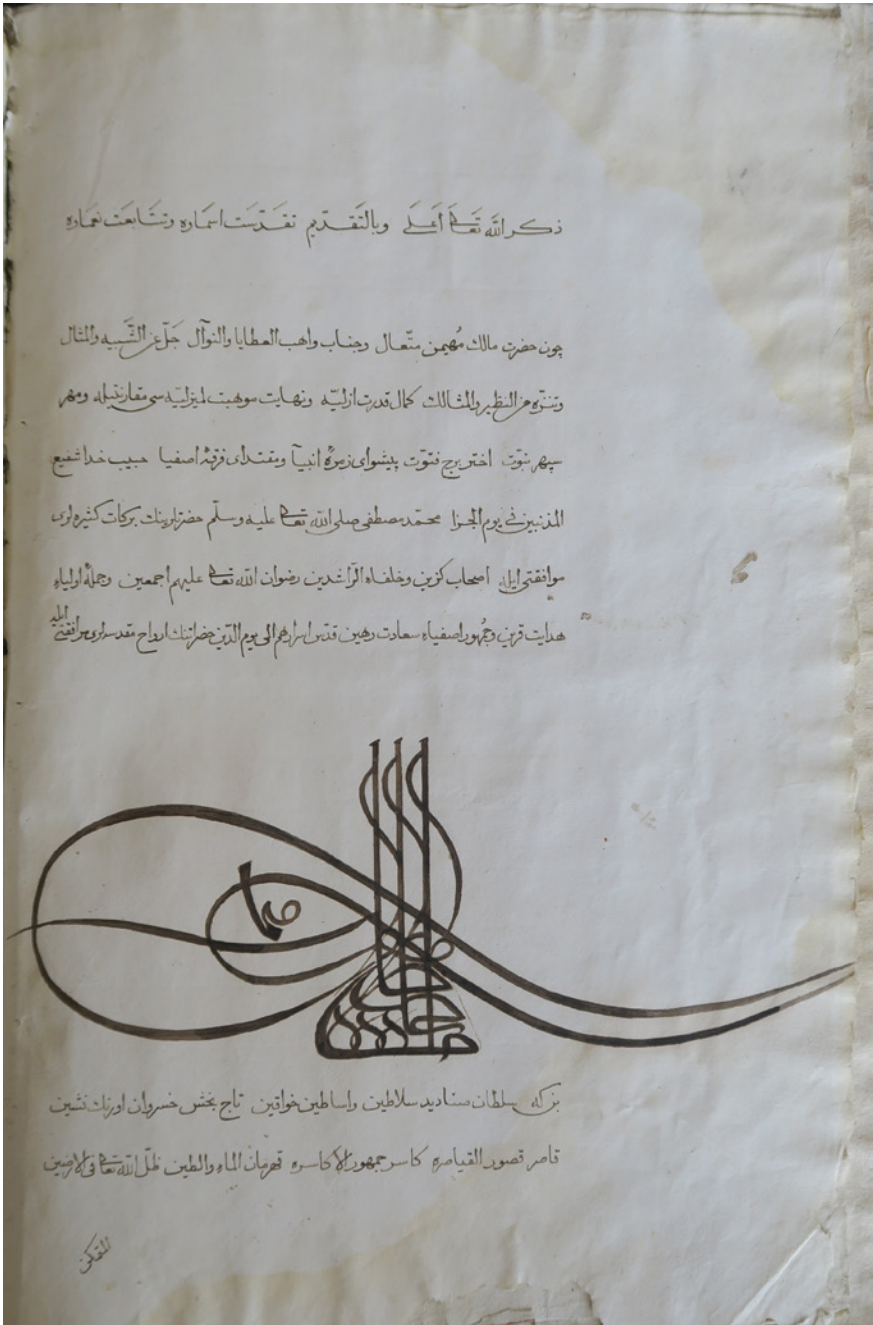


FIGURE 13.5 The *Tughra* of Sultan Murad IV in a copy by Shahin Candi of an *Ahdnāma*, treaty, of 1633. From an original in Leiden University Library, Or. 3083, f. 1b

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The Works of Adriaan Reland

Compiled by Henk J. van Rinsum¹

1689

'Saeculum Argenteum, Aeneum, Ferreum', in: *Saeculum Argenteum, Aeneum, Ferreum, Ex Ovidio Adumbratum*. Amstelaedami, Apud Johannem Rieuwerts, Urbis & Illustris Athenaei Typographum.

1690

Q Horatii Flaccii, Epodon Od. 6. Quo, quo, scelesti, ruitis? &c., Lib. 4. Od. 14. Quae cura Patrum, quaeve Quiritium, &c, in *Paraphrases Horatianae Seu Odae Quaedam Ex Horatio Elegiaco & Heroico Carmine Redditae. Per Bartholomaeum Bolk, Adrianum Reeland, Abrahamum Lakens, Christianum Cocq*, Amstelaedami, Apud Johannem Rieuwerts, Urbis & Illustris Athenaei Typographum.

1691

Q Horatii Flacci Lib. 1. Od. 24. Quis Desiderio sit pudor, &c., in *Paraphrases Horatianae Seu Odae Quaedam Ex Horatio Elegiaco & Heroico Carmine Redditae. Per Adrianum Reeland, Abrahamum Lakens, Christianum Cocq, Bartholomaeum Bolk, Petrum Ricotier, Joannem Weslingh*, Amstelaedami, Apud Johannem Rieuwerts, Urbis & Illustris Athenaei Typographum.

1693

Op de egts-vereeniging, van den vermaarden, Godzaligen, Hoogh-geleerden Heer D'Hr. Melchior Leydecker, S.S. Theol. Doctor en Professor tot Utrecht, met de Eerwaarde, Godzalige Juffrouw, Juffr. Petronella van Egeren, Door den Ban des Houwelijcx vereenigt den 14/24 Sept. 1693, Tot Utrecht, Gedrukt by Johannes van Stuyvezand, Boekdrukker, inde Schoute-Steeg, in de Koning van Engeland [including an ode by A. Reeland, Phil. Stud.].

1 I only listed substantial writings that were published during Reland's lifetime with a few publications (translations and a compilation of short earlier writings) published after his death in 1718. I thank Bart Jaski and Tobias Winnerling for their valuable input in compiling the list.

1694

Vindiciarum Disquisitionis, De Mente Non Ipsa Cogitatione, Pars Prima; Quam, Favente Deo Opt. Max. Sub Praesidio M. Gerardi de Vries, Philosophiae Doctoris, ejusdemque Facultatis in Illustri Academia Ultrajectina Professoris Ordinarii, Publicè ventilandam proponit Adrianus Reeland, Ripâ-Batavus. Ad diem xxv. Aprilis, horis locoque solitis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi.

Exercitatio Philosophica De Fine Mundi Conditi, Quam, Favente Deo Opt. Max. Sub Praesidio M. Gerardi de Vries, Philosophiae Doctoris, ejusdemque Facultatis in Illustri Academia Ultrajectina Professoris Ordinarii, Publicè ventilandam proponit Adrianus Reeland, Ripâ-Batavus. Auctor. Ad diem 2 Maji, horâ primâ pomeridianâ, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officinâ Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi.

Exercitationis Physico-Mathematicæ De Umbra Pars Prior; Quam, Sole Justitiae illustrante, Sub Præsidio M. Joannis Luyts, Philosophiae Doctoris, ejusdemq; Facultatis in Illustri Academia Ultrajectina Professoris Ordinarii, publico examini submittit Adrianus Reeland, Ripâ-Batavus. AD 11. Maji, horis locoque solitis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi.

Disputatio Philosophica Inauguralis, De Libertate Philosophandi, Quam, Annuente Summo Numine, Auctoritate Magnifici D. Rectoris, Johannis Munnicks M.D. Reip Ultrajectinae Poliatri, atque in Inclyta ejusdem Academia Medicinae, Anatomes & Botanices Professoris Ordinarii, Nec Non Amplissimi Senatus Academici consensu, & Subtilissime Facultatis Philosophicae Decreto, Pro Doctoratus in Philosophia Gradu, & Artium Liberalium Magisterio, omnibusque praerogativis rite ac legitime consequendis, Publicae omnium Libere Philosophantium crisi subjicit Adrianus Reeland, Ripâ-Batavus. Ad diem 25. Septembris, hora locoque solitis. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officinâ Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi.

[1695]

Ode in laudem poeseos Lucretianae, quam omnium filomousôn examine, et placido cujusvis benevoli lectoris judicio modestè subjicit Adrianus Reeland, [including Epinicion Namurco Belgis feliciter restituto], [1695].

1695

Piae Memoriae Augustissimae Ac Illustrissimae Brittanniarum Reginae Mariae Stuart, conjugis desideratissimae potentissimi principis Guiljelmi III. Serenissimi Magnae Britanniae, Galliae and Hyberniae Regis, &c., &c. Fidei Defensoris Fortis, Pii, Felicis, Sacrum. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Typis Anthonii Schouten, Bibliopolae.

[Ode] Reverendo admodum Viro, Gerardo Croesio, in Gerardi Croesi, *Historia Quakeriana*, Amstelodami, Apud Henricum & Viduam Theodori Boom.

1696

Dissertationis historico-theologicae De Sermone Dei in Origine Universi, Pars Tertia & Ultima, Quam Favente Triuno Numine, Sub Praesidio D. Melchioris Leydeckeri, S.S. Theologiae Doctoris, ejusdemque Facultatis in Celeberrimâ Ultrajectinâ Academiâ Professoris Ordinarii, Publicè defendet Adrianus Reeland, Ripâ-Batav. Ad diem xxvii. Maji, horis locoque solitis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi.

Exercitatio Philologico-Theologica De Symbolo Mohammedico (Non Est Deus Nisi Unus) Adversus Quod S.S. Trinitas Defenditur: Quam Adspirante Triuno Deo, Sub Præsidio Celeberrimi viri, D. Hermanni Witsii, S.S. Theolog. Doctoris, ejusdemque in Inclyta Academia Ultrajectina Professoris Ordinarii & Ecclesiae ibidem Pastoris facundissimi, Publico examini subjicit, Adrianus Reeland, Ripa-Batav. Auctor. A.D. Maji, horis locoq. Solitis post meridiem, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officinâ Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi.

Exercitatio Philologico-Theologica De Consensu Mohammedanismi Et Judaismi, Quam Adspirante Triuno Deo, Sub Præsidio Celeberrimi viri, Melchioris Leydeckeri, S.S. Theologiae Doctoris, ejusdemque facultatis in Academia Rheno-Trajectina Professoris Ordinarii, Publicae omnium censurae exponit Adrianus Reeland, Ripa-Bat. Auctor. AD 29 Maji, horis locoq. solitis ante meridiem. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officinâ Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi.

Exercitatio Physica De Vacuo; Quam, Sole Justitiae Illustrante, Sub Præsidio M. Joannis Luyts, Philosophiae Doctoris, ejusdemq; Facultatis in Illustri Academia Ultrajectina Professoris Ordinarii, publicè ventilandam proponit Gisbertus van Leeuwen, Hagiensis. AD xxviii. Novembris, horâ locoque solitis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Francisci Halma, Academiae Typographi [Ode A. Reland: Praestantissimo Juveni, Gisberto van Leeuwen, specimen progressum in Physicis publica Exercitatione Edituro.].

1698

Dissertatio Historica De Philippi Imperatoris Patris, Et Filii, Credito Temere Christianismo. Quam favente Deo Opt. Max. Sub Præsidio Viri plurimum Reverendi & Celeberrimi D. Friderici Spanhemii, F.F. ss. Theol. Doct. Acad. Lugd. Bat. Professoris Primarii, Bibliothecarii &c. Publicae ventilationi subjicit Adrianus Reeland Ripa—Bat. Ad diem Maji horâ locoque solitis ante merid, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Abrahamum, Elzevier, Academiae Typographum.

Disputatio Theologica De Paradisi Sede Temere Apud Jordanem Quaesita. Quam Favente Deo Sub Praesidio Plurimum Reverendi & Clarissimi Viri, D. Johannis à Marck, Phil. & S.S. Th. Doct. hujusque Facultatis in Illustri Academia Lugd.-Bat. Profess. Ordin. ut & Ecclesiae ibidem Pastoris, Publicè ventilandam proponit Adrianus Reeland, Ripa-Batav. Ad diem 5. Julii, loc. hor. sol. ante merid, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Abrahamum Elzevier, Academiae Typographum.

1699

Oda, quam nobilissimo, et suis non minus virtutibus, quam natalium splendore, illustri Gulielmo Bentingio, Equiti, Vice-Comiti in Woodstock, Baroni in Cirencester, &c. ipso die natali, idibus Martiis, anni MDCXCIX, ea, qua par est, reverentia sacram vult Adrianus Reeland, Artium Liberalium Magister, & Philos. Doctor.

Johannis Henrici Othonis, *Šalšelet hokmē ham-mišnā Historia Doctorum Misnicorum, qua opera etiam Synedrii magni Hierosolymitani Praesides et Vice-Praesides recensentur.* Additae sunt huic editioni Notae ab harum Literarum studioso [i.e. A. Reeland], Amstelodami, Apud Thomam Myls, Bibliopolam in platea, vulgo dicta, de Kalverstraat.

1700

Adriani Relandi *Oratio De Incremento, quod Philosophia cepit hoc saeculo, Dicta Publice,* AD VII, Eiduum Octobris, Quum Philosophiae docendae Provinciam in Academia Gelro-Zutphanica, (quae Harderovici est) susciperet, Amstelodami, apud Thomam Myls, Bibliopolam.

Les Vies des poètes Grecs en abrégé Par Mr. [Tannequy] Le Févre, Avec des Remarques [by A. Reeland], A Amsterdam, Chez Thomas Myls, Marchand Libraire, dans Le Kalverstraat [‘Adriani Relandi Ode in poësin Lucretianam’ included].

1701

Adriani Relandi *Oratio Pro Lingua Persica et Cognatis Literis Orientalibus,* Dicta in Acroaterio majore IX Kal. Mart. cIo Io cci. Quum Linguarum Orientalium Professionem Ordinariam in Inclyta Academia, quæ Trajecti ad Rhenum est, susciperet, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Guilielmi vande Water, Academiae Typographi.

Adriani Relandi *Galatea. Lusus poëticus,* Amstelodami, Sumtibus Editoris.

Adriani Relandi Professoris Linguarum Orientalium Ultrajecti ad Rhenum Celeberrimi. ‘Ode in Poësin Lucretianam’, in *De Werken van T. Lucretius Carus van het Heelal. Uit het Latyn in het Nederduisch vertaald.* Te Amsterdam, By Sebastiaan Petzold, op het Rokkin, in Hermathena, by de Beurs. Met privilegie.

Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad, *De Natuurlyke Wysgeer, Of het Leven van Hai Ebn Jokdan, In het Arabisch beschreven door Abu Jaaphar Ebn Tophail. Voordezen uit de Latynsche Overzetting van Eduard Pocok, A.M. In het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B. En nu op nieuws met de Arabische Grondtext vergeleken, en met Aanmerkingen over eenige duistere Plaatzten en Spreekwyzen verrykt.* Te Rotterdam, By Pieter van der Veer, Boekverkoper.

1702

Adriani Relandi *Analecta Rabbinica, Comprehendentia Libellos quosdam singulares & alia quae ad lectionem & interpretationem Commentariorum Rabbinicorum faciunt.* In usum Collegii Rabbinici. Singula post Praefationem indicantur. Ultrajecti, Ex Officina Thomae Appels, Bibliopolae.

Adriani Relandi *Dissertatio De Inscriptione Nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum, Ad Spectatissimum Virum, Jacobum de Wilde.* Amstelodami, apud Franciscum Halma, Sub signo, Constantini Magni.

1704

Adriani Relandi *Dissertatio Altera De Inscriptione Nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum, Ad Spectatissimum Virum, Jacobum de Wilde.* In qua de Amphora Mannae nummis illis inscripta, & asini cultu Judaeis per calumniam objecto agitur. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Vaeneunt apud Thomam Appels, sub signo Ciceronis.

Adriani Relandi *Dissertatio De Marmoribus Arabicis Puteolanis Et Nummo Arabico Constantini Pogonati ad Amplissimum Virum Didericum Modé.* Amstelodami, Typis Theodori & Henrici Bruyn.

De Lydende Christus, afgebeeld in eenige Predikatiën met een Aenhangsel over verscheidene Stoffen, door Johannes Reeland, in zijn leven Predikant te Amsterdam. Te Utrecht, Thomas Appels, Boekverkooper op het Oude Kerkhof. [Voorreden aen den Leser by Clara Oosterland, Adriaen en Pieter Reeland, Widow and children of the diseased].

1705

Adriani Relandi *De Religione Mohammedica Libri Duo. Quorum prior exhibet Compendium Theologiae Mohammedicae, ex Codice Manuscripto Arabice editum, Latine versum, & Notis illustratum. Posterior examinat nonnulla, quae falso Mohammedanis tribuuntur,* Ultrajecti, Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet.

1706

Hadriani Relandi *Oratio Funebris in Obitum Viri Celeberrimi Pauli Bauldri, Historiae Sacrae in Academia Trajectina Professoris Ordinarii. Recitata Kalendis Martiis cIo Io ccvi, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Guilielmi vande Water, Academiae Typographi.*

Hadriani Relandi *Dissertationes quatuor De nummis quibusdam veterum Hebraeorum qui ab inscriptarum literarum forma Samaritani appellantur. Quibus accedit una de marmoribus arabicis puteolanis. Cum tabulis aeri inscriptis.* Trajecti ad Rhenum, Vaeneunt apud Guilielmum Broedelet, bibliopolam.

Elenchus philologicus, quo praecipua, quae circa textum & versiones Sacrae Scripturae disputari inter philologos solent, breviter indicantur, in usum studiosae juventutis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex officina Guilielmi Broedelet, Bibliopolae.

Hadriani Relandi *Dissertationum Miscellanearum Pars Prima.* Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet, Bibliopolae.

1707

Hadriani Relandi *Dissertationum Miscellanearum Pars Altera,* Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet, Bibliopolae.

Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum De vera Pronuntiatione Nominis Jehova, Quarum quinque priores lectionem JEHOVA impugnant, posteriores tuentur. Cum praefatione Hadriani Relandi, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Johannis Coster, Bibliopolae.

1708

Hadriani Relandi *Dissertationum Miscellanearum Pars Tertia, et Ultima,* Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet, Bibliopolae.

Hadriani Relandi *Elegia ad illustrissimum Comitem Dominicum Passioneum Quum Inter Harderovicum & Daventriam curru excussus & allisus solo crus laeisset,* Trajecti Batavorum.

Parerga sacra seu interpretatio succincta et nova quorundam textuum Novi Testamenti, Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex officina Gulielmi van de Water.

1709

Enchiridion studiosi, Arabice conscriptum a Borhaneddino Alzernouchi, Cum duplici versione Latina, altera a Friderico Rostgaard Sub auspiciis Josephi Banese, Maronitae Syri, Roma elaborata, altera Abrahami Ecchellensis. Ex museo Rostgardiano edidit Hadrianus Relandus, Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Guilielmum Broedelet.

Adriani Relandi *De nummis veterum Hebraeorum, qui ab inscriptarum literarum forma Samaritani appellantur, Dissertationes Quinque. Cum tabulis aeri inscriptis. Accedit Dissertatio de Marmoribus Arabicis. Puteolanis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, prostant apud Gulielmum Broedelet, Bibliopolam.*

Hadriani Relandi *Oratio De galli cantu Hierosolymis audito, habita publice in Academia Trajectina AD XXVI Martii c|o|cccix. quum magistrate Academico abiret. Roterodami. Apud Petrum à Marienhof.*

1710

Hadriani Relandi *Galatea. Lusus Poeticus. Editio Altera, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Sumtibus Editoris.*

Brevis Introductio Ad Grammaticam Hebraeam Altingianam. In Usam Academiae Trajectinae. Accedit ad exercitium Analyseos Liber Ruth, cum Commentariis Rabbinarum, Abenmelech, Abendanae, Jarchi, Aben Ezrae, et observationibus Masorethicis. Hebraice et Latine. Editio Secunda. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Thomae Appels.

1711

Epicteti Manuale et Sententiae. Quibus accedunt Tabula Cebetis, & alia affinis argumenti, in linguam Latinam conversa a Marco Meibomio. Subjiciuntur eiusdem notae, Emendationes Claudii Salmasii in Epictetum, notae illorum & alius viri docti in dissertationes Epicteti ab Arriano digestas, & varians scriptura codicum manu exaratorum, cura Hadriani Relandi. Trajecti Batavorum, Ex officina Gulielmi Broedelet, Bibliopolae.

1712

Antiquitates Sacrae Veterum Hebraeorum delineatae ab Hadriano Relando, Trajecti Batavorum, Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet.

Four Treatises Concerning the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Mahometans: Viz.

I. An Abridgment of the Mahometan Religion: Translated out of Arabick into Latin by H. Reland, and from thence into English.

II. A Defence of the Mahometans from several Charges falsely laid against them by Christians: Written in Latin by H. Reland, and translated into English.

III. A treatise of Bobovius (sometime first Interpreter to Mahomet iv.) concerning the Liturgy of the Turks, their Pilgrimage to Mecca, their Circumcision, Visitation of the Sick, &c. Translated from the Latin.

IV. Reflections on Mahometanism and Socinianism, translated from the French.

To which is prefix'd, The Life and Actions of Mahomet, extracted chiefly from Mahometan Authors. London, Printed by J. Darby for B. Lintott at the Cross-Keys, and E. Sanger at the Post-House in Fleetstreet.

Samuelis Bocharti *Opera omnia. hoc est Phaleg, Chanaan et Hierozoicon*. Quibus accesserunt Dissertationes variae ad illustrationem sacri codicis aliorumque monumentorum veterum. Praemittuntur vita auctoris à Stephano Morino descripta Et Paradisi terrestres delineatio ad mentem Bocharti. Indices denique accurate & mappae Geographicae suis locis insertae sunt. In quibus omnibus digerendis atque exornandis operam posuerunt Viri Clarissimi Johannes Leusden & Petrus de Villemandy. Editio Quarta, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Cornelium Boutesteyn et Samuelem Luchtmans. Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Guilielmum vande Water [introduction by Hadrianus Relandus].

1713

Hadriani Relandi *Oratio De Usu Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, Quum ad Professionem earum accederet. Habita Trajecti ad Rhenum a. d. 11. Februarii, anno clō. Iō. ccxiii. hora locoque solitis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex officina Guilielmi vande Water, Academiae Typographi.

Hadriani Relandi *Dissertationum Miscellanearum Pars Prima. Editio Secunda*, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet, Bibliopolae.

Reland, A., *Lettre à son excellence monseigneur le comte de Kniphuisen, ambassadeur & plenipotentiaire de messieurs les Etats de Groningue & d'Omlanden pour la paix d'Utrecht. Sur une pièce d'or trouvée dans ses terres*, Utrecht.

Hottinger, Johann Conrad, *Hilkot ma'ašerot, Seu, Commentarius philologicus De Decimis Judaeorum, Decem Excercitationibus absolutus. In quo omnia, quae ad hanc materiam illustrandam pertinent, tum è Sacris Literis, tum ipsis Judaeorum veterum Monumentis explicantur, variaque alia Sacrarum Antiquitatum themata ex occasione tractantur*. Auctore Joh. Conr. Hottingero. Henr. Ex Conr. Nep. Helv. Tigurino. Praemittitur Celeberrimi Viri Hadriani Relandi Epistola ad Auctorem. Cum indicibus necessariis, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Isaacum Severinum. Bibliopolam.

1714

Hadriani Relandi *Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata. Tomus I*, Trajecti Batavorum, ex libraria Guilielmi Broedelet.

Disputatio Philologica De Filo Rubro Altaris Hierosolymitani; Quam Favente Deo ter Opt. Max. sub Præsidio Viri Clarissimi Hadriani Relandi, Antiquitatum Sacrarum & Linguarum Orientalium Professoris Ordinarii, Publice defendere conabitur Johannes Boddens, Amstelod. Batav. A. & c R. Ad Diem XIV. Novembris, hora locoque solitis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Officina Guilielmi vande Water, Academiae Typographi.

1715

Antiquitates Sacrae Veterum Hebræorum, delineatae ab Hadriano Relando. Praefationem praemisit Ioan. Franciscus Buddeus, Th.D. et in Academia Jenensi P.P.O. Cum Privilegio Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Polon. & Electoris Saxoniae. Lipsiae, apud Joh. Fridericum Wehrmannum. Typis Jo. Heinrici Richteri.

Petri Relandi Jureconsulti & Judicis, *Fasti Consulares*, ad illustrationem Codicis Justiniani ac Theodosiani secundum rationes temporum digesti, & auctoritate scriptorum atque lapidum antiquorum confirmati. Ad quos Appendix additur Hadriani Relandi, qua Fasti ex codd. MSSis depromti & consules in Pandectis memorati continentur, Trajecti Batavorum, Ex bibliotheca Gulielmi Broedelet.

John Chamberlayne, *Oratio dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas versa et propriis cujusque linguae characteribus expressa, una cum dissertationibus nonnullis de linguarum origine, variisque ipsarum permutationibus.* Editore Joanne Chamberlayno anglo-britanno, Regiae societatis Londinensis & Berolinensis socio, Amstelædami, Typis Gulielmi & Davidis Goerei. [Contains some Our Father versions contributed by Reland].

Johannes d'Outrein, *De tabernakel van Moses, in synen oorsprong, boukundige gestalte, vaten, cieraad, voorbeeldig gebruik, en geestelyke beduidenisse, beschouwt door Johannes d'Outrein, Dienaar des H. Evangeliums te Amsterdam. t'Amsterdam, By Jan Boom, Boekverkooper op de Cingel, by de Jan Roonpoorts-Tooren.* [Contains a description of the candelabra by Reland, in a letter to d'Outrein].

1716

Hadriani Relandi *Palaestina, Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*, in tres libros distributa, tabulis geographicis necessariis, iisque accuratis exornata, et a multis insuper, quae in primam editionem irrepserant, mendis purgata. Cum privilegiis S. Caes. Majestatis, Regis Poloniarum & Saxoniae Electoris. Norimbergae, apud Petrum Conradum Monathum.

Hn. Adrian Relands *Zwey Bücher von der Türckischen oder Mohammedischen Religion*, davon das erste ist ein kurtzer Begriff der Mohamēdischen Theologie, von ihm aus dem Arabischen übersetzt, und mit seinen Anmerckungen erläutert; im zweyten aber viele dinge untersucht werden, die man biszher den Mohammedanern fälschlich beygemessen hat. Nebst dessen curieusen Tractat von dem Mohammedischen Krieges-Recht. Unsern Teutschen zu Liebe, getreulich übersetzt, und zum ersten Mahl in dieser Sprache heraus gegeben, Hanover, bey Nicolaus Förstern.

Hadriani Relandi *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano Romae conspicuis* Liber Singularis. Arcum ipsum et spolia templi in eo sculpta tabulae in aes incisae exhibent. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex libraria Gulielmi Broedelet.

1717

Hadriani Relandi *De Religione Mohammedica Libri Duo. Editio Altera Auctior.* Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex Libraria Gulielmi Broedelet.

Disputatio Philologica De Barbaris Et Scythis. Coloss. 3: 11. Quam favente Deo T.O.M. Præsidi Viro doctissimo & Celeberrimo Hadriano Relando, Antiquitatum Sacrarum & Linguarum Orientalium in inclyta Trajectinorum Academia Professore ordinario, Publice examine subjicit Hieronymus van Alphen, H.F. Amstelodamo Batavus. A. d. xv Decembris, horis locoque solitis. Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Guilielmum vande Water, Academiae Typographum.

Disputatio Philologica De Tryphone Judaeo, Justini Martyris Antagonista, Quam volente Deo sub Præsidio Viri doctissimi & Celeberrimi Hadriani Relandi, Antiquitatum Sacrarum & Linguarum Orientalium Professoris, Publice tueri conabitur Petrus vander Hagen, Arenaco Gelrus. A. d. viii Decembris, hora locoque solitis, Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Guilielmum vande Water, Academiae Typographum.

Disputatio Philologica De Uxore Domiseda. Epist. ad Titum, 11. 5. Quam volente Deo sub Præsidio Hadriani Relandi, Antiquitatum Sacrarum & Linguarum Orientalium Professoris, Publice tueri conabitur Emo Lucius Vriemoet, Emdâ Frisius. A. d. I Decembris, hora locoque solitis. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex officina Gulielmi vande Water, Academiae Typographi.

1718

Verhandeling Van de Godsdienst Der Mahometaanen, Als mede van het Krygs-Regt By haar ten tyde van Oorlog tegens de Christenen gebruykekyk. Door de heer Adriaan Reland. Hoog-leraar der Heylige Oudheeden en Oostersche taalen in de Academie van Utregt. Uyt het Latyn vertaalt. Met Kopere Figuren ter opheldering noodig, Te Utregt. By Willem Broedelet.

Verhandeling van het Hanen-gekrai, van Petrus binnen Jerusalem gehoort, door den Heer Adriaan Reeland, in zyn leeven Hoogleeraer der Heilige Oudheeden en Oostersche Taalen, in de Akademie van Utrecht. In Octavo. Uit het Latyn vertaelt. Utrecht, Hendrik Schouten.

1719

Palestina Opgeheldert Ofte de Geleghentheyd van het Joodsche Land. Uyt de Gedenkstukken der Ouden getrokken en op vaster Gronden als voorheen aangetoont en beweezen door den Heer Adriaan Reland. Hoogleraar der Heylige Oudheeden en Oostersche Taalen in de Academie tot Utrecht. Volgens zyn Hoogw: bestek ten dienste der Nederlanders uyt zyn Latynsch Werk getrokken, en met de nodige Landkaarten ter opheldering noodig voorzien. Hier is vooraangevoegt de Lykreden op deszelfs Overlyden door den Heer Professor Serrurier. Te Utrecht, By Willem Broedelet.

1721

La Religion des Mahometans, Exposée par leurs propres Docteurs, avec des Eclaircissemens Sur les Opinions qu'on leur a fausement attribuées. Tiré du Latin de Mr. Reland. Et augmenté d'une Confession de Foi Mahometane, Qui n'avoit point encore paru. A La Haye, Chez Isaac Vaillant.

Het Wonderlyk En Zeldzaam Levens geval van Hai Ebn Jokdan, waar in getoont wort, hoe imant buiten eenig ommevang met Menschen, ofte onderwysinge kan komen tot de kennisse van zich zelven en van God. Zynde desen druk met de Arabische grond text vergeleken door den Heer Adriaan Reland, in zyn Leven Hoog-Leeraar der Heilige Outheden En Oostersche Talen in de Academie van Utrecht. Met kopere platen verciert. Tot Utrecht, by Hendrik Schouten, Boekverkoper by de Maartens-brug.

1748

Adriani Relandi Poemata Quae Hactenus Reperiri Potuerunt. Curante Abrahamo Perrenot. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Apud Hendricum Spruit. [collection of poems, epigrams, and other short writings of Reland].

1837

Relands Galatea. Eene dichterlijke speling. Uit het latijn in dichtmaat overgebracht en met eenige aantekeningen door R.H. Graadt Jonckers, Utrecht, Van Paddenburg & Comp [Dutch translation of *Galatea*].

The Manuscript Collection of Adriaan Reland

Compiled by Bart Jaski

Listed below are the manuscripts which Adriaan Reland had in his possession (excluding letters) as far as I have been able to find them in auction catalogues, library catalogues or other sources. There are four rubrics:

- A. The auction catalogue of Reland's manuscripts of 1761: *Naam-lyst van een zeer keurige verzameling ... boeken.... alles nagelaten by wylen ... Jan Hubertus Relandt ... waar achter volgt Catalogus codicum manuscritorum Arabicorum, Persicorum ... quibus omnibus quondam usus est ... Hadrianus Relandus*, Utrecht, Willem Kroon & Gijsbert van Paddenburg, 1761. The lots are divided in four groups: 46 in folio, 66 in quarto, 41 in octavo, and 15 in the rubric Chinese and Japanese manuscripts. They include a few western manuscripts, annotated books and rare printed books.
- B. Index of his manuscripts in Adriaan Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Editio altera auctior*, Utrecht, Willem Broedelet, 1717, p. [277]–[286], with a total of 30 manuscripts, of which 24 were in his own possession. Two of these do not appear to be in the auction catalogue of 1761. The 'Index' is also printed in the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Quorum prior exhibit compendium theologiae Mohammedicae...*, Utrecht, Willem Broedelet, 1705, p. [193]–[199], but with only 24 items, with 17 of his own. A concordance between the items in the Index and the auction catalogue of 1761 is given after rubric D.
- C. Annotated books in *Pars magna bibliothecae clarissimi & celeberrimi viri Hadriani Relandi ... ad diem 7 Novembri 1718*, Utrecht, Willem Broedelet, 1718. These are books annotated by Reland as found in the auction catalogue of his library of printed books of 1718.
- D. Manuscripts and books not found in A, B or C, but from Reland's collection as indicated by his handwriting or other marks of ownership.

1 Editorial Conventions

The entries in A are given as in the printed auction catalogue, but capitalisation and punctuation have been standardised, words in italics are given in Roman type, and some entries have been shortened by '...'. Some expressions have been simplified, e.g. ad [Clarissimum Defunctum] missa ('sent to the most renowned deceased') = ad

[Relandum] missa. Roman numerals are usually rendered in Arabic numerals. Some abbreviations have been silently expanded e.g. h.e. = hoc est. References in the text to the Index in *De religione Mohammedica* have been left out, but are noted in the column on the far right.

The prices are those as noted in his copy of the auction catalogue of 1761 in Amsterdam, University Library, KVB Nv 274, which is digitally published at <https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>. This copy has a handwritten note saying that the descriptions of the lots were made by Sebaldus Rau (1721–1818), professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht. ^^ denotes that this lot was sold with the previous lot(s) for one price. The prices are in guilders and stuivers (1/20th of a guilder).

The earlier owners are listed according to the information in the auction catalogue, marks of ownership in the manuscript or book itself, or the description and discussion in published catalogues—which are not always detailed or accurate. The same applies to later owners. After Reland's death in 1718 his son Jan Hubertus, who lived in Zierikzee, possessed the items in the auction catalogue of 1761, but this has not been noted in list A. The date of the auction catalogues is that of the year of publication, which is not necessarily the year of the auction itself.

In the four rubrics there can be cross-references to other items, abbreviated, for example, as A fol 45, A qua 9 or A oct 32, A sj c, B 17, C 12 or D 7. In the cases of A fol 13 (cf. qua 29), 18, qua 1a–c, 19, 28, 39 (cf. D 5) and 46 (cf. D 3) there appear to have been two copies of the same work, and it is not always clear to which item the auction catalogue refers. The other copy has been entered with the mark XXX. Only at A oct 1 and 2 there are two copies of the same text entered next to each other in the auction catalogue.

A list of the abbreviations and references to catalogues of the libraries in question as used in this appendix is given at the end of the appendix.

This is a preliminary list. Items in A, B and C that could not be identified in current collections and/or in other sources, may still be extant or found in library and auction catalogues not yet consulted. There may also be other manuscripts of Reland's collection not noted in D.

This list is based on my own research and that of others, notably for the Leiden manuscripts by Arnoud Vrolijk (and his sources as quoted in his contribution to the present volume), who kindly provided me with a copy of the relevant section of Cat. Berg 1801, and made many identifications therein. He also suggested to me the identifications of A qua 1 and A oct 22, and other identifications and corrections to earlier versions of this overview. I am also grateful for the information provided to me by Marieke van Delft about The Hague, KB 1173 E 36 (see A oct 36), Bärbel Mund about Göttingen, 8 AUCT GR 6, 4260 (see A oct 35), Anton van der Lem about Leiden, University Library, 275 E 25 (see A oct 38), Gwendolyn Verbraak about Amsterdam, UvA, OTM: OK 66–33

(see A oct 40), and Tobias Winnerling for drawing my attention to a book annotated by Reland in an English auction catalogue (see C 3).

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
A AUCTION CATALOGUE 1761						
Folio p. 1						
1	Lexicon Malaico Belgicum, in quo vocum Malaicarum vis & significatio ex praestantissimis codicibus MSS ...	12–0	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 7	C. Mutter	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	De Rel. Moh. no. 20: 'Legatum est Cornelii Mutteri'. Includes a page in Dutch entitled 'de Moluccis, Marloekoe'.
2	Gulistan sive Rosarium politicum, auctore Scheich Sady lingua Persica conscriptum, cum versione Belgica, Corn. Mutteri	2–14	Göttingen, NSU, Ms. pers. 8	C. Mutter	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 165, 727	Written in 1677–1680 by the same hand as A qua 3; 'ex legato Mutteri'.
3	Euangelia quatuor Persice, elegantissimo caractere in regno Golcondiae exarata	26–10	Vatican, Vat. Pers. 2	P. van der Vorm	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	
4	Sententiae quaedam ex operibus Confucii collectae, de eo quod hominem decet x. xxx. & xl. annorum	0–6	Leiden, Acad. 223		Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 167, 1836; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 159, 80; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 33, 223; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	De Jong 1862 no. 229. According to Cat. De Bruin 1800 an apograph of (Gerardus Johannes) Lette (1724–1760), but this has not been noted elsewhere
5	Lexicon Persicum, in quo vocum Persicarum origines & significationes variae traduntur ...	5–10	Vatican, Vat. Pers. 21	C. Mutter	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	De Rel. Moh. no. 23. 'Hadriani Relandi ex legato Cornelii Mutteri'.
6	Lexicon Arabicum ineditum Thomae Erpenii duobus voluminibus ...	12–5	Leiden, Or. 1649	T. Erpenius	Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 2, 16; bought by Leiden	Golius refers to this work, but apparently did not possess it.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
7	Fred. Raphelengii Lexicon majus Arabicum, ex quo id quod excusum est, descriptum partim & contractum est Folio p. 2	0-16	—	F. Raphelen- gius	Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 2, 15	Autograph, with the title added by Reland. This stood at the base of Franciscus Raphelengius, <i>Lexicon Arabicum</i> , Leiden, 1613.
8	Alcoranus, Arabice nitidissime conscriptus, Manippae in insula Ambon à quondam Batou Langkay Iman ... & a quatuor aliis Iman AD 1594, collatus ...	21-10	Leiden, Or. 1945		Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 165, 725; E. Scheidius, donated in 1792 to J.H. Brinkhoff; Rinse Koopmans van Boekeren, donated 1870	
9	Prima elementa linguae Persicae curatissime conscripta	1-2	—		Cat. Rau 1818, p. 69, 5	
10	Ibn Hozje Alhammovi, de inventione rhetorica ... Liber elegantissimis litteris scriptus, anno Hegirae 826. Fuit hoc exemplar olim in Bibliotheca cujusdam Sultani Aegypti	33-10	Utrecht, Ms. 1439	Al-Jibli; Golius p. 10, 18	Utrecht, University Library	De Rel. Moh. no. 16. Ibn Hija al-Ḥamawī composed the <i>Taqdīm Abī Bakr</i> in AH 826 (1422/3 CE), but this manuscript was written in 1596/7, and was not from the library of the Egyptian sultan, but rather from that of one of the Ottoman governors or viceroys of Egypt.
11	Liber argumenti moralis sermone Persico partim ligato partim soluto conscriptus xl. capitibus constans	^^	Utrecht, Ms. 1468	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, 10	Utrecht, University Library	
12	Vocabularium Sanscreticum seu linguae Brachmanum, dictum Namalinga Noes Jasjanam	0-10	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 8		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
13	Jus maritimum secundum constitutionem regis Malacorum Sultani Machmoud	^^	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 4		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Written in AH 1066 (1656 CE), see also A qua 29.
14	Versiones Arabicae Cantici Canticorum, Ecclesiastis, Proverbiorum Salamonis & Lamentationum Jeremiae concinnatae à Saadia Ibn Levi, AD 1641, cum versione Hispanica interlineari	1-0	Vatican, Vat. Ar. 24.	S. Ben Levi	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Mai IV 1831, pp. 75-76, no. 24, states that the two manuscripts were written by Saadia Ben-Levi, with the surname Aznachot, in 1640 and 1641, resp. 135 and 305 pp., and were bound in one volume. The first must be no. 15, the second no. 14, the more expensive one.
15	Prophetia Jesajae Arabice translata à Saadia Ibn Levi, AD 1641, versio inedita	1-10	Vatican, Vat. Ar. 24.	S. Ben Levi	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	See previous entry.
16	Acta Synodi Dordracenae AD 1618, habitae Arabice	0-11	Leiden, Acad. 10	J. Golius	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 165, 736; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 158, 58; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 6, 10; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	Written by Golius in 1647. De Jong 1862 no. 149.
17	Jacob Golii excerpta ex poëmatis Ibn Farid, quae Parisiis descripsit, ea nactus opera G. Sionitae	5-15	Leiden, Or. 3082 (2)	J. Golius	S.F.J. Rau; donated by S.J.E. Rau in 1887	Copied from a manuscript of Gabriel Sionita (1577-1648)

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
18	Epistola authentica Morad Chan imperatoris Turcarum, scripta ad ordines Belgii Foederati AD 1633	0-18	Leiden, Or. 3083	J. Golius	Cat. Scheidius 1806, p. 98, 70; S.F.J. Rau; donated by S.J.E. Rau in 1887	Written by Golius' copyist Shāhin Qandī, with space to annotate. Owner's note by Reland, see Schmidt 2002, p. 259-261, and the same title as in Cat. Reland 1761.
		XXX?	Leiden, Acad. 197	J. Golius	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 165, 731; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 158, 55; Cat. Walraven 1804, p. 59, 7?; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 29, 197; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	This manuscript is not 'authentica', for the original is in The Hague, National Archives, ingang 1.01.02, inv.no. 12593.47. This is an authenticated copy from Constantinople, AH 1034 (1634 CE), with adjoining seals, see Schmidt 2012, p. 205 (cf. De Jong 1862 no. 195). It has no mark of Reland's ownership.
19	Elementa Linguae Javanae ex insula Java ad [Relandum] missa Folio p. 3	2-2	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 11	sent from Java	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Cf. A qua 25
20	Calendarium Arabicum & Javanum	1-0	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 10		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	
21	De Chronologie ofte Tydrekening der Malabaaren en Siammers	^^	—		Unknown buyer	Not found in the Vatican Library
22	Lexicon Javanum in quo voces sermonis Javani Belgice redduntur	1-14	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 9		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Written in 1706

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
23	Liber Persicus, cui titulus Speculum Alexandri Magni, titulo deaurato	3-0	—		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 435, 6813	Cat. Berg 1801: [Jam-i giti-numa] 'Speculum mundum repraesentans, Persice, character Taalik, titulo deaurato. Cod. Bombycinus'.
24	Liber Persicus continens varii generis historias & fabulas, titulo deaurato	4-8	Leiden, Or. 1232		Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 604, 7006; bought by Leiden	
25	Miscellanea & Vocabularium Sinicum partim à P. Martinio ejusque famulo Sinensi Dominico acceptum, partim ex eorundem ore per Cl. Jacob Golium exceptum: Item, quaesita varia imprimis circa computum Sinarum astronomicum	0-6	—	J. Golius	Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 7, 60	Cat. Van Voorst 1859: 'Miscellanea quaedam Sinica, partim a P. Martinio ejusque famulo Sinensi Dominico accepta, partim ex eorundem ore per me (J. Golium) excerpta; item quaesita varia, imprimis circa computum Sinarum astronomicum. In fol. 76 pag. Rel, en vélin....' This title is also mentioned in Reland 1708, p. 111 (stating that Golius had written the title on the bundle of papers) and on London, British Library, Sloane 2746, fol. 213r (Cat. Golius 1696, p. 26, 2), for which see Duyvendak 1936, p. 321, and Kuiper 2005, p. 129. Sloane 2746 was in the possession of Philippe Masson before 1713, and later acquired by Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753). The item at A qua 25 was probably a copy of

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
26	Varii libelli supplices Persice & Belgice	0-12	Vatican, Vat. Pers. 33		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	a part of the original documents written by Justus Heurnius (1587-1661/2); several others existed, see Kuiper 2005. Vat. Pers. 157 was taken out of this collection in 1946. See also next entry and A qua 62
27	Variae epistolae Malaice & Belgice	^^	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 23 and 75		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	First put together with Vat. Pers. 33, but later the Malay and Indian material was set apart as Vat. Ind. 23 and 75 (Reid 2014, p. 52, 59-60); see also previous entry and A qua 61.
28	Systema juris sacri & civilis Mohammedanorum Arabice cum versione Malaica interlineari	4-15	Vatican, Vat. Ar. 248		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Written AH 1122 (1710 CE).
29	Taarich ex sermone Turcico in Latinum conversum à Jac. Golio	9-0	Leiden, Or. 3080	Cf. Cat. Golius 1696, p. 24, 8/9	S.F.J. Rau; donated by S.J.E. Rau in 1887	A draft translation by Golius, based on Leiden, Acad. 182 (A qua 17).
30	Historia regis Siamensis Ragja Bisfa Wiragja, & ... sermone Malaico, ex Biblioth. C. Mutteri	0-4	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 5	C. Mutter	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Includes a letter by Mutter sent to Reland.
31	Victor Antiochenus saeculi quinti scriptor in Euangel. Marci, Graece	7-15	Utrecht, Ms. 10	N. Rigault; F. Bravo de Acuña	Utrecht, University Library	
32	Vocabularium Persico—Malaico—Belgicum à Muttero in India Orientali scriptum	2-2	—	C. Mutter		Written before 1698, cf. A qua 36.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
33	Commentarius theologicus de fundamentis religionis Mohammedicae autore Abu Abdalla Mohammed Ben Kasem, Arabice	0-14	—		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 434, 6806	Cat. Berg 1801: 'Abi Abd' Allah Muhammed Ben Kasem Compendium & explicatio legum religiosarum, de quibus agitur in Takrib, seu Zamachscharii commentario in Koranum. Arabice, manu Indica, Cod. Indico-chartaceus'.
34	Libellus Arabicus exponens de attributis Dei	1-6	—			
35	Liber Malaicus cui accedit tractatus mysticus de creatione, Arabice	^^	—			
36	Volumen Esterae, Hebraice	4-5	—		Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 27, no. 215?	
37	Volumen continens formulam primae in templo insulae Ternatae in India Orientali publice recitari solitae, ex Biblioth. Rykii, Prof. Leyd[ensis] Folio p. 4	0-10	—	T. Ry(c)kuis		Ternate is situated in the North-Moluccas (Maluku); cf. A fol 44.
38	Liber Malabarius scriptus 1687. In folia arundineis quae <i>obla</i> vocantur	0-4	—			Probably a palm leaf manuscript.
39	Liber caractere Javano in foliis oblongis arundineis conscriptus eleganti tegumento ligneo rubro inclusus	1-4	—			Probably a palm leaf manuscript.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
40	Liber Malabaricus in foliis arundineis conscriptus continens Epitomen praxeos vitae Christianae; ejus plurima exempla in regione Malabarica inter gentes sparsa sunt ad propagationem Doctrinae Christianae. Titulus est Salutaris Via Index, Sancta Doctrina, ut notavit [Relandus]	1-6	—			Probably a palm leaf manuscript.
41	Schedae Golianiae, in quibus multa ad Bibliothecam Orientalem spectantia, cum catalogis quibusdam librorum Orientalium ...	5-5	Leiden, Or. 3081	J. Golius	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 165, 737; Cat. Scheidius 1806, p. 98, 69; S.F.J. Rau; donated by S.J.E. Rau in 1887	Cf. A fol 45
42	Varia specimina literarum & scripturae apud orientales, aliosque populos usitatae	4-0	Berlin, SB, Ms. or. fol. 429	J. Croonenburgh	Acquired by the Royal Library in Berlin in 1852	Dedication: 'Hasce litteras ac syllabas Cingalis in gratiam. clar. ac celeb. viri. Adr. Reeland, Orient. Ling. Prof. scripsit Joannes Croonenburgh, S.S. Minist. candid.'
43	Liber Russicus, sine titulo, typis exaratus Folio p. 14 libri omissi	0-14	—			
44	Volumen chartaceum deauratum continens formulam orationis primae in templo insulae Ternatae in India orientali recitari solitae	1-12	—	T. Ry(c) kius?		Cf. A fol 37

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
45	Schedae Golianae ad geographiam orientalem spectantes	0-9	—	J. Golius		Cf. A fol 41
46	Perusch Mechilta sive Expositio Commentarii Hebraici in Exodem qui R. Ismaeli adscribitur Amstel. 1712	0-10	—			Moses ben Simon Frankfurter, Sefer zeh Yenaḥmenu ..., Props, Amsterdam, 1712, a short commentary on the Mekilta of Rabbi Ishmael, see Lauterbak 1933, p. xxxiii, no. 23.
	Quarto p. 4					
1	Institutiones religionis Muhammedicae, quibus continentur tum dogmata fidei, tum liturgiae, tum aliae cerimoniae Arabice & Persice	10-10		Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, 3	Cat. Berg 1801, pp. 436-437, 6823a-c	A combination of three manuscripts, which are divided into a, b, and c in Cat. Berg 1801 and as De Rel Moh. No. 1, 4 and 5, of which the titles are given here in the second column to the left. One set was apparently formed by Oriental manuscripts acquired by Golius, the other by copies made by Golius' amanuensis Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo ('manu Halebensis').

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
1a	De Rel. Moh. no. 1: Codex ... de fundamentis religionis. Constat libris quator, & unusquisque liber ... dividitur in decem ... radices. Primus agit de Deo ejusque attributis et operibus; alter de ritibus sacris, lotionibus, precibus, eleemosynis, etc. Tertius de vitiis fugiendis. Quartus de virtutibus.	XXX	Berlin, SB, Diez quarto 102 Copenhagen, LIX (no. 18 in quarto) = Cod. Arab. 59	(part of Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, 3) J. Golius	Cat. Berg 1801, p. 436, 6823a University Library of Copenhagen; transferred to the Royal Library in 1845	De Rel. Moh. no. 1; Cat. Berg 1801: 'Fundamenta religionis Muhammedicae, auctore Gazalio, arabice, manu Halebensi'. Ahlwardt 1889, p. 318, 1717. Copenhagen 1851, pp. 51–52: 'El-Ghazâlîi Quadragenarius de principiis religionis, in 4to, foll. 160, ... scriptus est ... 1559 ... in urbe Sophia [present day Bulgaria]. Perho 2007, pp. 180–181, notes the mark of ownership by Reland, and a note that it had belonged to Golius, at whose auction it was sold.
1b	De Rel. Moh. no. 5: Compendium juris sacri & civilis Mohammedici, auctore Abu Mohammed Abu Abdalla Ibn Abi Zeid ...		Berlin, SB, Diez quarto 102	(part of Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, 3)	Cat. Berg 1801, p. 437, 6823b	De Rel. Moh. no. 5. Cat. Berg 1801: 'Isagoge ad scientiam religionis Muhammedicae, auctore Abu Muhammed Abd' Allah Ibn Abi Zeid. arabice, manu Halebensi'. Ahlwardt 1892, p. 53, 4447/3. Excerpts copied by Sikius in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 408 (Oxford Bodl. Cat. 1835, p. 391, no. 393, part 3). This manuscript contains copies of, and excerpts from, other manuscripts owned by Reland.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
1c	De Rel. Moh. no. 4: Systema Persicum theologiae Mohammedicae, auctore Antistite Adsaddino Amoliensi ...		Berlin, SB, Diez quarto 102	(part of Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, 3)	Cat. Berg 1801, p. 437, 6823c	De Rel. Moh. no. 4. Cat. Berg 1801: 'Institutiones religionis Muhammedicae secundum sectam Persarum, auctore Azza'ddino Amaliensi, persice, manu Halebensi'. Pertsch 1888, p. 246-7, 193. The title written on Berlin, SB, Diez quarto 102 is 'Religionis Mohammedicae Institutiones secundum sectam Persarum, Persice, auctore Adsaddino Amaliensi'.
		XXX	Leiden, Or. 1299	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 21, 80	JJ. Schultens; bought by Leiden	Not in Cat. Schultens 1780. Rebound in the 18th century, traces of ownership are lost.
2	Historia sacra seu Vitae prophetarum a creatione mundi usque ad Muhammedem juxta Muhammedanorum traditionem, auctore Kessaeo	5-10	Bonn, ULB, So 7		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 437, 6825	De Rel. Moh. no. 10; Cat. Berg 1801: 'Abi Muhammed Abd' Allah Kessaei Historia sacra, arabice, manu Halebensi, Codex chartaceus, scriptus Halebi [AD] 1646'. Copy by Golius' amanuensis Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo, see A qua 1
3	Boustan auctore Scheich Saadi, Persice, liber nitidissimo charactere conscriptus, ex Bibliotheca Mutteri	5-15	Göttingen, NSU, Ms. pers. 9	C. Mutter	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 165, 728; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 22, 142	Written in 1677 by the same hand as A fol 2.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
4	Kenz Allogat sive Lexicon Arabico Persicum auctore Muhammede Ibn Abdalibalik ... Quarto p. 5	1-0	Leiden, Or. 1665		Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 5, 37; bought by Leiden.	
5	Liber de gemmis & lapidibus pretiosis, auctore Abul Abas Admed Ibn Jouseph, litteris majusculis elegantissime conscriptus, Arabice	38-0	Utrecht, Ms. 1443	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 6, 7	J. Willemsen (not in his auction catalogue); S.F.J. Rau; S. Rau? Utrecht, University Library	Willemsen: see Sebald Fulco Johannes Rau, Specimen Arabicum: continens descriptionem et excerpta libri Achmedis Teifaschii de gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis, Utrecht, 1784, pp. 26-29. De Rel. Moh. no. 24. The attribution to Mutter is based on the numbering (no. 6) of the manuscript, its short description and the script in which it is written, which can be compared with two of Mutter's manuscripts, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 175 (No. 10) and 196 (no. 1), see Brockelmann 1908, p. 81, no. 148, and pp. 107-108, no. 209. Cat. Van Voorst 1859: 'Hist. d'Isma l'Orphelin en Malai. 4'.
6	Mazabich a l'Calub, liber Persicus, in quo agitur de vitis primorum hominum Adami, Noachi, Abrahami & de ritibus sacris ...	0-10	Utrecht, Ms. 1471	C. Mutter? P. Texelius	Cat. Rau 1818, p. 69, 3; J.C. Swijghuisen- Groenewoud; donated by his widow in 1860-1871	
7	Isma Jathim, Historia, Liber politicus officium regis & boni ministri describens, stilo quidem puro Malaico, sed presso & difficili ob inferta carmina sermone Indostano	0-8	Manchester, John Rylands Library, Malay 3	F. Valentijn	Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 2, 55; J. Lindsay, Earl of Crawford; sold 1901 to Rylands Library	

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
8	Euangelium Matthaei & Lucae, Arabice & Malaice anno 1710	0-14	Vatican, Vat. Ar. 25		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763. Confiscated and sent to Paris, c. 1798-1816, see Recensio p. 17, xxv, no. 72	Dated 1715, 155 p.; see also A qua 54.
9	Liber de ritibus & caeremoniis Turcarum praecipue in templis, precibus &c. observandis; cui additus est tractatus de formulis solemnibus ... auctore Abou l'Abas Achmet Ibn Amat Ibn Jouseph ...	2-8	Leiden, Acad. 29	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 15, 82	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, 1808; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 158, 61; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 10, 48; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	De Rel. Moh. no. 7; 'Liber theologicus in quo agitur de caeremoniis quae in templo debent ...'. The title of Golius p. 24, 4 is 'Fundamenta religionis Muhammedicae. Arab'. De Jong 1862 no. 130, who notes the annotation of Reland ('Sum Adriani Reelandi' and the year 1702), the Latin title (which corresponds to A qua 9), and that it is probably a copy of Leiden, Or. 1284.
10	Liber in quo agitur de capitibus religionis Muhammedicae, quae credere & confiteri oportet, veluti de fide in Deum &c., Arabice, cum versione Javana interlineari	0-14	Bonn, ULB, So 9		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 434, 6807	Cat. Berg 1801: 'De praecipuis religionis Muhammedicae capitibus, arabice cum versione Javana interlineari: manu Indica. Cod. Indico-chartaceus'.
11	Kitab Esrar al Fatihati sive Liber agens de mysteriis in prima surata Alcorani contentis, adjecta est versio Javana	1-2	—			De Rel. Moh. no. 19.
12	Vocabularium Formosanum	0-6	Utrecht, Ms. 1483		Utrecht, University Library	

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
13	Kitab Pendname sive Liber consiliorum Scheih Atthar, poema Persicum cum versione Latine	4–8	Leiden, Or. 1226	A. Gallandus	Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 602, 3848; bought by Leiden	De Rel. Moh. no. 22; cf. A oct 23.
14	Instructie ofte Onderwyzinge der Hindostaanse en Persaanse Taalen ... &c. Quarto p. 6	0–8	Utrecht, Ms. 1478		Utrecht, University Library	Text of J.J. Ketelaar, whose name is crossed out twice.
15	Onderwyzinge in de Malabarische taal	^^	Utrecht, Ms. 1479		Utrecht, University Library	
16	Abdallae Beidavi, Historia Chajatae sermone Persico cum annotat. Sikii & ... Goli; ex Biblioth. Sikii	1–12	Göttingen, NSU, Ms. pers. 30	Cat. Golius 1696, [p. 29], comp qu 10; H. Sikius	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, 1817.	On the title page: 'Abdallae Beidavi Historia Chataiae sermone Persico', and on p.2 'Lectori Henricus Sike. Emi hunc librum ex auctione librorum Golianorum ... A. 1696 ... Relando Sikius memoriam sui commendat'. Cat. Golius: 'Fragmentum historiae Chateorum, Arabice, cum annotationibus Jacobi Goli'.
17	Taarich sive Genealogia ab Adamo usque ad Sultan Morad ... ex Persico in Turcicum sermonem translata ... ex Biblioth. Golii	?	Leiden, Acad. 182	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 24, 8	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, 1818; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 27, 182; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	De. Rel. Moh. no. 11. Schmidt 2012, pp. 202–203. De Jong 1862 no. 208, gives Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 159, 81 as reference ('Liber Turcicus incerti argumenti'), but this title corresponds to A qua 43, so it cannot be the same manuscript. A draft translation by Golius is Leiden, Or. 3080 (A fol 29).

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
18	Tractatus de diebus faustis & infaustis ad quemlibet diem mensis, Arabice	1-16	Bonn, ULB, So 48		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 440, 6851	Cat. Berg 1801: 'Tractatus de diebus faustis & infaustis. Turcice, caractere Nischi'.
19	Sylloge eulogiarum ad Muhammedem instituendarum autore Abdalla Muhammed Ibn Sokeiker Anhaswaliensi, scriptus caractere Africano	3-5	Chicago, Oriental Institute, Moritz: Arab. 32		Cat. Berg 1801, pp. 435-436, 6818; Bernard Moritz (1859-1939); sold in 1929 to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 167, 1777; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 160, 84; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 8, 32; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	De Rel. Moh. no. 15. Cat. Berg 1801: 'Sylloge precum & eulogiarum Muhammedic. Auctore Abd' Allah Muhammed Ibn Sokeiker Anhaswaliensi, Arabice, caractere Africano'. Krek 1961, pp. 4-5, 20 (dated 1703). De Jong 1862 Cat. No. 131. Cat. Willemsen 1781 has at no. 1776: 'Mohammed ibn Soleiman Al Gazwalensis de formula bene precandi quae pronuntiatio aut scripto nomini Mohammedis Prophetae adjicienda est (Codex scriptus character Africano AH 1133, C. 1720); and no. 1777: 'Idem liber eodem character scriptus'. The two identical texts are also at Willmet, p. 8, 32 and 33 (author is named as: al Gjozouli).
20	'ONEIPOKPITIKON Turcicum ex Bibliotheca Raphelengii & dein Golii	^^	Leiden, Or. 1628	F. Raphe- lengius; Cat. Golius 1696, p. 25, 26	Cat. Berg 1801, p. 440, 6852; Cat. Huet 1849; bought by Leiden	Schmidt 2002, p. 199-201.
21	Alcoranus litteris minutis elegantissime scriptus	6-0	Bonn, ULB, So 2		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 435, 6816	Cat. Berg 1801: [Al-Qur'an] 'Coranus integer, literis minutis elegantissime scriptus. Cod. Bombycinus'.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
22	Makuta Segalla Hazja, i.e. Corona Regum, autore Bochari Zjouhorensi ... apud Malaeos	0-9	Leiden, Or. 1692		Willmet (not in his auction catalogue, pp. 35-36); Delft training college for colonial civil servants, transferred to Leiden, 1864	Written on European paper of c. 1700 (Iskandar 1999, I, p. 7).
23	Vocabularium Persico Belgicum	0-12	Leiden, LTK 589	D. Havart	Lammens 1840, p. 431, 82; bought by or for the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, The Hague	Attribution to Havart on account of the handwriting.
24	Arabici versio libri Geneseos, autore R. Saadia Gaon	0-9	—		Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Df. 118?	The Karlsruhe manuscript was edited with a lithographic reproduction by Schwarzstein in 1886, but without a description. It was destroyed in 1942 (Vollandt 2015, p. 16, n. 45).
25	Kitab Jang Kadowa, sive liber Exodi, Malaice	0-12	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 1		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Note by Reland: 'Hic Liber ad mei missus est ex Batavia Indiae Orientalis', cf. A fol 19.
26	Tractatus chronologicus de ratione temporum ... apud Malacaeos computantur collata cum methodo nostra, nec non calendarii Muhammedani comparatio cum nostro, Belgice	^^			Unknown buyer	Not found in the Vatican Library.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
27	Tatzrif, Grammatica sermonis Arabici conscripta lingua Persica, cum versione Malaica interlineari Quarto p. 7	0-7	Leiden, Or. 1666	P. van der Vorm	Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 5, 38; bought by Leiden	
28	Waziato l'Nabi sive Praeceptum Muhammedis Prophetae Ali datum, complectens sententias & observatione plurimas circa ritus sacros Muhammedanorum	2-0	—		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 435, 6817	Cat. Berg 1801: [Waṣīyyat al-Nabī] 'Praeceptum Muhammedis Ali Ibn Abi Taleb commendarum. Arabice, caractere Africano'.
		XXX	Leiden, Or. 1275		Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 601, 3826; bought by Leiden	No mark of Reland's ownership, but the text is very rare, and Reland may have owned a second copy.
29	Jura maritima Malaeorum conscripta sub imperio regis Mahmud Schah, AH 1066	0-4	Breda, KMA, 6619		Cat. Nedermeijer Bosch 1848, p. 52, 697	The original was written in AH 1066 (1656 CE), see also A fol 13.
30	Logato l'Arbi, Dictionarium Arabicum, in quo voces Arabicae redduntur per Malaicos & Javanos cum manuductione Latina	0-13	—			
31	Kitab Jakarati, liber continens excerpta ex duobus mss. Bibliothecae Amstelodamensis, quae sermone Arabico jus sacrum & civile Muhammedanorum complectenti	0-12	—			Cf. De Rel. Moh. no. 25 and 26. The two manuscripts in question are Amsterdam, Stedelijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 38 and Ms. 39.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
32	Mangrifato l'Islami sive Catechismus religionis Muhammedicae ad instituendos pueros cum versione Malaica interlineari	^^	—			
33	Lexicon Persicum ineditum à Jacobo Golio, concinnari coeptum, in quo multae voces Persicae cum synonymis Turcicis & Arabicis conferuntur	7-10	—	J. Golius	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 167, 1834	
34	Johannis Andraea Confusio sectae Mahommeticae ex Hispanica in linguam Latinam versa à Jac. Golio	0-10	Leiden, Or. 1272	J. Golius	J.J. Schultens; bought by Leiden	Not in Cat. Schultens 1780.
35	Prima surata Alcorani adjunctas habens binas versiones sc. Mallaeorum & Javanorum ...	0-4	Breda, KMA, 6646		Cat. Nedermeijer Bosch 1848, p. 52, 697	
36	Lexicon Malaico Belgicum confectum in India Orientali à Corn. Muttero	1-15	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 6	C. Mutter	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Written before 1698, cf. A fol 32.
37	Historia Prophetarum Mosis sermone Malaico ... ex Bibliotheca Francisci Valentini	0-6	Utrecht, Ms. 1482	F. Valentijn	Utrecht, University Library	

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
	Quarto p. 8					
38	Carmen Arabicum & tractatus de 99. qualitatibus Ali ibn Abi Taleb cum versione Malaica interlin[eari]	0-16	—			De Rel. Moh. no. 18: 'Carmen ethicum Arabicum, cum versione Malaica interlineari'.
39	Historia Fatemae, Sami lingua & caractere Javano	0-4	Breda, KMA, 6644		Cat. Nedermeijer Bosch 1848, p. 52, 696	Cf. D 5.
40	Liber lacerus continens preces aliquot Muhammedicas in usum Malaeorum	^^	—			
41	Historia raptus Muhammedici, sive itineris quod Muhammed nocte quadam coelum versus peregit vectus equo Alborak ...	1-0	—		Cat. Rau 1818, p. 70, 13	De Rel. Moh. 12: 'Historia raptus Mohammedici, qua enarrantur ea quae in coelo vidit Mohammed, quum 27 Rezejeb, quae nox adscensionis appellatur, eo adscenderet'. Compare also Oxford Bodl. Cat. 1821, p. 85, no. 68 (Or. 214; see D 7), a manuscript presumably written by Reland (cf. p. 137, no. 150, Or. 268; see D 8), with four texts, including: Caput de historia raptus Mohammedicae in caelum ... Hoc primus retulit Anas Ben Malik Ben Safaa.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
42	Poemata Turcica ... Sarouri, seu introductio ad poësin ... ex Bibliotheca Jac. Golii	2-0	Leiden, Acad. 152	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 19, 54	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, 1820; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 159, 69; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 23, 152; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	De Jong 1862 no. 194. Schmidt 2012, pp. 194-195.
43	Liber Turcicus theologici argumenti	^^	Leiden, Acad. 211		Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 167, 1838; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 159, 81; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 31, 212; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	De Rel. Moh. no. 14; De Jong 1862 no. 217; Schmidt 2012, pp. 210-213.
44	Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice, ex codice Schaligerano Academiae Leydensis ... descriptum ... á [Relando] quaedam elogia sunt praefixa	40-0	Vatican, Vat. Ar. 278	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 24, 6	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763. Confiscated and sent to Paris, c. 1798-1816, see Recensio p. 24, CCLXXVIII, no. 102	A copy of Leiden, Or. 249, see also Juynboll 1848, p. 13.
45	Syllabarium Arabicum	0-11	—		Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 167, 1830 or 1831; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 159, 77 or 78	

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
46	Compendium theologicum ex mente Muhammedanorum secundum sectam Schafaeorum, conscriptum, Arabice cum versione Javana interlinear.	0-6	Jena, TUL, Ms. Prov. 37g	P. van der Vorm	Cat. Berg 1801, p. 436, 6820	De Rel. Moh. no. 21. Cat. Berg 1801: 'Compendium theologicum ex mente Muhammedanorum secundum sectam Schaphaeorum, arabice cum versione Javana, manu Indica. Codex Indico-chartaceus'. See also D 3.
47	Liber exhibens doctrinam de precibus recitandis Arabice, autore Scheich Sidi Abdalla ben Achmed	0-16	—			
48	Liber de ritu precum Arabice ex. Biblioth. Jac. Meyeri	2-10	Leiden, Acad. 30	J. Meyer in 1705	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, 1807; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 158, 62; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 8, 30; king William I, donated to the Royal Academy	De Jong 1862 no. 135.
49	Παραλειπόμενα τού Προφήτου Ίερεμιού, liber Apocryphus	1-5	Utrecht, Ms. 21		Utrecht, University Library	Earlier mark of ownership on fol. 1r crossed out. The text is Paraleipomena (tou Prophetou) Jeremiou. Cf. J. van Vliet (Vlitius), Jani Vlitii Venatio novantiqua, Leiden, 1645.
50	Janii Vlitii notae in Gratii Cynegeticum & in Nemesianum	0-10	—	J. Vliet		
51	Tractatus Abu Abdalla Hosein Ibn Ahmed de Nuptiis, Arabice	0-6	—		Cat. Rau 1818, p. 70, 14	
52	Euangelium Matthaei ex versione Mallaea ex Bibliotheca Leydekkeri	0-6	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 3	M. Leydecker	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
	Quarto p.9					
53	Inscriptiones Palmyrenae Cl. Rhenferdi, accedunt nonnulla estrangelica, cufica & typus nummorum Samaritanorum ...	2-2	—	J. Rhenferd		Cf. Jacob Rhenferd, <i>Periculum Palmyrenum: sive Literaturae veteris Palmyrenae indagandae & eruendae ratio & specimen</i> , Franeker, 1704.
54	Euangelium Marci Arabice cum versione Mallaea	0-6	Vatican, Vat. Ar. 26		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	See also A qua 8
55	Historia coronationis regis Persiae antecedit historia praelii ab ipso commissi, Persice	^^ (?)	Leiden, Or. 1343	C. Mutter; J.F. Winckler (1679-1738)	Unknown buyer?; Cat. Schroeder 1834, p. 4, 10	Note by Mutter that he acquired it in 1680. The text is about the ruling dynasty of Golconda. It contains the name 'Jo. Frid. Winckler' (1679-1738), who possessed other manuscripts of Mutter (later in Hamburg). Perhaps he donated or sold it to Reland. According to the note in the auction catalogue sold together with A qua 54. If so, it may be that the Vatican Library was not interested. Yet the low price for the two lots is odd, for A qua 55 has 932 pages.
56	Abu l'Walid Ibn Roshd, vulgo Averrois ... epistola de possibilitate conjunctionis cum Deo à R.M. Narbonensi explicata, Hebraice	1-10	—			Rabbi Moses Narbonensis son of Joshua son of David, c. 1300-c. 1362, a.k.a. Moses ha-Darshan. See Wolf 1715, pp. 882-883, no. 1616. Possibly a copy of Leiden, Warn. 6 part 3, for which see Steinschneider, 1858, pp. 18-20.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
57	Particula quaedam ex Alcorano Arabice & Malaice	0-5	—			
58	Liber precum & confessionum Arabice & Malaice	^^	—			
59	Liber Persicus continens varias historias, carmina, acute dicta & responsa sapientum	1-6	Paris, BULAC, Ms. pers. 72		J. Thonnelier, sale 25-7-1881, no. 4410; antiquarian A. Franck, Paris	Mufarriḥ al-qulūb, translation of Sanskrit Hitopadesa by Tāj al-Dīn b. Muʿīn al-Dīn Muftī Mālikī. Note by Reland and contains the note 'Ex bibliotheca Had. Relandi'. The date on the manuscript corresponds to 21-12-1714 or 7-11-1718 (after Reland's death).
60	Diversae precum & confessionum formulae speciatim in laudem Muhammedis apud Muhammedanos recitari solitae, Arabice	0-6	—			
61	Grammatica linguae Arabicae & dictionarium linguae Malaicae, cum Malaicis quibusdam	0-6	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 75	C. Mutter (no. 1)	Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Vat. Ind. 75 no. 1 (acc. to Reid 2014, p. 60) is entitled Grammatica Arabica, and contains Malay translations; in quarto. See also A fol 27, with which this lot was partially put together to form Pers. 33, after which the Malay material was taken out as Ind. 75.
62	Epistolae & quaedam instrumenta publica nec non Decalogus, Persice	^^	Vatican, Vat. Pers. 33		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	Vat. Pers. 33 no. IV is entitled 'Decalogus Persice'. See also A fol 26, with which this lot was partially put together to form Vat. Pers. 33.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
63	Ovidii Metamorphosis, Tristia & Epistolae cum variis annotatibus III. vol. ex Bibliotheca P. Francii & Aegidii Menagii		Berlin, SB, Diez. B Sant. 11, 20, 14			Sold with A oct 32, 33 and 34, in all six manuscripts.
63a	Metamorphoses		Berlin, SB, Diez. B Sant. 11	P. Breteau; A. Menagius; Cat. Heinsius 1682, II p. 88, 341/2; (Cat. Francius 1705, p. 149, 906/7/8?); P. Reland	Cat. Burmannus 1779, p. 14, 2383; Cat. Santenus 1800, p. 85, 11; H.F. von Diez, legated to the Royal Library, Berlin, in 1817	France, 13th c.
63b	Tristium		Berlin, SB, Diez. B Sant. 20	Cat. Heinsius 1682, II p. 87, 331/2; (Cat. Francius 1705, p. 149, 913?); P. Reland	Cat. Burmannus 1779, p. 14, 2385; Cat. Santenus 1800, p. 85, no. 20; H.F. von Diez, legated to the Royal Library, Berlin, in 1817	France?, 13th c.
63c	Epistolae Heroicum		Berlin, SB, Diez. B Sant. 14	C. Dati; Cat. Heinsius 1682, II p. 87, 312, & 88; Cat. Francius 1705, p. 149, 901; P. Reland	Cat. Burmannus 1779, p. 14, 2382; Cat. Santenus 1800, p. 85, no. 14; H.F. von Diez, legated to the Royal Library, Berlin, in 1817	Italy, 14th c.

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
64	Breviarium Russicum continens varias litanias in laudem B. Virginis, aliasque, Psalmos, e&. liber typis descriptus	0-18	—			
65	Lux legis, liber quo docetur ubinam in Pentateucho debeant esse sectiones clausae, apertae vel litterae majusculae minusculae vel voces plene vel defective scripta, liber editus Amst. 1659 Quarto p. 14 libri omissi	0-6	—			Also known as the Ōr Torā, by Rabbi Menacham (Manahem) de Lonzano.
66	Libri quatuor Malaici ad religionem & liturgiam Muhammedanum spectantes Octavo p. 10	?	—			
1	Giameng abasi hoc est Pandectae Abbasici sive Systema juris sacri & civilis Muhammedici. Persici conscriptum, jussu regis Schach Abas, divisum in 20. capita liber accuratissimus	1-10	Vatican, Vat. Pers. 15		Arrived in Vatican, BAV, in 1763	De Rel. Moh. 3 (2 ex.). Written in Hyderabad, AH 1045 (1636 CE), 168 ff. Since this manuscript has more pages than A oct 2, it was probably the more expensive one.
2	Liber similis argumenti autore Scheich Bahadin Mohammed	0-10	Leiden, Or. 1283	Cat. Golius 1696, p. [29], comp qu 8	J.J. Schultens (not in Cat. Schultens 1780); bought by Leiden	De Rel. Moh. 3 (2 ex.), see A oct 1. Leiden, Acad. 39 (De Jong 1862 no. 184; Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, 39; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 9, 39) was mistakenly held to be the other copy in De Rel. Moh. 3, but it never belonged to Reland.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
3	Psalmi Davidis lingua & rytmo Malaico	0-10	Vatican, Vat. Ind. 2			
4	Diwan Casem, sive Sylloge carminum autore Casemo	0-18	Leiden, Or. 1893	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, 9	N.W. Schroeder (died 1798); bought in 1865 by Leiden from E.J. Brill, booksellers in Leiden	
5	Diwan Aurfi, Persae sistens theologiam mysticam, ex Bibliotheca Golii	0-10	Leiden, Or. 1652	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, 8	Cat. Van Voorster 1859, p. 3, 20; bought by Leiden	
6	Sylloge carminum Persicorum, admixta hic illic prosa. Liber quo continentur varia theologica practici argumenti, V.G. preces ad Deum; nec non descriptio Dei & attributorum ejus cultusque ei debiti; elegantissimo caractere arcolis rubris inscriptus	1-10	—			
7	Gulistan, sive Rosarium, auctore Scheih Saadi, Persice, in fronte notavit [Relandus] multa in hoc codice haberi, quae in editione Gentii non extant	1-0	—			

(cont.)

Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
8	Grammatica Arabica dicta Gjarumia, cum notationibus Erpenii	2-10	—	T. Erpenius; Cat. Golius 1696, p. 18, 32	Cat. Berg 1801, p. 439, 6846	Cat. Berg 1801: 'Abi Abd'Allah Muhammed Ibn Muhammed Ibn Daoud Sanhagii Grammatica Arabica, dicta Gjarumia, arabice, manu Arabica, cum annotationibus Thom. Erpenii & Iac. Golii. Cod. Bombycinus'. Edition by Erpenius, 1617: Grammatica Arabica dicta Gjarumia & Libellus Centum Regentium; cum versione Latina & commentariis T. Erpenii.
9	Grammatica sermonis Arabici, Tazrif dicta, conscripta lingua Arabica cum versione Mallaea interlineari	3-10	—		Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, 34	
10	Calendarium Persicum anni [AD] 1651 [AH] 1062, cujus modi regi & praecipuis imperii Persici proceribus loco strenae offerri solet	0-9	—			
11	Formulae aliquot epistolarum ad principes aliosque mittendarum, Persice Octavo p. 11	0-4	Leiden, Or. 1661	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 18, 40	Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 4, 31; bought by Leiden	
12	Poëmata Persica Halati ... ex Bibliotheca Golii	1-10	Leiden, Or. 1280	Cat. Golius 1696, p. 20, 63	Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 604, 7002; bought by Leiden	

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
13	Liber Persicus dictus Baharistan ... à ... poëta Gjami ... ex Bibliotheca Sikii	0-6	Leiden, Or. 1296	H. Sikius	Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 604, 6991; bought by Leiden	Dated AH 959 (1552 CE).
14	Liber Persicus continens multa ad laudem Muhammedis ejusque dogmatis facientia, scriptus in areolis coeruleis charta rubra figuris aureis splendente	2-10	—			
15	Florilegium ex diversis poëmatibus Persicis Iscander namè, Cosrouweschirin, Machtzen alesrar, Leilae Wamezjnoun &c.	0-6	Glasgow, University Library (Hunterian Museum), S. 8. 130 (old press mark, now lost)?		Cat. De Rufforth 1763, p. 156, 3159; bought by William Hunter (1718-1783)?	Cat. De Rufforth 1763: 'Florilegium ex variis poëmatibus Persicis, Iscander name [etc.]'; Haenel 1830, col. 797 (S. 8. 130): 'Florilegium ex variis poëmatibus Persicis'. Not in Glasgow 1908.
16	Abdulkasemi Abdorrachim explicatio difficilliorum locorum Alcorani, & nominum propriorum in eo occurrentium scripta AH 670	7-0	—		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 436, 6819	De Rel. Moh. 13. Cat. Berg 1801: 'Explicatio difficiliorum locorum Corani. Auctore Abu'l Kasem, arabice, manu Arabica. Accedit: ... Explicatio nominum propriorum in Corano occurrentium, auctore Abu'l Kasem Abd' Arrahman Ibn Abd' Allah Ibn Ahmed..., Arabice, manu Arabica. Uterque Codex Bombycin[us]. Scriptus AH 670, [AD] 1271'. The author is Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Abdallāh Ibn Aḥmad.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
17	Liber in quo de lotionibus sacris & precibus agitur secundum sectum Malaeci, auctor Abdolbari Alasmawi, Arabice	1-6	Utrecht, Ms. 1447		Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, 30; J.C. Swijghuisen-Groenewoud; donated by his widow in in 1860-1871	
18	Suratae quaedam Alcorani	0-13	—			
19	Vocabularium Persico Turcicum	0-6	—		Cat. Berg 1801, p. 440, 6853	Cat. Berg 1801: 'Vocabularium Persico—Turcicum, codex chartaeus'.
20	Vocabularium in quo voces Arabicae per Persicas explicantur sermone ligato, auctore Abu Nazr Ferahi	0-13	Göttingen, NSU, Ms. pers. 5	C. Mutter	Cat. Berg 1801, p. 440, 6858; sold to Göttingen	On the front cover a note that the book belongs to Cornelis Mutter in Golconda, 1697. Cat. Berg 1801: 'Abi Nazr Phirabi Vocabularium, quo voces Arabicae per Persicas explicantur, sermone ligato conscriptum, caractere Nischi. Cod. Bombycinus'.
21	Exempla quaedam concionum arabicarum satis elegantia	0-8	—			
22	Liber Arabicus a [Relando] editus sub titulo: Enchiridion studiosi auctore Borhaneddino Alzernouchi, praeter textum libri accedit commentarius amplissimus	3-0	—	A copy of Paris, Royal Library, Cat. 1739, Codices Arabici (Philosophi in octavo), no. 976;	Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, 29	The text and commentary taken together: De Rel. Moh. no. 8: 'Methodum studendi continet & praecepta studiis operam daturō necessaria. Auctor est Borhaneddinus'.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
				see also Herbelot 1697, p. 848 (wrongly numbered no. 906); Fück 1955, p. 102		Alzernouchi, qui eam conscripit AH 996, uti in fine notatur, in gratiam eunuchi cujusdam primarii in seraglio Constantinopolitano. Dein hic liber in sermonem Turcicum translatus est ab Abdolmasjid, Ibn Nassou, Ibn Israil'. De Rel. Moh. no. 9: 'Commentarius Arabicus in Enchiridion illud studiosi'. These items are missing from the Index in the first edition of 1705.
23	Bulbul nameh hoc est Historia Lucinae seu Poëmation Persicum Scheich Attharis ex Arabico in Latinum sermonem conversum, a Clar. Gallandio, qui & notas suas adjecit Octavo, p. 12	5-0	Leiden, Or. 1297	A. Gallandus	J.P. Berg, donated to J.J. Schultens in 1761; Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 604, 6995; bought by Leiden	Cf. A qua 13. Contains the inscription 'JJ Schultens. Dono Optimi Bergii 1761'.
24	Descriptio totius universi continens longitudines, & latitudines urbium, enarrationem climatum, montium, fluviorum & rerum in orbe memorabilium, auctore Abulhazen Saad Ibn Ali	2-0	—		Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, 31	A Persian author, see Reland, Palestina, ex monumentis veteribus, Utrecht, 1714, I, p. 8; II, p. 544, 586, 599.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
25	Systema juris sacri & civilis Muhammedanorum auctore Ibrahim Ibn Muhamed Ibn Ibrahim, Arabice	2-15	Vatican, Vat. Ar. 260			De Rel. Moh. 2, which adds: '... in quo primum de lustrationibus, precibus, eleemosynis, jejuniis & peregratione Maccana agitur, dein de emptione ventione, pignoribus, vadimonio, divortio, criminibus, aliisque rebus civilibus, fere eo ordine auctor ille ἀνώυμος Hottingerio in Bibliotheca Orientali memoratus pag. 180. 181. & seqq.'
26	Gulistan auctore Scheih Sadi	2-0	—			
27	Liber Arabicus de ratione conscribendarum epistolarum	0-10	—			
28	Liber de arte magica, Arabice	0-6	Leiden, Or. 1576		Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 604, 6988; Cat. Van der Palm 1841, p. 187, 10; bought by Leiden	Cat. Schultens 1780: 'Liber magicus plures artes Telesmaticas & ritus superstitiosos exhibens, Arab.'. Cat. Van der Palm 1841 adds: 'Perspicue scriptus ... 120 et ultra foliorum'.
29	Libellus de Xeiromantia & arte divinandi, caractere Slavonico, ex Bibl. Sikii	0-8	Leiden, LTK 965	H. Sikius	S. Rau; (probably S.F.J. Rau); donated by S.J.E. Rau c. 1887	The catalogue of Leiden, LTK, reflects the title in the auction catalogue, but the title is: Святцы с пасхалией ('Saints with Easter'), and there is no connection with palmistry or divination. Probably written in 1593, see Meyer 1978, p. 263, no. 6. Contains the inscription 'Relando suo Sikius'.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
30	Catena aurea gloria justorum, Liber moralis, Persice	0-12	—			Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, 42, lists: Catena aurea, Arabice, now Utrecht, Ms. 1470, a copy of Silsilat al-zahab ('The Chain of Gold') by the Persian poet Jāmī.
31	Poema Persicum incerti autoris	1-10	—			
32	Ovidius de Ponto	60-0	Berlin, SB, Diez. B Sant. 30	C. Dati; Cat. Heinsius 1682, II p. 122, 46; Cat. Francius 1705, p. 153, 1098; P. Reland	Cat. Burmannus 1779, p. 39, 3642; Cat. Santenius 1800, p. 8, no. 30; H.F. von Diez, legated to the Royal Library, Berlin, in 1817	Italy, 15th c. Sold with A oct 33 and 34 and A qua 63, in all six manuscripts.
33	Ovidius de Arte & Remedio amoris, de Pulice, & in Ibim	^^	Berlin, SB, Diez. B Sant. 27	G. Salinus; C. Lucantonus Mulbronnensis; U. Buirer; A. Cavalcanti; Cat. Heinsius 1682, II p. 119, 633; Cat. Francius 1705, p. 153, 1093; P. Reland	Cat. Burmannus 1779, p. 38, 3640; Cat. Santenius 1800, p. 8, no. 27; H.F. von Diez, legated to the Royal Library, Berlin, in 1817	Pavia, 15th c. Contains the inscription 'Lord have Marcy upon all Criticks. AD. 1710. Scriptum Londini', probably by Pieter Reland.
34	Ovidius, Fastorum libri	^^	Berlin, SB, Diez. B Sant. 25	Cat. Francius 1705, p. 153, 1097; P. Reland	Cat. Burmannus 1779, p. 38, 3641; Cat. Santenius 1800, p. 86, no. 25; H.F. von Diez, legated to the Royal Library, Berlin, in 1817	?, 12th c.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
35	Leonis augustissimi Graecorum imperatoris Epitome artis militaris ex idiomate Latino in Ruthenicum fideliter translata jussu Czaari & magni Ducis Petri Alexiewitz autocratoris omnium Russorum, Russice, liber editus Amst. 1700	0-4	Göttingen, NSU, 8 AUCT GR 6, 4260	H. Sikius	The same title (in a short version): Cat. 1764, p. 43, 616. Entered Göttingen Library between 1766 and 1769 (access number 8° M 14892).	Kratkoe sobranie Lva Mirotvorca ... Amsterdam, 1700. Has the note 'Reelando suo Sikius' (Slavica Gottingensia, 2, p. 814, no. 3526). See on this edition Bragone 1996.
36	Breviarium Russicum continens regulam de legendis abbreviaturis in horis matutinis, vespertinis, litaniis, ex. Bibl. Siki, liber editus	0-6	The Hague, KB, 1173 E 36	H. Sikius	KB stamp used between 1867 and 1880	Časovník [Moscow], Vasilij Fëdorov Burcov, 7145 [1637]; part 2 of a convolute. Part 1 is Predislovie v kratcé pervouučebněj sej malěj knižnicě azbucě [Preface to this small first alphabet teaching book], <i>ibid.</i> Has the note 'Relando suo Sikius'. Bought by the KB for 12 guilders.
37	Euangelia Dominicalia cum Epistolis, Polonice, liber editus Cracoviae 1597	0-6	—			Perhaps: Żywot i nauka Pana Naszego Jesu Christa albo Ewangelia ze czterech jedna, 8°, Kraków, Jakub Siebenreicher, 1597; see <i>Kat. Pol.</i> 2, p. 314, no. 2687.
38	Liber Slavonicus theologici argumenti autore Hieronymo Panormitano, Romae, 1630	0-4	—			Ispovjedaōnik, sabrana iz pravoslavnjeh naučitelja po Ieronimu Panormitanu, Rome, 1630. Bosnian translation of the Commentaria in Decretales. The only

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
39	Rudimenta lectionis, cum quibusdam precum formulis, psalmis, &c. Slavonice, stylo Cyrilico, liber editus Octavo, p. 13	0-16	—			copy in a Dutch collection, Leiden, 275 E 25, does not appear to have been Reland's.
40	Ispraunik Za Erei hoc est Directorium pro sacerdotibus, Illyrice, auctore D. Simon Budikeo Jadrensi Presbytero, Romae 1636	0-11	—			Ispravnik za erei ispovidnici, i za pokornih ... Rome, 1635. The author is Simon Badinaeus or Boudinet of Zadar; a Čakavian (Servo-Croatian dialect) translation of Joannes Polancus, Breve directorium ad confessarii..., Louvain, 1554, or a later edition. The only copy in a Dutch collection, Amsterdam, UvA, OTM: OK 66-33, does not appear to have been Reland's.
41	Institutio religionis Christianae; accedunt miracula S. Virginis Mariae, Illyrice, Paduae 1611 Manuscripta Sinica & Japonica	^^	—			
a	Opera Mincii, II. tomi	14-14	—			Perhaps [吳興]: 閔齊伋, [明萬曆] [Wuxing]: Min Qiji, [Ming Wanli, between 1617 and 1620], 2 vols.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
b	Opera Confucii, III. tomi	^^	—		Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 33, 223	Cat. Willmet 1837: 'Pars operum Confucii, sive Sententiae ex operibus Confucii collectae.—charta et litteris Sinicis.—nonnullis sententiis pronuntiationem literis latinis et versionem Lat. addidit H. Relandus.—Folio oblongo.
c	Pars Historiarum Sinicarum, gesta continens circa saeculum aerae Christ. XII.	0-17	Berlin, SB, Libri sin. 133		O.J. Gevaerts; J.A. van Wapenaar; in the Royal Library in Berlin before 1847	Printed in 1600. On the titlepage is Reland's title and in a different hand: 'Hunc librum Sinicum mihi dedit cognatus et amicus Ocker Gevaerts Joh. Fil.... J:A:Van Wapenaar'. Ocker Johansz. Gevaerts, 1731-1799. The book is listed in Carl Immanuel Kiessling, <i>Codices manuscript en libri Sinici</i> , [Berlin, 1847], manuscript without signature.
d	Descriptio amoenitatum Sinicarum	0-6	—			
e	Speculum Jedo, iv. vol in quibus gentilitia, nomina, munera, & reditus annui omnium principum & nobilium Japanensium continentur. In fronte à [Relando] haec notatur: In periculum capitis se intulit, qui hoc opus cum hominibus nostris communicavit. Haec enim est imperatoris in cum statuta poena	26-0	—			

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
f	Exiguus libellus Japonicus complectens varias figuras, eleganter delineatas, cum explicatione Japonica	1-0	—			
g	Ephemerides Sinicae anni unius	0-4	—			
h	Liber Japonicus geographicus continens descriptionem urbis Miaco & praecipuarum partium ejus, cum figuris	^^	—			Miaco (Miyako, lit. the Capital) was the usual name for Kyoto.
i	Tres tabellae in quibus depicta est Jedo metropolis Imperii Japonici	4-5	—			
k	Tabula Geographica totius imperii Japonici	^^	—			
l	Duae tabellae in quibus depictae Osacka & Miako	^^	—			Probably Shinsen zōho Ōsaka ōezu (New enlarged Osaka map) and Shinsen zōho Kyō ōezu (New enlarged Kyoto map), both woodcuts published by Y. Hayashi, Kyoto, 1686.
m	Liber Sinicus continens varios conspectus praediorum & regionum eleganter delineatos cum descriptione	6-0	—			
n	Quinque tabellae Sinicae atramento depictae	0-6	—			
o	Epistola Sinica	^^	—			
p	Mss. Sinicum absque titulo & lacerum	^^	—			

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
B	INDEX DE REL MOH 1717					
6	Quaesita & responsa Persica de religione, ad modum Dialogi		—			
17	Auctor anonymus de 6 fundamentis religionis Mohammedicae. Convenit fere cum MSto Amstelodamensi minore		—			
C	ANNOTATED BOOKS CAT. RELAND 1718					
1	Talmud Hierosolymitanum hebr. complectens omnes codices Tomi Zeraim & codicem Schehalim, Amst. 1712, cum quibusdam annotatis Cl. Relandi		—			Cat. Reland 1718, p. 5–6, fol 48. Talmud Yerushalmi, min masekhet Berakhot, ve-seder Zera'im kula u-maseket Shekalim, Amsterdam [1710].
2	Historia Saracenicā, arab. Lat. cum annot. mss. Golii		—	J. Golius		Cat. Reland 1718, p. 10, fol 137. Thomas Erpenius (ed.), Historia Saracenicā: hoc est, Historia Saracenicā, qua res gestae Muslimorum, inde a Muhammede primo imperij & religionis Muslimic, Leiden, 1625, which Golius prepared for publication after Erpenius' death in 1624; cf. Cat. Golius 1696, p. 23, 16.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
3	Alexandri Tralliani opera graece, apud Rob. Stephanum, 1548, cum MSS collatus	—			Gould; R. Mead	Cat. Reland 1718, p. 12, fol 171. Cat. Mead 1754, p. 240, 57: Alex. Trallianus, cum notis mss. Gouldi & Hadr. Relandi, 1548.
4	Etymologicum magnum Graece, [apud Aldum], 1549. Lib. Rar. cum not. MS Berkelii	—		A. Berkelius	Cat. Röver 1806, pp. 128–129, 605	Cat. Reland 1718, p. 13, fol 191. Magnum etymologicum graecae linguae, nunc recens summa adhibita diligentia excusum ... Venice, 1549.
5	Labbaei & aliorum glossaria, adjectae sunt not. MS. Relandi & Scherpenzelii. Paris 1679	—		J. Scherpenzelius		Cat. Reland 1718, p. 13, fol 193. Carolus Labbaeus, Cyrilli, Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum glossaria Latino-Graeca & Graeco-Latina, Paris, 1679.
6	Hesychius Graece. Hagen. 1521. cum annot. MSS. H. Relandi	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 13, fol 194. Aldus Manutius, Hesychii Dictionarium, Hageneau, 1521.
7	Musladini Sadi Rosarium politicum ... collatum est cum codicib. MS.... ab H. Sikio. Amst. 1651.	Utrecht, v fol 89		H. Sikius	S. Rau	Cat. Reland 1718, p. 14, fol 203. Acquired in 1818; in Utrecht Cat. 1834, II, p. 854. Has the note 'Relando Sikius'.
8	Propertius Broukhusii. Amst. 1702. cum annotat. H. Relandi	Utrecht, Ms. 1551		J. Broukhusius	A. Gochenius	Cat. Reland 1718, p. 39, qu 321. In Utrecht Cat. 1834, II, p. 751.
9	Epictetus &c. Gr. Lat. Meibomii & Relandi. Traject. 1711 cum n. MSS. H. Relandi	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 43, qu 410. Epicteti manuale et sententiae ... in linguam Latinam conversa a Marco Meibomio ... cura Hadriani Relandi, Utrecht, 1711.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
10	Sylburgii Saracenia, sive Moamethica cum not. MSS. Cl. Relandi, apud Commelin 1592.— Lipsii Politica, apud Plantin 1591	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 89, oct 504. F. Sylburg, Saracenia, sive Moamethica, Heidelberg, 1595. J. Lipsius, Politicorum sive Ciuilis doctrinae ..., Antwerp, 1596.
11	Fleetwood Inscriptionum Antiquarum sylloge. Londin. 1691, in limine aliquod annotavit Cl. Relandus	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 93, oct 583. W. Fleetwood, Inscriptionum Antiquarum sylloge, London, 1691.
12	Bembi, Margerii, Castalionis, Collae & Flamini carmina additis nonnullis MSS.—Antonini Flamini libellous nunquam antea impressus. Venet. 1558.	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 105, oct 749. Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum, Venice, 1548
13	Almeloveen Amoenitates Theologico Philosophicae. Calci plagiarorum quaedam manu sua adjecit H. Relandus	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 105, oct 757. The title should be: Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen, Amoenitates theologico-philologicae, Amsterdam, 1694.
14	Heroidum Epistolae & Amorum libri, apud Plantin 1566, ex Bibliotheca G.J. Vosii cum not. MSS. Cl. Relandi	—		G. Vossius		Cat. Reland 1718, p. 130, duodec 169. Publius Ovidius Naso, Heroidum epistolae. Amorum libri III. De arte amandi libri III. De remedio amoris libri II, Antwerp, 1566.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
15	Euclides Melderi, [Amsterdam] 1638, cum not. MSS. Relandi	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 136, duodec 300. Probably a mistake for Euclides, Elementorum sex priores libri, Leiden, 1673. The author is Christiaan Melder (1625–1681).
16	L'art de parler Francois, a Paris 1676, avec des notes par Mr. Reland.	—				Cat. Reland 1718, p. 137, duodec 317.
D OTHER MANUSCRIPTS & BOOKS						
1	al-Bayḍāwī, Nizam al-tawarikh / Hatim Ta'i (History of China)	Leiden, Acad. 188		Cat. Golius 1696, p. 18, 39, or [p. 29], comp qu 2	Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, 1819; Cat. De Bruin 1800, p. 159, 68; Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 28, 188; king William 1, donated to the Royal Academy	Dated AH 1034 (1625 CE). Annotation by Reland: 'Compendium Chronologiae Persicae item Elogium Matronae. Persicam Hatem Tai'. Cat. Willemsen: 'Compendium Chronici Persici, incerto auctore'. De Jong 1862 no. 176.
2	Sufi treatise in Arabic on Muslim saints	Leiden, Or. 1337		Cat. Golius 1696, p. 17, 28	Bought by Leiden at an auction in Amsterdam, c. 1830	Owner's note by Reland, 1700.
3	Mukhtaṣar fi al-fiqh (Taqrīb al-fiqh)	Leiden, Or. 1347			Cat. Schroeder 1834, p. 4, 8	Annotations by Reland (?), and the note Codex A. Codex B is Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Or. 15 (Marburg 1979, 89–93). See also A qua 46, a copy of the same text.

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Nr	Title	Price	Current	Earlier owners	Bought by / Later owners	Notes
4	Mukāshafat al-qulūb, a text on religious ethics, attributed to al-Ghazālī, and additional texts in Turkish		Leiden, Or. 1634		Bought by Leiden from bookseller Belinfante, The Hague, 1851	Schmidt 2002, pp. 202–204, where is noted that there is an inscription on the inner front board in the handwriting of Adriaan Reland.
5	Life of Muhammad in verse		Berlin, SB, Ms. or. quart. 363		Acquired in 1852	Title in the handwriting of Reland: 'Fabulae Sami. Tsjarita Sami titulus est libri. Lingua est et scriptura Javana'. And on the last page (32): 'lingua Javana'. Cf. A qua 39.
6	Meletij Smotrickij, Grammatikī slavenskija, Ev'ja [Vevis], Press of Prince Oginskij, 1619; octavo		Cambridge, University Library, K. 247	H. Sikius		Presentation inscription from 'Sikius' to 'Reland'. Not in Cat. Reland 1718 or 1761; see Tyrrell and Simmons 1963, p. 391, no. 14.
7	Four works by two authors on the subjects of Theology, Hadith, and Muhammad		Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 214		Acquired before 1821	Written by Reland. See also A qua 41. See also Oxford Bodl. Cat. 1821, p. 85, Cod. Arab. no. 68.
8	Four works by four authors on the subjects of Tales, Arabic poetry, and Universal history		Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 268		Acquired before 1821	Written by Reland. See also A qua 41. See also Oxford Bodl. Cat. 1821, p. 137, Cod. Arab. no. 150.
9	Ḥikāyat al-'asharah wuzarā wa-al-malik Āzād-bakht al-fārisī		Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 282		Acquired before 1821	Written by Reland. See also Oxford Bodl. Cat. 1835, p. 152, Cod. Arab. no. 166.

2 Concordance between Index De Rel. Moh. 1717 and the Auction Catalogue of 1761

Index 1 = A qua 1a	Index 7 = A qua 9	Index 14 = A qua 43	Index 20 = A fol 1
Index 2 = A oct 25	Index 8–9 = A oct 22	Index 15 = A qua 19	Index 21 = A qua 46
Index 3 = A oct 1–2	Index 10 = A qua 2	Index 16 = A fol 10	Index 22 = A qua 13
Index 4 = A qua 1c	Index 11 = A qua 17	Index 17 = ?	Index 23 = A fol 5
Index 5 = A qua 1b	Index 12 = A qua 41	Index 18 = A qua 38	Index 24 = A qua 6
Index 6 = ?	Index 13 = A oct 16	Index 19 = A qua 11	

Index 25–26 = Amsterdam, Stedelijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 38–39.

Index 27–30 = manuscripts consulted in the library of H. Sikius. For 27, cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 408 (Oxford Bodl. Cat. 1835, p. 391, no. 393, part 13).

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The Letters of Adriaan Reland

Compiled by Tobias Winnerling

Reland's letters were not collected during his lifetime and those that survive were dispersed and are scattered now in libraries and archives all over Europe. It is not clear exactly when Reland's letters were disposed of. The sales catalogue of that part of Reland's library which was auctioned off after his death in 1718 does not mention any manuscripts, let alone letters.¹ If the letters had still been kept in the family after 1718, they would most likely have been passed on together with the rest of the books first to Reland's widow, Catharina Teeling, and then to his son, Johan Hubertus Reland. The auction catalogue of Johan Hubertus Reland's library from 1761 does list Adriaan Reland's collection of oriental manuscripts, but nothing in Reland senior's own hand.² However, Adriaan Reland's letters were dispersed by 1761 at the latest, and only a fraction of the original number has survived.

It is not known how many letters Adriaan Reland wrote, but he corresponded with other scholars for a period of at least twenty years (if reckoned from his graduation in February 1698 until his death in May 1718). Assuming that he wrote an average of one letter each day for five days a week during this period, he would have written more than 5,200 letters, a figure not unusual for scholarly correspondences. Even if it had only been half that number, less than a tenth of them were to survive. Today less than 220 letters by or to Reland are known, data about which are collected in an Early Modern

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- 1 Cf. *Pars Magnae Bibliothecae Clarissimi & Celeberrimi Viri Hadriani Relandi, ... Quorum auctio fiet publica in aedibus defuncti ad diem 7 Novembri 1718. Patebit Bibliotheca duabus ante auctio-nem diebus, nempe 4 & 5 Novemb.* Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Guilielmum Broedelet. 1718.
 - 2 Cf. *Naam-Lyst van een zeer keurige verzameling Latynsche, Fransche doch meest Nederduitsche welgeconditioneerde, zeer zindelyk in Fransche en Hoorne bande gebondene Boeken [...] Alles nagelaten by wylen den Wel-Edelen Gestrengen Heere Mr. Jan Hubertus Relandt, Oud-Raad en Schepen der stad Zierikzee. Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Arabicorum, Persicorum, Malaicorum, Sinicorum, Japonicorum Aliorumque [...] quibus omnibus quondam usus est Vir celeberrimus & in literatura orientali Princeps Hadrianus Relandus, Phil. Doct. LL. OO. & Antiq. Sacrar. in Academia Trajectina Professor Ordinarius. [...]* Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Guilielmum Kroon, et Gisb. Tim. a Paddenburg. 1761.

Letters Online catalogue.³ Many of these letters have not survived in the original but only as printed copies in eighteenth-century editions or can only be inferred from the contents of surviving letters in which they are mentioned.

The bulk of the physically surviving correspondence of Adriaan Reland is kept in the Royal Library in The Hague, among the papers of the learned mayor of Deventer Gijsbert Cuper (1644–1716) with whom Reland corresponded regularly. Some letters were already purchased by collectors in the eighteenth century, for example those held by the British Library as parts of the collections of Thomas Birch (1705–1766). Some were edited as part of the epistolary collections of other scholars, such as the letters to Richard Bentley (1662–1742), Mathurin Veyssière de la Croze (1661–1739), and Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714). For many of Reland's correspondents only a few letters survive from much larger exchanges, as is the case for La Croze and Magliabechi, and also for Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743), Joseph Wasse (1671–1738), John Hudson (1662–1719), Theodor Jansson van Almeloveen (1657–1712), and Pieter Burman (1668–1741), and many others. For correspondents such as Reland's former pupil Matthias Anchersten (1682–1741), professor of Arabic at the University of Copenhagen, or the German historian Johann Hermann Schmincke (1684–1743), similar contacts are highly probable. Reland's network of correspondents was far-reaching, spanning France, England, the Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire, Switzerland, Italy, and probably Denmark. That only so very few letters have survived from these exchanges may be annoying for the historian trying to work on the subject, but it is in no way exceptional: those correspondences that have survived until today are the rare exceptions to the rule that letters, an ephemeral genre, were for the most part discarded, sometimes inadvertently, more often deliberately.

3 Tobias Winnerling (ed.), Dirk van Miert (contrib.), Milo van de Pol (contrib.): 'The Correspondence of Adriaan Reland', in: *Early Modern Letters Online. Cultures of Knowledge*, <http://emlo-portal.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/?catalogue=adriaan-reland>, online 25 June 2019. This project is still in progress, and welcomes all mentions of any additional letter that might come to light.

Relandus—*Elegies for Galatea, no. 2**Translated from the Latin by Jason Harris*

Di, quibus est mandata meae tutela salutis,
 ferte mihi, si quam ferre potestis, opem.
 Hoc habet. Haesuros animo concepimus ignes,
 nec licet arbitrium mentis habere meae.
 O nunquam delenda meis Galatea medullis, 5
 tu mihi, dum vivam, flamma perennis eris.
 Mens bona, quae Paphiis nunquam laedenda sagittis
 credebat puerum vincere posse deum,
 Mens bona, praecipites animi compescere motus
 docta, repentino tacta stupore, silet. 10
 Non silet haec. Fallor. Quae sola necare favillas
 ante meas potuit, suscitatur ipsa meas.
 Illa vagos quondam sensus hac voce monebat:
 Nescitis miseri quot mala gignat amor.
 Tempore forma perit, paucisque ea carpitur annis. 15
 Dum licet, Idalii pellite tela Dei.
 His ego firmatus monitis me posse putavi
 innocua Cypriam mente videre deam.
 Si qua puella meis furtim offerretur ocellis,
 ne pacem, dixi, destruat illa meam. 20
 Protinus inde oculos, dubiamque avertere mentem
 sustinui, et Veneris tutus ab igne fui.
 Nunc bona mens mirata tuam, pulcherrima, formam,
 ipsa mihi dicit: Quam sapienter amas!
 Legitimo, qui te cepit, da frena calori. 25
 Cedo, nec indignor, legibus ipse meis.
 Te quoties monui, ne quo capereris amore.
 Haec animum teneat, non nego, forma tuum.
 Qui videt hanc, nulloque animum depascitur igne,
 Ille bonae mentis nil habet, ille stupet. 30
 Quis ferat undantes in eburna fronte capillos,
 Brachiaque intacta candidiora nive?

Quis ferat ah! roseasque genas, et dulce tumentes,
 ut propius tacita basia voce rogent?
 Quis ferat ardentem oculos? et ametur ametque
 forma Cytheriacae par Galatea deae. 35

Ye gods, to whom is granted protection of my health,
 afford me help, if help you can afford.
 A fatal blow! My soul is lit with lasting fires,
 nor can I trust the judgement of my mind.
 O Galatea, never shall you quit my deep heart's core, 5
 but ever burn within me while I live.
 Good sense, who thought he could o'ercome the infant god
 nor ever feel the wound of Paphian dart;
 good sense, though taught to quell rash motions of the soul,
 is suddenly struck dumb and holds his tongue; 10
 nay rather, not struck dumb, he stokes the very flames
 that erstwhile he knew only how to quench.
 For once he used to warn my wandering passions thus:
*'You fools know not what ills this love begets:
 beauty in time doth perish, snatched away ere long;
 ward off Idalia's weapons while you can.'* 15

With mind made firm by such forewarnings, I supposed
 I could, unharmed, the Cyprian goddess see;
 If any girl should chance to catch my eye, I'd cry:
'Let not that pretty girl disturb my peace!' 20

Forthwith I could avert my eyes and watchful mind
 that Venus might not harm me with her fire.
 But now, most lovely girl, good sense himself, o'erwhelmed,
 proclaims: *'How wisely you have fall'n in love!
 This heat that holds you is legitimate—give rein!
 My strictures and disdain I here withdraw. 25
 Oft have I warned you not to fall into love's hands.
 'Tis true that beauty has you in her thrall.
 But he who sees this girl yet feels no flame within
 has neither sense of body nor of mind. 30
 Who could resist the curls that fringe her ivory brow,
 her arms that shine more white than fresh-fall'n snow?
 And, oh, who could resist her sweet, plush, rosy cheeks
 that seem with dulcet tone to beg a kiss?
 Then, too—those flaming eyes? Let her be loved and love, 35
 beautiful Galatea, Venus' peer.'*

Heinrich Sike's 1696 Congratulatory Poem for Adriaan Reland

Translated from the Arabic by Christian Lange

يا أيها صاحبي قد كنت في رشد
أظهرت من قولك ما أعجب البلد
يا ليت قصيدتي من اوجب شاعر
ماكان ماكان قد من مجدك عدد
ماكان الاسلاما ماكان اليهودية
علمت في عزمك المحمود ذي عمد
اليوم حركت ما قد كان في الأول
مجهول مقبور في استر البلد
البعض قد كدر في الاعين الطاهرة
والمسلم شارب من ما من صدد
نبي في الكاذن امي من هاشم
ماكان في صدرك ماكان من صمد
زقوم قد كانت يا ضال طعامك
وشربك السايغ من عين لا برد
وانت يا صاحبي ما اكرم فضلك
ايبت من لعنة وكنت في سعد

*yā ayyuhā ṣāhibī qad kunta fī rashad
aẓharta min qawlika mā aʿjaba l-balad.
yā layta qaṣīdatī min awjab shāʿir
mā kāna, mā kāna qadd min majdika ʿadad.*

mā kāna l-islāmā [sic] mā kāna l-yahūdiyya,
‘allamta fī ‘azmika l-maḥmūd dhī ‘amad.
al-yawma ḥarrakta mā qad kāna fī l-awwal
majhūlun maqbūrun fī asturi l-abad.
al-ba‘du qad kaddara fī l-a‘yuni l-ṭāhira
wa-l-muslimu shāribun mim mā min ṣadad.
nabiyyun fī l-kādhin [al-kādhīb?] ummī min Hāshim
mā kāna fī ṣadrika mā kāna min ṣamad.
Zaqqūm qad kānat yā dāllu ṭa‘āmuka,
wa-shurbuka l-sāyighu min ‘aynin lā barad.
Wa-anta yā ṣāhibī, mā akrama faḍlaka,
abītu min la‘natin wa-kunta fī sa‘ad.

Dear friend, you are rightly guided,
 you have produced speech that has astonished people.
 If only my poem were as is required
 of a poet, there would be no end to your praise.
 In your purposeful and praiseworthy mastery
 you have taught that Islam is unlike Judaism.
 Today, you have stirred up what was initially
 unknown, buried under eternal veils.
 Others have muddied the pure water sources;
 and the Muslim is drinking from what is [better] shunned.
 A lying prophet from [the tribe of] Hāshim, illiterate:
 ‘That which is in your heart did not come from God.
 [The hellish plant of] Zaqqūm, oh misled one, is your nourishment,
 and your tasty drink comes from a well [in hell] that is never cool!’
 You, however, dear friend, how noble is your virtue!
 I spend my nights in damnation, but may you enjoy good fortune.

The Maps of Adriaan Reland

Compiled by Tobias Winnerling

1705

Imperii Persici delineatio ex scriptis potissimum geographicis Arabum et Persarum tentata ab Adriano Relando. Amplissimo Viro Nicolao Witzon Virtutibus uis et praeclaris in rem literariam meritis non minus ac Consulatu Urbis Amstelodamensis, honorificentissimis Legationibus aliisque summis muneribus illustri (with Pieter Schenk). Ex formis Petri Schenk, Amstelodami cum Priv.

[c.1710]

Nova Tabula Terrarum Cucan, Canara, Malabaria, Madura, & Coromandelina, Cum parte Septentrionali Insulae Ceylon, in mari Indico Orientali. Edente Hadriano Relandi, tot Amsterdam by Gerard van Keulen, met Privilegie.

1714

Facies regionis Philistaeorum, in qua Situs quinque urbium quas ista gens incoluit: Ecronis, Asdod, Gath, Ascalonis et Gazae testimonio scriptorum veterum confirmatus per Miliaria Romana describitur. J. Wandelaer in. et fecit (with Jacob Wandelaar), in: Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata. Tomus I, Trajecti Batavorum, ex bibliotheca Guilielmi Broedelet, p. 77.

Conspectus Palaestinae uti a priscis incolis fuit inhabitata tempore Josuae. J. Goeree in. et fecit (with Jan Goeree), in: Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata. Tomus I, Trajecti Batavorum, ex bibliotheca Guilielmi Broedelet, p. 138.

Conspectus Palaestinae, uti divisa fuit a Mose et Josua inter XII tribus Israëliticas. J. Goeree in. et fecit (with Jan Goeree), in: Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata. Tomus I, Trajecti Batavorum, ex bibliotheca Guilielmi Broedelet, p. 142.

Conspectus Palaestinae et regionum, in quas distributa fuit stante Templo Secundo, et aliquo tempore post ejus excidium quarum in libris apocryphis et NT scriptisque Josephii, Eusebii, Hieronymi et Epiphanius fuit mentio. J. Goeree in. et fecit (with Jan Goeree), in: Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata. Tomus I, Trajecti Batavorum, ex bibliotheca Guilielmi Broedelet, p. 177.

Conspectus Palaestinae, divisae in primam, secundam et tertiam, ut erat circa initium seculi aerae Christianae quinti. J. Goeree in. et fecit (with Jan Goeree), in: *Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*. Tomus I, Trajecti Batavorum, ex libraria Guilielmi Broedelet, p. 207.

Conspectus Montium et Camporum Palaestinae Fluminumque indicia. J. Wandelaer in. et fecit (with Jacob Wandelaer), in: *Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*. Tomus I, Trajecti Batavorum, ex libraria Guilielmi Broedelet, p. 305.

Conspectus Palaestinae in tabula veteri itineraria. J. Goeree del. (with Jan Goeree), in: *Palaestina Ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*. Tomus I, Trajecti Batavorum, ex libraria Guilielmi Broedelet, p. 421.

1715

Imperium Japonicum per regiones digestum sex et sexaginta atque ex ipsorum Japonensium mappis descriptum ab Hadriano Relando. Viro per illustri Johanni Paulo Bignonio abbati S. Quintini Potentissimo Galliarum Regi a consiliis sanctoribus, Academiarum Regiarum, quibus cura scientiarum atque inscriptionum mandata est, praesidi, literaturae Sinicae et Japonicae uti bonarum artium ac disciplinarum omnium promotori eximio hanc imperii Japonici tabulam sacram facit Hadrianus Relandus. B. Ruyter sculp. (with Jan Goeree and Baltasar Ruyter). Trajecti Batavorum, apud Guilielmum Broedelet.

[c.1715/1718]

Insulae Javae pars Occidentalis edente Hadriano Relando. Insulae Javae pars Orientalis edente Hadriano Relando; J. Keyser fecit, t'Amsterdam by Gerard van Keulen aan de Nie[u]we brug met Privilegie (with Jacob Keyser). Gerard van Keulen, Amsterdam.

[c.1716/1725]

Imperii Persici delineatio ex Scriptis Geographicis Arabum et Persarum tentata ab Hadr. Relando, excusa a C. Weigelio. Christophori Weigeli, Norimbergae.

1717

Imperium Japonicum per regiones digestum sex et sexaginta atque ex ipsorum Japonensium mappis descriptum ab Hadriano Relando. Viro per illustri Johanni Paulo Bignonio (with Jan Goeree and Baltasar Ruyter), Otten, Amsterdam.

[c.1720]

Imperii Persici in omnes suas Provincias (tam veteribus quam modernis earundem nominibus signatas) exacte divisi Nova Tabula Geographica, quam ex praecipuis

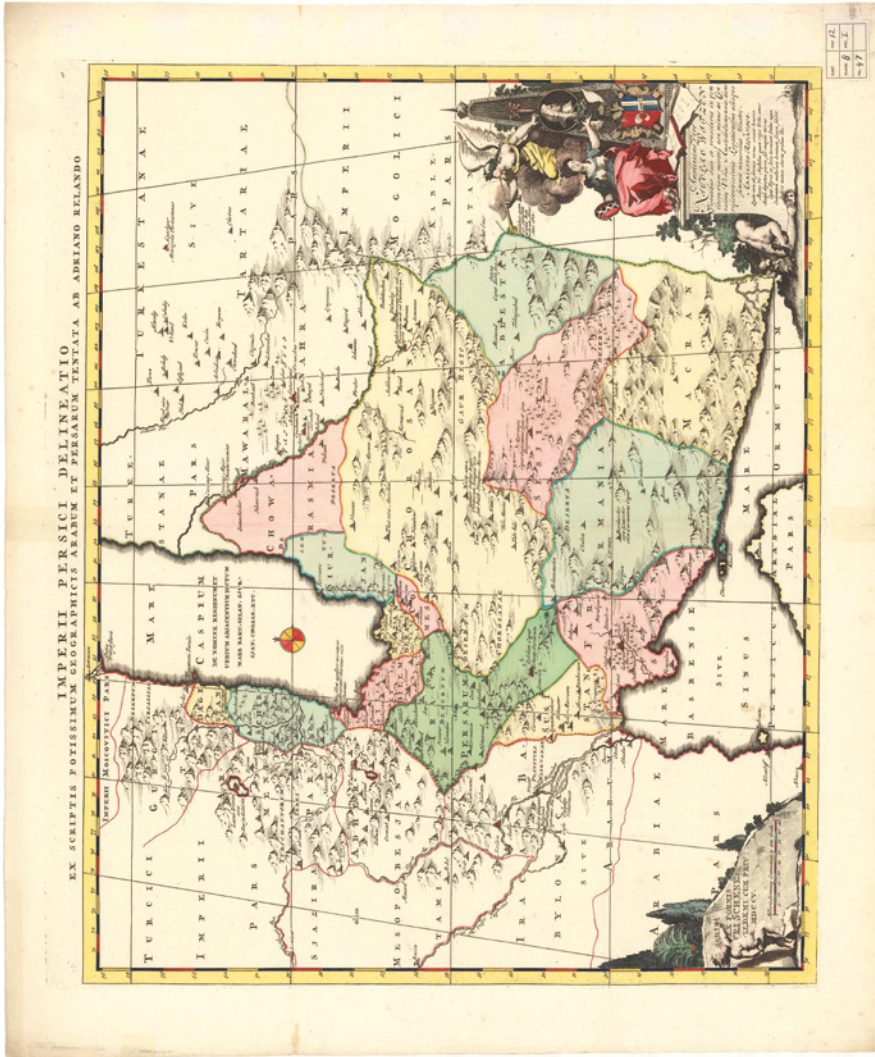
Olearii, Tavernieri, Relandi aliorumque recentium authorum scriptis concinnatam, luci publicæ exponit Io. Baptista Homann sac. cæs. maj. geographus et regiæ borussicæ scientiarum societatis membrum. Io. Baptista Homann, cum privilegio sac. cæsareæ majestatis, Norimbergæ.

1725

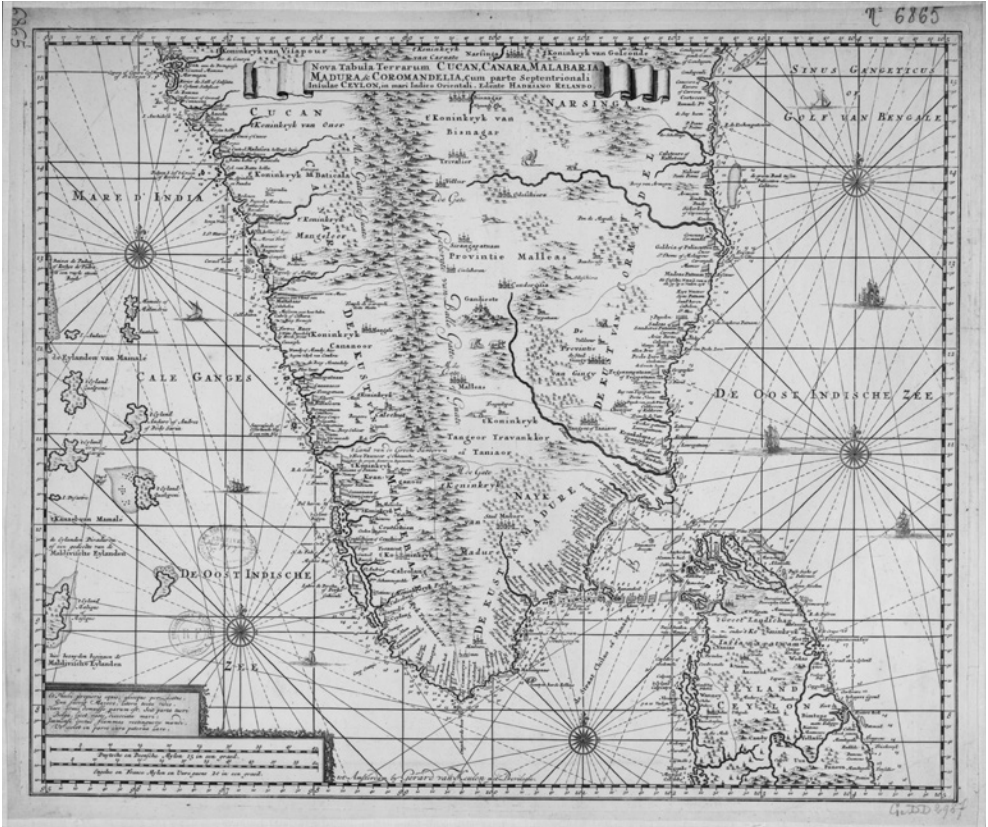
Nova Imperii Persici delineatio iuxta recentiß. et accuratiss. Observat. Adriani Relandi proposita studio manuque Matthæi Seutteri, chalcogr. August., Augsburg.

1740

Nova Imperii Persici delineatio iuxta recentiß. et accuratiss. Observat. Adriani Relandi proposita studio manuque Matthæi Seutteri. chalcogr. August., Augsburg.



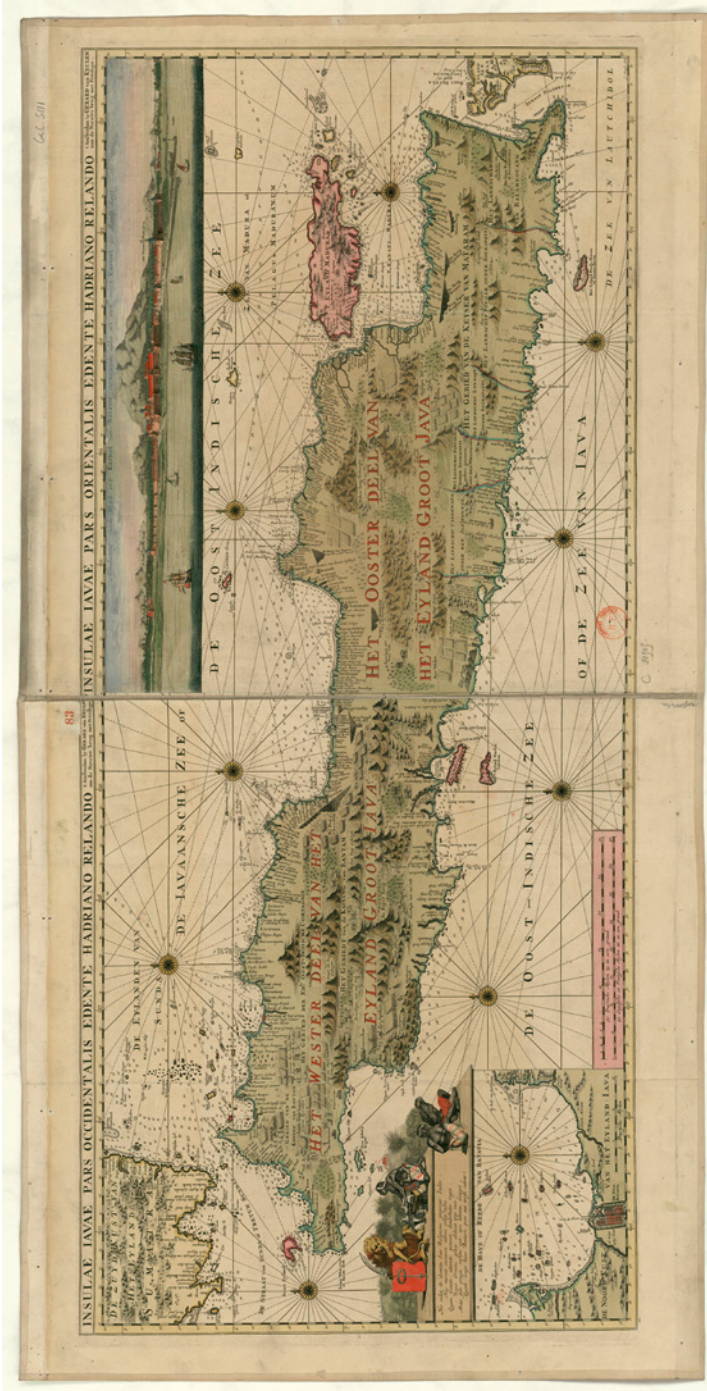
MAP 1 Map of Persia (*Imperii Persici delineatio ex scriptis potissimum geographicis Arabum et Persarum tentata ab Adriano Relando*), 1705
 IMAGE COURTESY OF ALLARD PIERSON, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, BIJZONDERE COLLECTIES, OTM: HB-KZL 102.10.17



MAP 2 *Nova Tabula Terrarum CUCAN, CANARA, MALABARIA, MADURA & COROMANDELIA cum parte Septentrionali Insulae CEYLON in mari Indico Orientale / Edente Hadriano Relando* ca 1710
 IMAGE COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, DÉPARTEMENT CARTES ET PLANS, CPL GE DD-2987 (6865 B)
 IDENTIFIER: ARK:/12148/BTV1B59001037



MAP 3 Map of Palestine (*Facies Palaestinae ex Monumentis Veteribus*)
 IMAGE COURTESY OF THE OLD WORLD AUCTIONS, 1714, (AUCTION 147, LOT 579),
[HTTPS://WWW.OLDWORLDAUCTIONS.COM/CATALOG/LOT/147/579](https://www.oldworldauctions.com/catalog/lot/147/579)



MAP 4 Map of Java (*Insulae Javae pars Occidentalis edente Hadriano Relando. Insulae Javae pars Orientalis edente Hadriano Relando*), c.1715/1718
 IMAGE COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, DÉPARTEMENT CARTES ET PLANS, GE C-5111
 IDENTIFIER: ARK:/12148/BTV1B53065259N



MAP 5 Map of Japan (*Imperium Japonicum per regiones digestum sex et sexaginta atque ex ipsorum Japonensium mappis descriptum ab Hadriano Relando*), 1715
 IMAGE COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, DÉPARTEMENT CARTES ET PLANS, GE D-14277
 IDENTIFIER: ARK:/12148/BTVIB8492400J

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